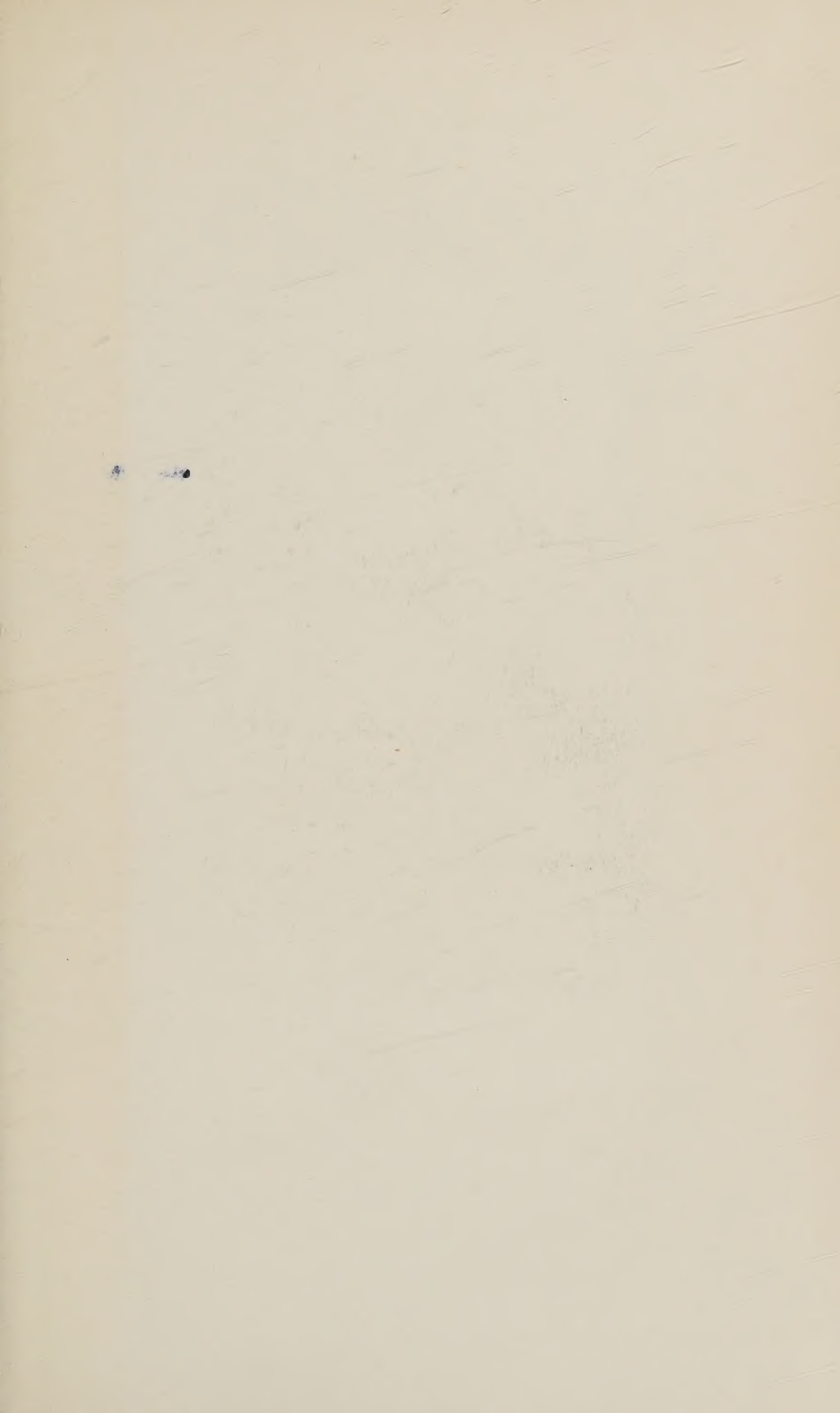


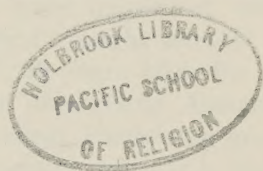






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THE CATHOLIC BIBLICAL QUARTERLY



VOLUME 7
1945

THE CATHOLIC BIBLICAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON 17, CARDINAL STATION, D.C.

A.M.S. REPRINT COMPANY
NEW YORK

1964

84258

v. 7

1945

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Printed in the United States of America*

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND CANAANITE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS*

The first steps toward the recovery of the ancient Canaanite tongue, which had subsisted in North Africa until the time of St. Augustine, were taken as long ago as the late sixteenth century. However, no real progress toward the decipherment of Phoenician and Punic coins and epigraphs was made until the work of Swinton and Barthélemy (1750-1758); the work of the latter was particularly significant. In 1837 Wilhelm Gesenius's great work, *Scripturae linguæque Phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt*, brought together all available inscriptions in accurate copies and subjected them to a methodical analysis, which brilliantly completed the period of decipherment. Year after year new inscriptions, short and long, were unearthed, while continued improvement in scientific method brought sounder interpretation of their contents.¹ In 1936, 99 years after the appearance of Gesenius's epochal book, an able young American Semitist, Zellig Harris, published an excellent Phoenician grammar which makes it possible for contemporary scholars to make a fresh start, with reliable material at their disposal for study.² We can now follow the development of the Phoenician script and language from about the twelfth century B.C. to the third century A.D., to which the latest Punic inscription belongs.

It has always been known—though often forgotten—that the Phoenicians called their land “Canaan” and themselves “Canaanites”; this justifies us in applying the term to the Phoenicians and Carthaginians (who still used the name of themselves in the fifth century A.D.). For convenience we often restrict the use of “Canaanite” to the period which came to an end with the conquest of nearly the whole of Canaan by the Aramaeans, Israelites and Philistines, during the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.

All the alphabetic inscriptions hitherto considered belong to

* Paper read at the August, 1944, meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association of America.

¹ See the sketch of the history of Phoenician studies which I have given in my paper, “The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization” (Leland Volume: *Studies in the History of Culture*, 1942), pp. 12 ff.

² See his book, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1936).

the Iron Age; up to now only half a dozen short inscriptions from the preceding Late Bronze Age have come to light, but none of them is entirely clear, owing to their brevity and the strange archaic forms of letters which they exhibit.³ It was not until 1887 that a chance find in Egypt enabled us to make a further step toward the recovery of Bronze-Age Canaanite: this was the discovery of the Amarna Tablets, written to the Egyptian court from different parts of Western Asia in the early fourteenth century. Some 285 Amarna letters from Canaanite princes of Phoenicia, southern Syria and Palestine have hitherto been located; most of them were punctiliously edited by the Norwegian Assyriologist, J. A. Knudtzon, in 1907. These letters were all written in bad Accadian by Canaanite or other scribes, but the language in which they were dictated still emerges transparently almost throughout. Here there is a wealth of Canaanite linguistic material, consisting of individual words, grammatical forms, and idiomatic phrases. The tablets were partially worked over from this point of view by Böhl, Ebeling, Dhorme,⁴ and others, but it was not until the past few years that their linguistic exegesis could be successfully undertaken, thanks to the new perspective furnished by the discovery and decipherment of Ugaritic. Since 1892 nearly a score of tablets of the same age have been excavated in Palestinian sites; their language is virtually identical with the Amarna type and also yields interesting data for our purpose. Since 1937 there has appeared a series of papers devoted to Palestinian documents of this age, with very satisfactory results which materially advance our knowledge of the South-Canaanite dialects of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.⁵

There are, also, other sources for our knowledge of Northwest-Semitic (Canaanite and its sister dialects) in the second millennium. Foremost among them is the information which can be extracted from the analysis of many hundreds of personal names transcribed on Babylonian tablets dating between 1900 and 1500 B.C.⁶ Since the discovery of some twenty thousand tablets from

³ For references see the Leland Volume (cf. n. 1), pp. 30 f.

⁴ Cf. my observations, with references, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXIII (1937), p. 190, nn. 5-7.

⁵ In addition to the paper cited in n. 4 cf. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (cited henceforth as BASOR), Nos. 86, pp. 28 ff.; 87, pp. 32 ff.; 89, pp. 7 ff., 29 ff.; 94, pp. 12 ff.

⁶ See particularly Theo. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer* (1930), to which many individual names may now be added from tablets published subsequently.

the eighteenth century at Mari on the Middle Euphrates (1935-36) there has been a great expansion of this type of source-material, which includes thousands of personal names and scores, if not hundreds, of Northwest-Semitic words and grammatical forms imbedded in Accadian documents. For this to become available we must, however, await the future and hope that the bitter conflict now raging in Europe will not destroy the tablets. Extremely valuable additional information on the Northwest Semitic of the first three centuries of the second millennium comes also from Egyptian documents of the Middle Kingdom, especially from the recently published execration texts, which contain many place-names and personal names.⁷ Egypt provides even more helpful data bearing on the Canaanite of the following period, contemporary with Amarna and Ugarit, in long lists of place-names and several hundred Canaanite words and personal names transliterated into Egyptian, employing a special orthography to indicate the vowels.⁸

II. THE DISCOVERY AND EXCAVATION OF RAS SHAMRAH⁹

Yet all the preceding sources have been overshadowed by the sensational discoveries on the coast of northern Syria. In 1928 a peasant accidentally broke into a rich tomb of the Late Bronze Age at Mīnet el-Beidā, eleven kilometers north of Lattakia. As the name "White Harbor" indicates, this is the site of the Greek Leukos Limen. The following year M. Claude F. A. Schaeffer of Strassburg was entrusted with the direction of an archaeological expedition to dig at this promising site. After opening some remarkable tombs, in which were found many objects of exceptional interest, Schaeffer discovered the near-by mound of Rās (esh-) Shamrah (Ras Shamra), "Fennel Head," where he immediately made trial soundings. In these soundings he found nearly fifty tablets and fragments, all covered with writing in a new cuneiform script; the following spring they were published by M. Virolleaud, who has ever since continued to publish most

⁷ See BASOR, No. 83, pp. 30 ff., with references to earlier literature.

⁸ See my *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1934).

⁹ For this section see especially Schaeffer's annual reports in *Syria* and his full bibliography in *Ugaritica* (Paris, 1939), pp. 147 ff. Those who do not have access to *Syria* or *Ugaritica* may be referred to BASOR, Nos. 46, pp. 15 ff.; 50, pp. 13 ff.; 54, pp. 24 ff.; 63, pp. 23 ff.; 70, pp. 18 ff.; 77, pp. 23 ff.

of the cuneiform texts found by the expedition. From 1929 to 1939 Schaeffer directed eleven successive campaigns of excavation at Ugarit (which proved to be the ancient name of the city), bringing the work to a temporary close just before the outbreak of the world war. In 1940 he escaped from Paris to England, having put his family and expedition records into an aeroplane which luckily happened to be available. Since then he has been a member of General de Gaulle's organization, and more recently also fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

Ugarit was so strategically situated for commercial purposes, with rich arable plains and fisheries, and well developed purple factories, that it was an exceedingly wealthy city in the second millennium. At that time it covered an area of over sixty acres (about four times the area of Megiddo). While it was probably considerably smaller than Byblus and Sidon, it was by far the largest and wealthiest Canaanite city yet excavated. In consequence, we obtain from Schaeffer's work an entirely new idea of Canaanite civilization. Though the material culture of Ugarit was substantially the same as that of contemporary Palestinian sites, with the same principal types of pottery covering the centuries from *ca.* 1800 to *ca.* 1200 B.C., it was so much richer that the finds in Palestine seem extremely rustic and provincial by comparison. From Ugarit, the northernmost Canaanite city, to Tell el-'Ajjūl south of Gaza, the southernmost Canaanite town on the coast, was a distance of not quite 300 miles in a straight line; for the sake of perspective we must remember that this was just the airline distance between Memphis and Thebes, the capitals of Lower and Upper Egypt (the actual sailing distance was much greater, owing to the winding course of the Nile). This is, also, almost exactly the distance between Assur on the Tigris, then capital of Assyria, and Carchemish on the Euphrates, or between Erech in southern Babylonia and Assur.

M. Schaeffer's finds are remarkable for the comprehensive view of Ugaritic life which they give us. Among the buildings excavated were two well-built temples, dedicated to Baal and Dagon respectively, and between them a structure which appears to have housed the high priest, together with a scribal school and temple library, many tablets belonging to which were recovered. Under the floor of one of the rooms was a cache of 74 tools, weapons, and other objects of bronze, which had apparently never been used. Five of them bore incised inscriptions in alphabetic

cuneiform indicating that they were the property of the high priest, whose name was *Haruṣennu*. In the last two campaigns Schaeffer cleared the royal palace, whose column bases were in part overlaid with silver, as well as a large building which seems to have been an armory, and especially a building which housed the royal chancellery and which yielded several hundred tablets in alphabetic and Accadian cuneiform (still unpublished). The contents of excavated tombs and houses have been extremely diversified; among them were objects illustrating the arts and crafts of its inhabitants in different centuries. Two magnificent gold bowls represent the finest examples of the goldsmith's craft yet found in Canaanite territory. Not least in interest are several stelae, particularly one large relief of the god Baal.

III. DECIPHERMENT AND INTERPRETATION OF THE TABLETS

Incomparably the most important of Schaeffer's discoveries were the clay tablets inscribed in a previously unknown alphabetic cuneiform script. Virolleaud recognized almost immediately that the script was alphabetic, not syllabic like Accadian, because of the number of separate letters (29 or 30). But he hesitated to proceed further with the available material, publishing it without extended comment in April, 1930. Before the end of the month Hans Bauer, professor of Semitic Languages at Halle, had succeeded in identifying over half of the letters correctly by clever use of decoding methods, with which he was familiar.¹⁰ In June he published a popular sketch of his results in the *Vossische Zeitung*, which reached my hands through the intermediation of Kurt Galling, then in Jerusalem.¹¹ I took the article to Dhorme, who was working on the texts at that time, and he immediately recognized that Bauer was correct in a number of points which he had missed, but that he himself was right in other points. In September Dhorme published his improved results in the *Revue Biblique*, which was promptly sent to Bauer, causing him to revise his identifications and to make further improvements. Meanwhile the tablets found in the spring of 1930, which included long consecutive poems in the Canaanite alphabet, had reached Virolleaud, who was able to distance both Bauer and Dhorme, fixing nearly all remaining values. A few values were

¹⁰ Cf. his accounts of his work and his method in his two small books, *Entzifferung der Keilschrifttafeln von Ras Schamra* (1930) and *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra, seine Entzifferung und seine Gestalt* (1932).

¹¹ Cf. BASOR, No. 46, p. 16.

established by others later. To Bauer belongs the credit for the first published identification of some 19 characters; Dhorme is responsible for five values and Virolleaud for three. The honor of publishing these priceless documents should have been honor enough for Virolleaud. Unfortunately, he later claimed that he had deciphered the script quite independently, owing nothing whatever to Bauer. This has made an extremely bad impression among scholars, especially since Dussaud, who was in constant communication with both scholars, sided with Bauer.¹² In retrospect, it is not at all remarkable that Virolleaud, a cautious scholar by nature, did not venture to follow Bauer, until the new texts had confirmed the latter's main results. The longest text of all the 1929 collection was in Horite (Hurrian), not in Canaanite at all; yet there was nothing about the script to distinguish the languages, a fact which greatly increased the difficulty of decipherment. Moreover, both Bauer and Dhorme made much of the inscriptions on the adzes, falsely reading the first word *grzn*, Heb. *garzen*, "axe." Later the word was read correctly *hršn* and identified with Accadian *ḥašinnu*, "axe." Now, however, we know that it is merely the name of the high priest, written in Accadian tablets from Ugarit as *Haruṣennu*.¹³ It is a remarkable illustration of human ingenuity that Bauer and Dhorme should have succeeded so well with such inadequate material on which to work.

We now have a pretty good general idea of the character of the Ugaritic literary texts which have been unearthed hitherto. By far the largest composition preserved for us is the great Baal Epic, at least eight tablets and fragments of which have been published, while smaller unpublished pieces are said to remain.¹⁴

¹² See, e.g., his book, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament* (Paris, 1937), pp. 48 f.

¹³ Cf. my *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942), p. 204, n. 41.

¹⁴ These documents have been published by Virolleaud in papers appearing in *Syria*, Vols. XII, XIII, XV, XVI, XVII, and in his book, *La déesse Anat* (Paris, 1938). One fragment appeared in his initial publication of the 1929 lot. I have dealt with the Baal Epic in papers which appeared in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* in Vols. XII and XIV, as well as in many articles in *BASOR* since 1932. More recent than most of my articles are the excellent translations by H. L. Ginsberg, *Orientalia* (Rome), 1936, pp. 161 ff., and 1938, pp. 1 ff.; *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 327 ff., XVI, pp. 138 ff., on which are based Gordon's extracts, *The Loves and Wars of Baal and Anat*, pp. 5-26. I expect to

At least three similar tablets of six columns each are represented in the lot, but the most important tablet has eight columns, and there are two peculiar pieces with only two and three columns, respectively. The larger tablets have the same colophon, dating them in the reign of Niqmadda,¹⁵ who was on the throne during the Amarna Age, *ca.* 1375 B.C.; the smaller ones may be in part duplicates, or they may even represent different tales belonging to the same cycle.

Next in importance is the Keret Epic, three tablets of which have been recovered and two of which are published, so far as our present information goes.¹⁶ Less than a quarter of the extant portions of this epic remain to be published, making a total of some 500 legible lines, according to M. Virolleaud.

Third in significance is the Epic of Dan'el (also called the Epic of Aqhat), four extant pieces of which have been edited by Virolleaud.¹⁷ Only one tablet is nearly complete, the other three being fragments of much larger tablets. About 400 lines are legible. Here again different types of tablets and handwritings suggest that we have parts of different copies of a single much larger composition.

Two other religious texts of mythological content have been published, both of which seem to be nearly complete. First, there is the curious composition which begins with an invocation to the "Beautiful and Gracious Gods," but though many passages have been cleared up, the purpose of the text is still obscure, opinions varying between its explanation as a ritual of a mimetic performance or as a catalogue of hymns and rituals, sometimes including the whole text, sometimes giving only the first line.¹⁸ Secondly, we have the remarkable hymn to Nikkal, whose es-

translate most of the extant text in my Haskell Lectures, planned to appear in 1945; cf. n. 24.

¹⁵ See my paper in BASOR, No. 95 (October, 1944).

¹⁶ See Virolleaud, *Le légende de Keret* (Paris, 1936), *Mélanges Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), II, pp. 755 ff. I know his subsequent publication of Tablet II only from the sketch in the latter and from the extracts published by Engnell, *Religion och Bibel*, 1944, pp. 1-20.

¹⁷ *La légende phénicienne de Danel* (Paris, 1936).

¹⁸ The former explanation is maintained most vigorously by Gaster (who plans an entirely revised edition with elaborate commentary), while most other scholars support the latter alternative. There is no good up-to-date translation; my position is described in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 1934, pp. 133 ff., with important revisions in BASOR, No. 71, pp. 36 ff.

pousal to the Moon-god it celebrates; there is excellent reason to regard this hymn as having been translated from Horite into Canaanite.¹⁹

Among the remaining published texts of religious character there is a long incantation, which has not yet been adequately translated,²⁰ and there are further a number of more or less fragmentary rituals and lists of offerings, as well as some enigmatic pieces. There are also several lists for school purposes, and a long unpublished bilingual list of place-names. Several contracts and lists of names, besides a considerable number of complete or broken letters, have been published. To judge from Schaeffer's brief report of the results of the last two campaigns, there are many unpublished letters and administrative documents, some of which are of extraordinary importance. One of the most interesting pieces in alphabetic cuneiform contains part of a manual on the treatment of diseases of horses—perhaps the oldest extant veterinary treatise.²¹

The brief history of the interpretation of this new literature is very instructive. M. Virolleaud was well prepared for his task of publishing pioneer editions of these texts by his previous training, which included grounding in Hebrew and Arabic as well as long experience in the copying and translation of Accadian cuneiform tablets.²² His copies are surprisingly good, though naturally not perfect, since there are special problems which confront the copyist of Ugaritic tablets and since many of the texts are badly damaged. His translations are, on the whole, decidedly good pioneer efforts. Virolleaud's one great weakness is his lack of adequate training in linguistics, which has prevented him from real grammatical understanding of the new materials and has led to many grammatically impossible renderings. A secondary weakness is his poor knowledge of the Old Testament, because of which he has missed many obvious parallels. It must be said, however, that the quality of his work has improved steadily in this respect. His penchant for far-reaching combinations be-

¹⁹ The latest translations are by Goetze, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LX (1941), pp. 353 ff., and (brief extracts) by Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁰ The best published translation is still the Hebrew rendering by H. L. Ginsberg in his *Kitvé Ugarit* (1935), pp. 89 ff. A former student of mine is planning to publish an up-to-date translation of this important text.

²¹ Virolleaud, *Syria*, XV, pp. 75 ff.

²² He is well known to Assyriologists for the successive fascicles of his great cuneiform publication, *L'astrologie chaldéenne* (1908—).

tween biblical and Ugaritic texts is not so much due to his lack of circumspection—since his is a distinctly cautious nature—but is rather an outgrowth of the first two weaknesses.

There are four main prerequisites for successful interpretation of the Ugaritic texts: (1) thorough grounding in general linguistic method, based on induction from the actual phenomena of the new language or dialect and on careful comparative use of the cognate languages; (2) thorough knowledge of the Hebrew Bible and unremitting use of Gesenius-Buhl's dictionary and Mandelkern's concordance; (3) thorough knowledge of Accadian and cuneiform literature, including especially the Amarna Letters; (4) a habit of checking all facts and willingness to give up cherished views as soon as something better has appeared. There are only a very few scholars who possess any three of these qualifications, and the number who have all four is still more limited. A large proportion of the best work in the field has been done by H. L. Ginsberg of New York, who is easily first in the field of Ugaritic-biblical analogies, thanks to his first-class linguistic preparation, his unexcelled knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic language and literature, and his sound common sense.²³ My own work in the field has been both forwarded and hampered by my persistent ingenuity, which has led to some sound observations that might otherwise have been long delayed, and to a few over-ingenious renderings which have had to be discarded.²⁴ Thanks to the excellent *Ugaritic Grammar* of a young scholar who began Ugaritic with me and continued working under Ginsberg's influence, we may date a new epoch in the history of this subject from 1940, when Cyrus Gordon's book was published by the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome.²⁵ Unfortunately very

²³ See the bibliography of his principal papers up to 1938 in Schaeffer's *Ugaritica* (Paris, 1939), pp. 186 f., to which should be added: *Orientalia*, 1939, pp. 317 ff., 1940, pp. 29 ff., 228 f.; BASOR, Nos. 72, pp. 18 ff., 84, 12 ff., and 95, pp. 25 ff.

²⁴ See the bibliography of my papers in Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, pp. 172 f., to which may be added particularly items in BASOR, Nos. 82, pp. 46 ff., 83, pp. 39 ff., 84, pp. 14 ff., 91, pp. 39 ff., 94, pp. 30 ff.; see also my chapter on Canaanite mythology in *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 68 ff. In my forthcoming book on *Canaanite Religious Literature and the Bible* (the Haskell Lectures at the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology in 1943) planned to appear in 1945, I hope to publish revised translations of all the better preserved and reasonably intelligible portions of the mythological epics.

²⁵ Cf. particularly the reviews by Aistleitner in *Biblica*, 1941, pp. 216-223,

few copies have yet reached Great Britain and America; in fact, Schaeffer himself only knew vaguely, as late as December, 1943, that such a book had appeared, but he knew neither the author's nor the publisher's name. America has taken the lead in this field of investigation since the middle thirties, thanks to the work of such scholars as Ginsberg, Goetze, Gordon, Harris, Montgomery and myself, together with other younger men who are now entering the field. In Great Britain, T. H. Gaster (now in New York) has been the leader in this field;²⁶ in France (besides Viroilleaud himself) Dussaud;²⁷ in Italy, Cassuto (now in Jerusalem);²⁸ in Hungary, Aistleitner (a Catholic secular priest);²⁹ in Switzerland, Baumgartner;³⁰ in Germany, Eissfeldt;³¹ in Denmark, Pedersen;³² in Sweden, Nyberg.³³ Of these scholars only Gaster, Dussaud, Cassuto, Aistleitner and Pedersen have hitherto published translations, Cassuto's work being easily the best.

IV. THE UGARITIC DIALECT AND BIBLICAL HEBREW

Immediately after the initial decipherment of Ugaritic two distinct points of view were expressed. Bauer himself was struck by the differences between it and biblical Hebrew; he considered it as a new language intermediate between Hebrew and Acca-

and by myself, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1941, 434-39.

²⁶ For his publications see Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, pp. 183 ff., to which add particularly *Iraq*, 1939, pp. 109 ff.

²⁷ See Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, pp. 177 ff., to which add *Syria*, 1939, pp. 375 ff.

²⁸ See Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, p. 176. Cassuto has subsequently published several important Hebrew papers in *Tarbiz* and the *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*; cf. also *Revue des Études Juives*, CV, pp. 125 ff., and *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1942, pp. 51 ff.

²⁹ See Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, p. 172, and especially his long subsequent paper in *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1939, pp. 193 ff.

³⁰ Baumgartner's observations, which are often excellent, are scattered through reviews and articles.

³¹ Eissfeldt has seldom translated texts but has dealt with historical and comparative religious implications of the field; see especially his *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjaton* (Halle, 1939), where his shorter papers are collected, and some still inaccessible papers in German journals since 1940.

³² Note particularly his monograph on the Keret Epic, *Berytus*, VI (1941), pp. 63-105.

³³ Most of his work is still unpublished, but he has been lecturing actively in this field for several years.

dian.³⁴ Virolleaud and Dussaud, both amateur linguists, were struck by the close parallels in vocabulary and content with biblical Hebrew and Phoenician, and called it "Old Phoenician."³⁵ The next scholars to take up the question systematically, Ginsberg³⁶ and I³⁷ (since 1932), Montgomery (since 1933),³⁸ Harris (since 1934),³⁹ combined the linguistic approach with the study of context, and all unhesitatingly recognized Ugaritic as a Canaanite dialect, though with peripheral characteristics. However, since 1938 Goetze has taken up Bauer's point of view and has defended it in a number of papers in which he insists that Ugaritic is so remote from biblical Hebrew and Phoenician that it cannot be considered as belonging to the same group of dialects at all.⁴⁰ It is not accidental, therefore, that he avoids drawing biblical parallels as much as possible. I expect to deal with his linguistic arguments in detail in a forthcoming paper in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Here I shall restrict myself to the following observations.

1. Goetze adopts the standpoint of the Neogrammarians (Junggrammatiker) without making any concessions to the Neolinguists. Beginning about 1875, the former school improved the relatively arbitrary and eclectic methods of the older comparative Indo-European philologists by insisting on the rigor of linguistic laws and the importance of such phenomena as analogy in modifying the operation of these laws. About 1910 began a strong reaction, headed by Gilliéron in France and Bartoli in Italy; the latter employed the term "Neolinguists" to designate members of their school, who recognized that the growth and interrelation of dialects posed many problems which the older school could not solve. Where the Neogrammarians stress genealogical descent in the manner of biological phylogeny, the Neo-

³⁴ See especially his observations in *Das Alphabet von Ras Schumra*, pp. 64-70.

³⁵ Virolleaud's point of view appears throughout his publications; for Dussaud's see, e.g., *Les découvertes de Ras Schumra* (1937), pp. 47 ff.

³⁶ See *Orientalia*, V (1936), pp. 176-180. Cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, pp. 88-90.

³⁷ See most recently BASOR, No. 89 (1943), p. 8.

³⁸ Cf. especially Montgomery and Harris, *The Ras Shamra Mythological Texts* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 16 ff.

³⁹ Harris's latest views are fully presented in his admirable work, *The Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (New Haven, 1939), pp. 1 ff.

⁴⁰ See especially *Language*, 17 (1941), pp. 127 ff.

linguists emphasize the radiation of linguistic influences and the nonconformity of given phenomena, which make the exact demarcation of the territory occupied by any given dialect of French, Italian or German a matter of extraordinary indefiniteness and delicacy. In the case of the principal Indo-European languages, which separated widely from one another in their geographical distribution at a very early date, cross-movements of influence are relatively few, and the Neogrammarian finds ample justification for his approach. In dealing with a complex group of dialects occupying a compact area, the schematism of the Neogrammarian becomes absurd, and the Neolinguist who works with concrete linguistic data, collected by himself and others and published in the form of linguistic atlases, finds his aversion to general principles and his preference for plastic treatment of the material equally justified. Actually both are partly right and partly wrong. The majority of the competent younger linguists accept the inductive results of both schools and regard their differences as resting on antiquated points of view. We have two excellent treatments of linguistic geography in the Semitic world: one is a linguistic atlas of the modern Arabic dialects of Palestine by Bergsträsser (1915); the other is an admirable sketch of the Canaanite material now available in the *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* by Zellig Harris (1939). By his doctrinaire opposition to the principle of diffusion, Goetze is able to construct an artificial "Canaanite" for the period about 1400 B.C., considering all linguistic phenomena common to both biblical Hebrew and Phoenician as going back to this parent language.⁴¹ This reconstructed language he then contrasts with Ugaritic as actually found in texts from about 1400 B.C. How dangerous this method is appears from the fact that one could in the same way reconstruct a Latin article *ille*, etc., from the fact that offshoots of the demonstrative *ille* appear as articles in all the daughter Romance tongues. We know in fact that a slight late Latin tendency to use the demonstrative *ille* as an article spread by diffusion through the Romance world long after Latin had become the native language of its individual countries and had begun to develop into distinct dialects. Similarly, Goetze's theory that parent Canaanite had the article *ha-* because it appears in later Hebrew and Phoenician is demonstrably unsound. In Phoe-

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 128 ff., confirmed and illustrated by subsequent correspondence.

nician inscriptions the article decreases rapidly in extent of use as we go backwards, and vanishes almost entirely in Byblian inscriptions of the period 1100-900 B.C. In Hebrew poetry the article is incomparably rarer than in prose, and in the oldest verse it scarcely appears at all.

2. Goetze's second weakness is that he deliberately refuses to accept most of the rich material in the cuneiform texts and the Egyptian transcriptions of the period 1500-1200 B.C. as evidence, in spite of the certainty that this material represents the speech of the very region later occupied by Israelites and Phoenicians. It cannot be accidental that the evidence of these sources contradicts his conclusions flatly, as, for example, when he insists that the two sounds *h* and *h̄* (both *heth* in later Hebrew and Phoenician) and the two sounds *th* and *sh* (both *shin* in later Hebrew and Phoenician) were not distinguished in "Canaanite," in spite of the fact that in scores of Egyptian transcriptions we find these sounds sharply differentiated during the period in question (but not in later times).

For detailed discussion of this subject I refer to my forthcoming paper; here we shall assume that Goetze's differentiation is greatly exaggerated and that the differences between Ugaritic and Hebrew were very much fewer in the second millennium than we might suppose by comparing Ugaritic of the fourteenth century with Hebrew of a considerably later period. In § VII I point out a number of striking syntactic peculiarities of Ugaritic which have recently been discovered by Ginsberg and myself in the Bible; the most significant of them have been shown to exist also in Canaanite of the Amarna Age. Together with a great many close resemblances there were marked differences. For instance, long *a* under the tone became long *o* in the southern dialects after the seventeenth century, but it remained *ā* in Ugaritic, just as in Aramaic. However, this same long *a* also remained in use in districts of Palestine itself until the end of the Bronze Age. In Ugaritic *shin* prevails as the causative preformative against Hebrew *he* and Phoenician *yodh* (probably for older *he*, as in Amarna Canaanite). But there are many clear cases in Ugaritic where we have causatives without *shin*, while we have several clear instances of *shin*-causatives in biblical Hebrew.⁴² In Aramaic we also find a number of causatives with

⁴² The best study of this question remains that of Harris, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1938, pp. 103 ff.

shin, though the overwhelming majority of cases are formed without *shin*.⁴³ This is a major dialectic division, but it can only be used as a criterion for a new language where other phenomena differ as strikingly, which is not the case here. In South Arabian and Abyssinian we find a similar situation. Sabaeen and Minaean, though agreeing in morphology and vocabulary almost throughout, go different ways in the causative (where Sabaeen has *h*, Minaean *s*) and the personal pronoun of the third person (where Sabaeen has *h*, Minaean in part *s*).

Concisely put, the early history of Northwest Semitic is as follows. In our earliest sources, from the beginning of the second millennium, we find much less dialectic variation than later. It is probable that Abraham, whose native speech was East Canaanite (also called Amorite, spoken in Mesopotamia), had scarcely any difficulty in talking to a Canaanite from the Coastal Plain. Both said *kalbum*, "dog," though the Canaanite said *kalābūma*, "dogs," while the Easterner probably said *kalbūna*; in biblical Hebrew the forms became *kélēv* and *k'lēvīm*, respectively. The South Canaanite said *'āsūb*, "let me return," where the Easterner said *'āshūb*. Before the time of Moses (ca. 1300 B.C. in round numbers) *kalbum* had become *kalbu* in all dialects, but dialectic differentiation had increased considerably. The preservation of vocalic endings and the different accentuation made all dialects sound different from their later stages. For example, "land animal" was **ḥāyyatu 'ārši*, which became *ḥayyāth ha'āreṣ* in biblical Hebrew (but *ḥaythō 'ēreṣ* in archaizing passages in the Bible). Case-endings of nouns and modal endings of verbs were lost in the south during the thirteenth century B.C.; the shift of the accent toward the end of words probably followed the loss of final short vowels rapidly and was completed by about 1200 B.C.⁴⁴

⁴³ Cf. the examples collected by Bauer, *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra*, p. 66. In Hebrew, besides the noun forms listed in all Hebrew grammars, and the probable verbs derived from *šaf'el* forms (among which I should count *šbl*, *šgr*, *štp*, *škn*, *šlk*) we have one exceedingly good new case: *hšthwy*, which now proves on Ugaritic evidence to be a causative with infixed *t* from the stem *ḥwy*.

⁴⁴ On the general situation cf. the excellent discussion of Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, pp. 50, 59 f. His view that the shift of accent preceded the loss of case-endings is contradicted by the fact that Accadian lost its case-endings almost simultaneously (BASOR, No. 84, p. 22, on Hyatt's study of the subject) but did not shift its accent. However, the two processes must be dated so close together that it really matters

V. UGARITIC AND BIBLICAL POETRY

The metrics of biblical Hebrew have long been a bone of contention, though the work of Ley and Sievers brought a certain consensus of opinion among scholars, nearly all of whom now recognize that Hebrew did have a fairly regular metric system. The principal differences now existing between students of metrics have to do with the exact pronunciation and scansion on the one hand, and with strophic arrangement on the other. I had maintained for many years before the first publication of the new material from Ugarit that Hebrew poetry was much more complex in structure than commonly recognized and—following Burney—that repetition of words and phrases formed an important feature of it.⁴⁵ I was also of the opinion that the Hebrew metric system must have been strongly affected by the loss of case-endings and the accentual shift. Both these views have been confirmed, but the resulting picture is much more elaborate than I could have inferred from the scanty evidence then available.

Our knowledge of early Semitic metrics has been greatly increased in recent years, thanks to the discovery and analysis of numerous poems in Accadian dating from the early centuries of the second millennium.⁴⁶ The best known is the so-called Agushaya Epic, but there are a number of other poems, some of which are remarkably beautiful. They are not composed in the standard Old Babylonian, but in a special dialect, originating in

little which took place first. On the Egyptian evidence for loss of Canaanite case-endings see my *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, pp. 18 f., 28 f., and especially the important material showing that case-endings had been dropped in practice by about 1230 B.C., with which I have dealt in my forthcoming paper on "The Oracles of Balaam" (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, September, 1944), n. 145. There is also Egyptian evidence indicating that the Canaanites living on the coast (who doubtless preceded the interior settlements in their acceptance of phonetic shifts) had already shifted original short *a* under this new position of the accent to *ō* (in Hebrew it remained long *a*, whereas in Phoenician it had become *ō* by the eighth century at the latest, according to Greek and cuneiform evidence) by the time of the list of Ramesses III, ca. 1175 B.C.

⁴⁵ See *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 1922, pp. 70 ff.

⁴⁶ For the compositions in this category now published see W. von Soden, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 40, pp. 163-227, and 41, pp. 93-185 (list in Vol. 40, pp. 170 ff.), to which should be added von Soden, *ibid.*, 43, pp. 30 ff., and Scheil, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 35, pp. 14 ff. On the metrical scansion of this verse see Sievers and Zimmern, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 38, pp. 22 ff.

the speech of the First Dynasty of Ur.⁴⁷ This fact proves that the category in question was developed about the 21st century B.C. (new low chronology), probably from still older verse of the Accad Age (24th-23rd centuries B.C.).⁴⁸ The hymnal-epic style is, as I first pointed out in 1922,⁴⁹ much more closely related to the oldest Hebrew verse (Song of Deborah, Lament of David over S  ul and Jonathan, etc.) than is later Accadian poetry, much of which is rather wooden adaptation of Sumerian originals. It was certainly in this early period, probably in the late third millennium, that Accad. *   ru*, *   ru*, "canto," was borrowed by the Canaanites, from whom the Israelites took the word and its denominative forms.⁵⁰

The first thing that strikes one about Ugaritic poetry is its elaborate arrangement of harmonic sequences in verse-units. The verse-unit, which we shall call "colon," not "stich" or "hemistich" because of the current confusion between the two latter terms,⁵¹ stands in complex relation to adjacent units. The commonest form is the bicolon, in which the second colon stands in simple parallelism to the first. However, Ugaritic shows much more variation in structure of a bicolon than does normal biblical verse, a fact unquestionably due to the preservation of case and modal endings, thanks to which ambiguity was seldom possible. After the loss of the vocalic endings in the thirteenth century B.C., word-order had to become relatively constant in order to avert obscurity; precisely the same phenomenon occurred two thousand years later in Europe, when the Latin and Germanic endings were lost in the daughter languages. However, in spite of this change, we find a surprising amount of retention of the old stylistic forms in the simple Hebrew bicolon. Thus we find one of the most popular repetitive forms, *abc—abd*,⁵² in both literatures, scores of times:

Ugaritic,⁵³

⁴⁷ On this phase of Accadian see my observations and references, BASOR, No. 77, pp. 21 ff.

⁴⁸ On the new low chronology see BASOR, No. 88, pp. 28 ff.

⁴⁹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 70 f; cf. n. 45.

⁵⁰ *Loc. cit.*, cf. also my remarks, *Beitr  ge zur Assyriologie*, X, 2, pp. xvii f.

⁵¹ Cf. my remarks, BASOR, No. 91, pp. 43 f., and n. 40. Since Gordon and others prefer to use the term "stich" for "hemistich" and "distich" for "stich," I have decided to give up the term entirely.

⁵² See Ginsberg, *Orientalia*, V (1936), p. 180.

⁵³ Beautiful and Gracious Gods, lines 8-9.

"In his hand is the staff of bereavement,
in his hand is the staff of widowhood"

Biblical,⁵⁴

"How long (will) the wicked, O God,
how long (will) the wicked triumph?"

In Ugaritic we have a number of variations on this theme, even in the relatively simple bicolon. In the tricolon, which is much commoner both in Ugaritic and in the Bible than hitherto recognized,⁵⁵ we have still greater complexity. The following simple type of sequence in the tricolon is particularly interesting because it may be illustrated by a passage which is virtually identical in both literatures:

Ugaritic,⁵⁶

"Behold, thine enemies, O Baal,
behold, thine enemies shalt thou smite,
behold, thou shalt crush thy foes!"

Biblical,⁵⁷

"For behold, thine enemies, O Lord,
for behold, thine enemies shall perish,
shall be scattered all doers of evil!"

Counting both metrical form and variety of sequence structure, Gordon has listed some 26 different types of verse in his *Grammar*,⁵⁸ and the number can easily be increased.

The problem of scansion has not yet been completely solved; it appears certain that Ugaritic verse was more bound to counting syllables than later Hebrew, but was much freer than contemporary Indo-European poetic forms, at least in Greek and Indo-Aryan literature. Quantitative in the strict sense Ugaritic poetry was certainly not; otherwise we should scarcely have had such a remarkable development of rhetorical style as distinguished from true prosody. The following bicolon, which we can read with the vowels, will illustrate my point:

Tiqqahu mulka 'ôlâmika
*dârkata dâta dardârika*⁵⁹ (3+3)

⁵⁴ Psalms 94:3.

⁵⁵ Cf. Ginsberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 171; Albright, BASOR, No. 91, p. 43; No. 94, pp. 32 f.; Patton, *Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1944), p. 9.

⁵⁶ III AB, A, lines 8-9.

⁵⁷ Psalms 92:10.

⁵⁸ Pp. 78-87, which constitute the first detailed study of this material; cf. also Patton, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff.

⁵⁹ III AB, A, line 10.

"Thou shalt take thy eternal kingdom,
thy dominion for ever and ever!"

With this cf. Ps. 145:13,

* "Thy kingdom is a kingdom of all eternity,
Thy dominion is everlasting!"

VI. CANAANITE LIGHT ON HEBREW GRAMMAR AND LEXICOGRAPHY

The new sources affect our knowledge of biblical Hebrew in several directions. In the first place, they confirm and develop our understanding of its historical evolution as determined by modern linguistically trained Semitic philologists, fixing dates for the appearance and disappearance of given phenomena and making the whole problem of archaisms and Aramaisms much easier to delimit. Above we have given an illustration of the survival of a case-ending in the so-called *littera compaginis* *ō*; another case, unquestionably preserved *metri causa*, is *benō Bē'ōr* (Num. 24:3,15), for older *binu Ba'uri*, or the like.⁶⁰ Besides illustrating such survivals, the new sources clear up many obscurities in historical grammar. For instance, we now know that the *he* of direction found in the ending *ā* is not a fossil accusative as hitherto supposed but represents an older suffix *-ha*, used with accusatives. Many puzzling phenomena in the morphology and syntax of the verb bid fair to be solved, or at least to be put into new light. In Canaanite the internal passive was used a great deal, a fact which not only confirms Barth's discovery that Hebrew forms like *yullād*, "he is born," are *qal* passives, not *pu'al*, but also suggests that passive *qals* are much commoner in the Bible than hitherto supposed. My students and I have found a number of hitherto unrecognized passives in the Pentateuch, especially in the Oracles of Balaam.

Even more striking is the fact that Ugaritic has added several completely new sections to our Hebrew grammar; in every case the new phenomena eliminate previous textual emendations. A few illustrations must suffice, all original with me and mostly not yet published. In Ugaritic and Amarna Canaanite we find masculine plural nouns often treated as collectives and construed with feminine singular verbs. There are two beautiful examples in an old poem imbedded in Nahum 1. Verse 5b runs (with no emendation of the consonantal text, aside from omission of the superfluous *waw* before *kol*) :

⁶⁰ In my paper on the Oracles of Balaam (see above, n. 44) I shall point out other probable examples of this archaism.

*wa-ttiššā'*⁶¹ *ha-' āreṣ mi-ppānāw*
wa-ttēbāl kol-yôšbê-bāh (3+3)

"And the earth became waste before him,
 and all its inhabitants drooped."

It should be added that the parallels in Amos 8:8 and 9:5 prove that the verb in the second colon is derived from *'ābāl*. In vv. 8 and 9 we have the following two cola, juxtaposed because of their perfect parallelism (in the original they formed part of a more complex structure, now in some textual disorder); again there has been no emendation of the consonantal text:

*kālā ya'sē mi-qqāmēhū*⁶²
*lô-tāqūm pa'máyim šārēhū*⁶³ (3+3)

"He shall make an end of His foes,
 His enemies shall not arise twice."

There are a few other passages in the Bible, but these two are by far the clearest I have yet noted anywhere; as already said, my explanation has the additional advantage of wholly eliminating superfluous emendations.

We owe to H. L. Ginsberg the discovery that there are a good many examples of enclitic *mem* in the Bible. Enclitic *-mi* is very common in the Canaanite Amarna Letters; it is just as common, in the same general uses, in the Ugaritic texts. We owe to Ginsberg also our comprehension of the extent to which this enclitic *-mi* was used in Ugaritic. The most interesting use of this *-mi* is in the middle of a construct chain, between the *regens* and the *rectum*. I have elsewhere pointed out examples of this curious syntactic phenomenon in Amarna Canaanite, where it is relatively much rarer than in Ugaritic, for the obvious reason that there was no such usage in Accadian, where the same enclitic occurs. A very pretty example is in Deut. 33:11b, a syntactically strange bicolon which can be cleared by Ugaritic parallels without altering the reading at all. The line should be read:

mḥāṣ moṭnê-m qāmāw
*ū-mšannē'āw min yeqūmūn*⁶⁴ (3+3)

⁶¹ So read for the *wa-ttiššā'* of MT, with all recent commentators.

⁶² So with versions and recent commentators instead of MT; I see no good reason for changing the first consonant to *beth*, though this is quite possible. For the ending *ēhū* (archaic for later *āw*) cf. my remarks, BASOR, No. 92, p. 22, n. 27.

⁶³ For the ending see n. 62.

⁶⁴ I do not believe in the usual explanation that this is an otherwise

"Smite the loins of his foes,
and as for his enemies, which will arise?"

Another passage is Psalms 68:17, the form and meaning of which are clear in the light of Ugaritic:

lammāh traššdūn *hārê-m gabnūnim*
hārê⁶⁵ hāmād 'Elôhîm l^e-šib_ttô (2:2+2:2)

"Why do ye dance, ye doméd mountains,
mountains God coveted for his abode?"

There is no change in the consonantal text except to omit one *he* for dittography.

It has been recognized for decades now that there appear to be some cases of *lamed* prefixed for emphasis in the Hebrew Bible, just as in Arabic. However, not all the examples proposed were convincing, mainly because we had no way of knowing in advance just where we should expect this particle to be used. Thanks to Ugaritic, where it is extremely frequent, we know that it was normally used with the imperfect, a fact for which there was only some very doubtful evidence hitherto.⁶⁵ Thanks to this new light on Hebrew syntax, I have succeeded in finding it, for example, in a hitherto completely misunderstood verse in the psalm of Habbakuk (Hab. 3:6f.), where without emending a single consonant we obtain the perfect tricolon:

wa-yyitpôš^ešû hārê^{rê} 'ād
šahhû gib'ôt 'ôlām
halikôt 'ôlām l^e-tēhātē'nā (*tohtēnā*, or even *toht'ûn*)

unattested use of the preposition *min* with a finite verb. There is an excellent parallel in Ugaritic literature; V AB, D: 34 f. (48) reads:

mn(m) . 'eb . yp' . l-B'l *srt l-Rkb . 'rpt*

"What enemy will appear against Baal, (or) hostility toward the Cloud-rider?"

In Accadian we should vocalize *minû-mi* (*minumme*), "what, any." It is, of course, also possible that we should read *man* (*mannu*) in the Hebrew passage, rendering "who" instead of "which, what." On the Ugaritic expression cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, § 5. 42, and my remarks, BASOR, No. 93, pp. 24 f.

⁶⁵ The construct noun is required for this construction; see for Hebrew, Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (28th ed.), §§ 130 d and 155 l, n., and for Ugaritic my observations, BASOR, No. 71, p. 37, n. 21, and elsewhere.

⁶⁶ See the material collected most recently by the late Israel Eitan, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XLV, pp. 202 f., with references to previous publications, especially to his longer paper in *Revue des Études Juives*, LXXIV, pp. 1-16.

"And the everlasting mountains were shattered,
the eternal hills collapsed,
the eternal orbits were broken up."⁶⁷

The last colon was completely misunderstood by later tradition, which divided it between the preceding and the following passages.

In lexicography the new material is so voluminous that it threatens to swamp us. Hitherto we have had to depend on a restricted number of Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, most of them either very brief or in a bad state of preservation. Now we have a whole new literature on which to draw for illustrations of words. The wealth of new matter is so great that I can give only a few examples. In Gen. 1:2 the rare verb *rahéf* is used of the Spirit of God. Most scholars follow the versions and render the verse: "And the Spirit of God moved (*movebatur*) upon the face of the waters." Others have preferred to render the verb as "incubate," since it is used of an eagle in Deut. 32:11. However, the verb appears several times in the Dan'el Epic in the sense of "soar, hover in the air," of eagles. Ugarit thus confirms the traditional interpretation.

One of the most interesting illustrations is the hitherto obscure Hebrew phrase, said of God, *rôkêb ba-'rābôt* (Psalm 68:5), which has quite generally been emended to *rôkêb ba-'ābôt* (cf. Isa. 19:1), "Rider on the clouds." In Ugaritic *rkb 'rpt*, "Cloud-rider" (the meaning is certain from the Hebrew cognates *'rp*, "to drip," *'arāfél*, "cloudiness," and Accad. *erpitu*, *urpatu*, "cloud")

⁶⁷ On this passage see my discussion, BASOR, No. 82, pp. 48 f. Irwin's objections are utterly gratuitous (*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, I, p. 23, n. 40). Driver's proposal (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1943, p. 121) is better, but still not satisfactory. There is no justification for the denial that a tricolon is possible here; I have long recognized others in the poem. A good illustration is the following passage (v. 7), which has hitherto been enigmatic. I should read it, without any emendation of the consonantal text, as follows:

"I have seen <the tents of Kushan> —
the tents of Kushan were trembling,
in terror was the land of Midian."

Such haplological omissions are extremely common in Hebrew poetry, where repetition for rhetorical effect was much commoner than generally believed; cf. my observations, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 1922, pp. 74 ff. Instead of reading *yē'ri'ôt*, "tent curtains," I propose *yôrā'at*, from *yr'*, "to be in terror," found in Isa. 15:4 and (in a derivative) probably in the Oracles of Balaam (instead of *terū'at*; cf. my forthcoming paper, n. 43).

is a standing appellation of Baal, so we have only to change the Hebrew *b* to *p* (in the seventh-century Hebrew cursive of the Lachish Letters these letters were often almost identical in appearance.)⁶⁸

A number of extremely interesting homonyms have turned up in the Bible. Thus Gordon and Gaster have discovered that Heb. 'mq (vocalization unknown) in Job 39:21 has nothing to do with 'émeq, "valley," but is Can. 'mq, "force, might," as might long ago have been predicted from the parallelism with ko^h, "strength, power."⁶⁹ Ginsberg has recently discovered that the old Semitic word *yd*, "love," still exists in Hebrew, where it appears in parallelism with a derivative of 'hb, "to love," just as in Ugaritic.

Many rare biblical words have made their appearance in Ugaritic. Thus, we have 'almg, "a tree," proving that this reading is correct against the variant 'algum.⁷⁰ Ugaritic proves that the 'ēfôd of the high priest was originally a secular garment, used by women as well as by men.⁷¹ The new texts show that several passages in Job and Psalms refer to the dragon Yam and are thus pictorial descriptions employing the old mythological expressions in a metaphoric sense.⁷²

In many cases the etymology of biblical terms is cleared up wholly or in part. Thus new light is cast on the word *yābām*, brother-in-law, used in levirate marriage, by the appellation *ybm̄t l'emm*, probably "progenitress of the peoples," used of the goddess Anath.⁷³ The discovery that there was a profession of *ytnm* in Ugaritic makes it almost certain that the late Hebrew *Ntînîm* (Nethinim) means "persons given for service," as often maintained without evidence, since Heb. *ntn* appears as *ytn* in Ugaritic and Phoenician.⁷⁴ The obscure *makkārîm* of 2 Kings 12:6,8 are clearly the *mkrm* of an Ugaritic text listing temple personnel; I expect to discuss this matter in detail elsewhere.⁷⁵

⁶⁸ See Bauer, *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1933, pp. 88 f.

⁶⁹ See Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, p. 105, No. 624.

⁷⁰ See Virolleaud, *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-sémitiques*, III, p. 72.

⁷¹ See BASOR, No. 83, p. 40, n. 10.

⁷² Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1938, p. 227.

⁷³ See Burrows, BASOR, No. 77, pp. 6 f.

⁷⁴ See Virolleaud, *ibid.*, p. 63.

⁷⁵ Cf. provisionally, *Syria*, 1937, p. 164 ff.

VII CANAANITE AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Hitherto in this article we have limited ourselves to an analysis of the new light on language and prosody, grammar and vocabulary. There have been a good many attempts to picture the total impact of the new discoveries on biblical history and literature. The best of them stem from Catholic scholars; we may mention particularly Fr. Bea's excellent summaries in *Biblica*, 1938, pp. 435-53, 1939, 436-53; Fr. de Vaux's paper in the *Revue Biblique*, 1937, pp. 526-555; and de Langhe's monograph in the *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, XVI (1939), pp. 245-327. This is not accidental; Protestant and agnostic circles were carried away by the historical extravagances of Virolleaud, Dussaud, and other French and British students, and published a great deal of appalling nonsense, whereas Catholic scholars saw at once that these ideas could not possibly be correct. It scarcely seems necessary or worth while to hold an inquest here on the remains of the unlamented Negebite theory, which saw far-reaching points of contact between early Canaanite legendary history (as reconstructed by these scholars) and biblical tradition.⁷⁶ Not a single brick of this imposing edifice remains standing, and the Hebrew historical tradition is quite unscathed—a striking example of the folly of going off half-cocked in such exceedingly treacherous new territory, where everything remained to be done.

The most striking fact of all, speaking from the standpoint of total relationship between Canaanite and Hebrew literature, is that there is so little in common between Genesis and Ugaritic poetry. Not one of the cosmogonic narratives of Gen. 1-11 appears in Ugaritic or any other Canaanite source. This fact, along with many others, proves that the Hebrews were not of Canaanite stock and did not take over Canaanite religious traditions, as so often maintained in recent decades. Hebrew tradition derives the Patriarchs from Mesopotamia, and it is in Sumerian-Accadian literature that we find the closest points of contact.⁷⁷ We have already referred above to the baselessness of recent speculations about points of contact between the patriarchal stories of Genesis and Ugaritic literature.

⁷⁶ For details and references see my *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 59 ff.

⁷⁷ See my discussion in *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, pp. 179 ff., and my reply to Mowinckel, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1939, pp. 91 ff.

Mosaic sacerdotal and sacrificial legislation, as described in the remaining books of the Pentateuch, especially in Leviticus, does have many similarities to Canaanite practice, as we have long known from the much later sacrificial tariffs of Carthage.⁷⁸ So far Ugaritic sources have added but little to this evidence; in fact Ugaritic parallels are rather fewer in proportion than Punic—a result for which we might have been prepared for other reasons. Needless to say, the whole spirit of Mosaic sacrifice is different, and there is no trace in it of such Canaanite abominations as human sacrifice and ritual prostitution of both sexes.⁷⁹

On the other hand, Hebrew poetic literature swarms with close parallels to Canaanite sources. This fact is not to be wondered at. In the first place, as we have previously observed, the dialectic difference between classical Hebrew and contemporary Canaanite was extremely slight—even slighter in Israel, as we know from the Ostraca of Samaria,⁸⁰ than in Judah. In the second place, the beauties of poetry are just as universal as those of music. The Israelites did not hesitate to adapt Canaanite music to their purposes from the time of David on,⁸¹ so why should they not adapt Canaanite poetry to the service of Yahweh? A number of early Psalms, such as 29 and 68, swarm to such an extent with words, phrases and stylistic features familiar to us in Ugaritic, that one can scarcely doubt that they were adapted with only verbal alteration to monotheistic purposes. Thus in Psalm 29 the original “Baal” has been replaced by “Yah-

⁷⁸ For details see Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* (Paris, 1921). The latest detailed discussion of the parallels between Ugaritic and biblical sacrificial ritual and terminology is Gaster's paper in the *Mélanges Dussaud*, Vol. II, pp. 577-582, which must be used with the greatest caution, since less than half of the items gathered by him can be regarded as legitimate, i.e., several are purely matters of common Semitic vocabulary and a number are either certainly misinterpreted or are still obscure. Just to illustrate, his Ugaritic parallel for Heb. *kālil*, “holocaust,” is a word written *klh*, standing all by itself in a broken context in a private letter! See my observations in *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1940), pp. 179, 225 f., and *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942), pp. 61, 92, where other examples have been given.

⁷⁹ See my remarks in *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 92 ff., 162 ff., and for the Canaanite practice of sacred prostitution see *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, pp. 177 f.

⁸⁰ In the Ostraca (dating from about the years 774-766 B.C.; cf. *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 160) we have such dialectic differences as *šāt(t)* for southern *šānā*, “year,” *yên* for southern *yáyin*, “wine.”

⁸¹ See *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 125 ff.

weh,"⁸² while objectionable statements have, of course, been excised; in the present text we have a majestic hymn to God as Lord of nature which has aroused justified admiration in all ages. For details I may refer to the rich collection of material in a dissertation by Dr. John H. Patton, to which I cannot as yet add anything material. It should be added that the new discoveries make the extremely late dates given most of the Psalms by recent Protestant scholarship quite absurd, and remove the supposed historical difficulty of attributing any of them to the time of David.⁸³ They also reduce the speculations of Mowinkel about the meaning and purpose of the Psalms to absurdity. Incidentally, they completely tear the foundations from under the fantastic theories of a German Catholic scholar, the late F. X. Wutz, who tried to reinterpret the Hebrew text in such a way as to change its meaning in a great many passages. For example, he offered a new translation of Psalm 29 which bears only a vague resemblance to the Vulgate: Ugarit proves, as first recognized by H. L. Ginsberg, that St. Jerome was right virtually throughout, while not a single conjecture of Wutz's stands.⁸⁴

Proverbs and Job also gain immensely from the new data, which have already cleared up wholly or partially scores of obscure passages, some illustrations of which have already been given above. In both cases this might have been expected, since Proverbs consists in the main of aphorisms and injunctions of the same general type as corresponding collections in the secular literature of Egypt, Assyria and Greece, whereas Job contains scarcely any literary points of contact with the rest of the Bible, though its extraordinary poetic richness demands literary contacts somewhere.

It is in the Prophets that parallels most abound, especially in Isaiah, but also in Nahum and Habakkuk, with occasional reminiscences in most of the others (fewest in Amos and Hosea, from the middle of the eighth century.) We have already given several illustrations; here we shall limit ourselves to two examples. In Isa. 27:1 we read:

⁸² See H. L. Ginsberg, *Kitvê Ugarit* (1935/6), pp. 129 ff.; *Orientalia*, V, pp. 180 f.

⁸³ See my remarks, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 f.

⁸⁴ Cf. BASOR, No. 82, p. 49. On Wutz's work note the wholly justified strictures of H. M. Orlinsky, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1938, pp. 215 ff., and 1940, pp. 529 ff.

'al-liwyātān nāḥāš bārī⁸⁵h
w-'al-liwyātān nāḥāš 'aqallātōn

In I*AB, I:1-2 we read

kī-tīmḥasu Lôtān⁸⁵ batna b-r-h
takállīyu batna 'q-l-t-n

"When thou dost smite Lotan, the primeval (?) serpent,
 When thou dost destroy the winding serpent."⁸⁶

The two appellations of the primeval dragon are identical and appear in the same order. The meaning of the first has hitherto been utterly enigmatic, but we now know that it had etymological *h*, not *h*, so we are much nearer a solution than we could possibly have been before.

In lieu of heaping up similar parallels we may finally cite the magnificent passage in Isa. 14:12-15, where the Prophet quotes a dirge on the fall of the planet Venus-in-the-Morning, probably the 'Athtar of the Baal Epic. The passage is in the Hebrew elegiac meter (*qînā*), which had probably not yet been introduced in the time of the Ugaritic texts. We cannot tell, of course, to exactly what extent the sacred poet has altered the pagan dirge, though some alteration seems indicated:

"How hast thou fallen from heaven,
 O Lucifer, son of Dawn!⁸⁷

 "And now thou hast said in thy heart,
 'Heavenward will I rise;
 "Above the stars of El
 I will exalt my throne,

⁸⁵ Ugar. *Lôtān* stands for **Lautān*; it bears practically the same phonetic and morphological relation to Heb. *Liwyātān*, "Leviathan," that Phoen. *qartēm*, "two towns," does to Heb. *qiryātāyim*.

⁸⁶ Cf. BASOR, No. 83, pp. 39 f.

⁸⁷ The god Helel or Helal appears as *Hll* in the Nikkal Hymn, where he is the father of the seven Kosharoth. The latter (mentioned in Psalm 68:7) are properly "women singers" (as in the Dan'el Epic), but here they are a special (Hurrian?) category of goddesses, also called "the Swallows." Gaster has happily called attention to their resemblance to the Hellenic Graces. In the Baal Epic 'Athtar, god of the morning star (as in South Arabic) is represented as a usurper who occupies Baal's throne while the latter is in the Underworld; our biblical passage evidently comes from a Canaanite poem describing his fall after the return of Baal; cf. *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 83 f.

" 'And I will dwell on the Mount of Assembly,⁸⁸
in the recesses of the north;

" 'I will go up on the back of a cloud,
I will become like 'Elyôn!"⁸⁹

"But to Sheol shalt thou be lowered,
to the recesses of the Pit!"

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⁸⁸ The *Har Mô'éd* evidently refers to the mountain in the far north (*srrt spn*) where Baal held court in his capacity as king of the gods, presiding over the assembly (*mphrt*) of the gods.

⁸⁹ 'Elyôn (literally, "Highest") is here in parallelism with "Cloud-rider," a standing appellation of Baal in the Ugaritic epics. In the recently published second tablet of the Keret Epic (iii: 5 ff.), my knowledge of which I owe to Engnell, *Religion och Bibel*, 1944, p. 16, 'ly appears twice as a synonym of B'l, as pointed out by Virolleaud, who correctly identified the former with 'Elyon. Virolleaud probably did not know that the element 'ly appears in the Ostraca of Samaria as a divine element in the theophorous personal name *Yhw'ly* (probably the full form of the biblical "Eli," as pointed out in my *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 202, n. 18). Levi della Vida's important paper on the god Elyon in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1944, pp. 1 ff., needs correction in a number of points; note especially n. 24, where he has entirely misunderstood the point of my remarks about El, Anu and Re, and where his opposition to assuming the (much later) identification of 'Al'eyan with Elyon is now shown to be baseless. In particular there is not the slightest real ground for his apodictic denial that there ever was such a god as El Elyon in Gen. 14:18-20. One cannot make the known facts of ancient mythology fit together into a logical system.

DIVINE SONSHIP AND INDIVIDUAL RELIGION

REV. JOHN L. MCKENZIE, S.J., S.T.D.

Two preceding articles have dealt with divine sonship as a prerogative of the collective unity of Israel. That the people of Israel as a whole is the son of God is clear from the texts, and the meaning of this sonship has been explained. But religion is not the act of a collective unity; it has no existence apart from the individuals who compose that unity. How much did the individual Israelite feel himself the son of God, and what effect did this have on his religious ideas, his general behavior?

It must be granted that a title which is applied to a collective unity is not *ipso facto* applied to the individual members of that unity. An Israelite is not Israel. Thus when we refer the title of sonship to the creation of the people of Israel, to the covenant of the people of Israel, to the love of Yahweh for His people, we have not thereby shown that sonship is the privilege of the individual Israelite. Nor can this easily be shown from the text of the Old Testament. Of the texts that have been studied, only a few can be applied beyond all question to the individual Israelite, and these few are practically all found in late books.¹ Hence the present discussion is mostly a matter of inference. We must investigate the personal religion of the Israelite, his relations to Yahweh, to the covenant, to his people.

It is often said that personal religion is very little developed in the Old Testament outside the Book of Psalms.² This statement is too broad. We must remember that the texts which are addressed to the collective unity of Israel could hardly be turned any other way. How is one to address a group except by some title which signifies them as a group? It is true that the unity of tribe and family is much stronger among the Semitic peoples than it is among us; true also that in recent centuries the dignity of the individual has been cultivated far more than in ancient times. But this does not mean that every time the chosen people is designated or addressed as "Israel" the individual is submerged in the collective unity. Nor must we forget that religion

¹ Cf., e.g., Deut. 14:1; Ps. 73:15; Ecclus. 4:10 (Heb.); 23:1-4; 51:10 (Heb); Wis. 2:13,16,18; 5:5.

² Eichrodt (*Theologie des alten Testaments*, III, pp. 3 ff.) quotes several eminent Protestant theologians of former years who take for granted the absence of personal religion in the Old Testament. Eichrodt himself vigorously opposes this exaggerated collectivism.

is both social and individual. As that religion would be no religion which would allow no individual relations of man with God, so that would be no true religion in which the social character of belief and worship were altogether ignored. The fundamental heresy of Protestantism lies in its exaltation of personal religion over all religious authority—a heresy which of itself tends to destroy entirely the social character of religion. Israelite religion, as a revealed religion, should exhibit the individual and the social features of religion in due proportion, and in a degree of perfection adapted to the culture of the people to whom it was revealed. The religion of Christ, which raises the individual personality to its supreme religious dignity, is at the same time a religion of such close and intimate social union that the New Testament writers describe it by the analogies of the vine and the human body. In this matter a one-sided view is a false view.

We must, then, determine, if we can, the proper place of the individual personality in the religion of Israel. And we must note first of all that the union of the Israelite with Yahweh was not attained by his own efforts, but through union with the people into which he was born. The outward sign of membership in the people was circumcision; but if this were omitted, it did not mean that the individual was not one of the people. We read in Jos. 5 that the rite had long been omitted in the desert. There was, of course, no other way for a foreigner to be received into Israel; but normal admission into the covenant was by birth as an Israelite. There is a certain similarity between the covenant of Israel and the individual entrance into the covenant; in each case the covenant comes as a free gift which only Yahweh can bestow. No one can earn it for himself.

But the covenant with their fathers was not struck in this way. The covenant of Yahweh with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was made with them immediately as individual personalities. Yahweh will bless those who bless Abraham, and curse those who curse him (Gen. 12:2); He is the shield of Abraham, and his reward exceedingly great (Gen. 15:1). "My covenant is with *thee*," says Yahweh to Abraham (Gen. 17:4,10). Yahweh will be with Isaac, and will bless him (Gen. 26:2). Jacob wrestled with Yahweh, and obtained from Him a blessing (Gen. 32:24-32). The Book of Genesis is largely the history of the personal relations of the patriarchs with God. Now these patriarchs were not gods nor demi-gods; and while eminent critics may imagine

that they are personified tribes, they were certainly never regarded as such by the Israelites. They were men like other men, showing human weakness and sinfulness, human selfishness and timidity, subject to the same dangers and the same pains as other men. They were under the special protection of Yahweh, but this did not assure them of a life free from pain, work, and sorrow. It is worth noting that the covenant came first to individual persons, through them to the group of their descendants, and through the group once more to the individual members of the group; it appears that the dignity of the individual was not so completely unknown, even in the earliest books of the Old Testament, as is sometimes supposed.

Nor can we dismiss as irrelevant the large number of Israelite personal names compounded of Ab-, Yah-, or Yeho-.³ Such names as "My father is goodness, delight, help, rescue." "My father is Yah," "Yahweh has bestowed, is gracious, has given, is righteous, is salvation, is father, has aided," to choose but a few of many instances, must cast some light on the personal religion of the people who gave and bore such names. There is no reason to suppose that the Israelites always wished to express by these names the relation of Yahweh to the collective unity of Israel. That these names, like our own personal names, may in the course of centuries have lost their original force, is possible; wicked and idolatrous kings such as Achab, Joram, Achaz, and Manasses conferred on their children such pious names as Ochozias, Ezechias, and Josias. On the other hand, the pious woman of 1 Kgs. 4:19 named her child "No glory" because the glory had departed from Israel. I think we may say of these theophoric names what we should say of saints' names given to children in our own day. Very frequently the existence of the saint whose name is given is unknown to all parties concerned; but the fact that such names are given is decisive evidence for the existence of a Christian culture which includes a devotion to the saints of God, and the perseverance of the practice shows that this devotion has not altogether perished. That similar theophoric names are found in other Semitic languages (though hardly with the same richness of meaning) does not remove the probability that the Israelite names are what they appear to be—expressions of a

³ Nöldeke's remark (*Enc. Bib.*, art. "Names," col. 3280) is still true: "Theophorous names often give clear expression to the ideas of the Hebrews, and of the Semites generally, as to the relation of man to God."

profound sense of a personal relation to God as protector, as father, as the giver of happiness; and these ideas must be at least as old as the names themselves.

Thus even in early Israelite history and literature there is found a truly personal religion; that more is not found is due to the character of that literature, which is the history of a clan that became a nation. But it is true that the individual Israelite was the object of the preventing covenant love of Yahweh for no cause proper to himself, but because of his membership in the people of Yahweh. In the pre-exilic writings the only person who is singled out as a son of Yahweh is David, and in him the dynasty which is descended from him. He is freely chosen, the youngest of his brethren, to be the ruler of Israel. He is promised an eternal throne and the perpetual favor of Yahweh upon his house. From his line will come the Messias who will unite in his person all the religious gifts and the religious mission of Israel. But the ordinary Israelite stood in no such individual covenant relation.

But the perseverance of the individual in the fellowship with God granted by the covenant is definitely conditioned by his own personal activity. There are two sides to the covenant: that which Yahweh gives, and that which He asks of Israel. This, as we have seen, is ritual and moral holiness. Now this double obligation was not and could not be fulfilled by the people as a collective unity, but only by the individual members of the people. The laws of the Pentateuch, the moral exhortations of the prophets, suppose that each individual member of the community does that which Yahweh asks of him. Only thus can Israel be a people holy to Yahweh. The soul that sins shall be cut off from his people (Num. 15:30; Ex. 32:33); the covenant is lost to him, but not to his brethren. Holiness, union with Yahweh, depends on individual justice, fidelity to the law of Yahweh.

This seems very obvious, so obvious that it should not be elaborated; yet against it is the venerable exegetical tradition that the doctrine of individual responsibility was developed very late in Israel. So sane a critic as Kirkpatrick says: "It is in the later prophets that the doctrine of personal responsibility *begins* to appear (*italics mine*), which is fully developed in the New Testament."⁴

Davidson quotes Riehm:

⁴ *Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 131.

The moral and religious significance of the individual personality is not yet fully recognized. . . It is only later that the meaning of the individual personality, its personal responsibility, and the determination of its relations to God by its own free moral decision receive full recognition.⁵

Davidson himself accepts this statement with reservations:

We must beware, however, of pressing the national idea to an extreme, so as to go the length of saying that Jehovah had no relation to individuals, or that individuals had no consciousness of personal relation to Him. This is extravagance.⁶

Knudson cites Wellhausen, Stade, Duhm, Marti, Smend, Robertson Smith, G. B. Gray, R. H. Charles, and says that the evolution of religious individualism "has become so common and is so unquestionably accepted by so many that it might almost be called a dogma of modern criticism."⁷ Yet we find Knudson, in spite of his opposition to this "dogma of modern criticism," saying elsewhere:

There was in these early days no well-defined conception of sin, and no clear insight into the grounds of responsibility. The latter is especially noticeable, and constituted the chief defect in the ethics of the early Hebrews. They did not see the necessary connection between free will, on the one hand, and sin, guilt, and punishment on the other. This was a point which could become clear only with the growth of individualism.⁸

This opinion of modern criticism is incapable of direct refutation as long as it is defended by the critical method of asserting that all texts in which individual responsibility is found are late. Nor is this true even in the critical hypothesis. The "Yahwist" narrative of Gen. 3 exhibits all the elements of personal sin which are found in the theological definition of sin as "a voluntary transgression of a divine law." The earliest laws of the Pentateuch, by assigning individual obligations, teach the doctrine of individual responsibility. That prohibitions of murder, theft, false witness, covetous desires, the precept of honoring one's parents, and most of the duties prescribed in the "Book of the Covenant" and the "Law of Holiness," recognized by all as early documents, are not obligations which can be assumed and fulfilled by the community as such seems so evident that I see no need to quote these passages expressly.⁹ The same must be said of those passages of the early prophets, in no way dissimilar to like pas-

⁵ Davidson, *Theology of the Old Testament*, pp. 243-244.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁷ *Religious Teaching of the Old Testament*, p. 319.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁹ Cf. Ex. 20:1-17; 21:11-23; 22:1-17; Lev. 18:6-23; 19:11-18; 20:1-21.

sages of the later prophets, in which they preach against sins and urge to duties that are strictly a matter of individual responsibility.¹⁰ I really do not see what more could be asked; apparently this exegetical tradition will be satisfied with nothing less than a statement formulated and defended after the manner of the propositions of scholastic metaphysics. I think, however, that we may safely conclude that the individual responsibility *practically* enunciated in these passages was as evident to the ancient Israelites as it is to us. One does not need a formal theology of sin in order to have a guilty conscience.

There was, then, no stage of Israelite religion in which the individual Israelite failed to realize that his own covenant union with Yahweh depended on his fidelity to his own covenant obligations; but this doctrine was more precisely applied, more fully realized, in the days of Israel's national trials. When the Temple and the kingdom were destroyed, men naturally wondered what was left to them of the covenant promises. For Yahweh, in smiting the nation, had struck the good with the wicked, and a man's justice was no shield against misfortune. That this problem vexed the people is a sign of a better understanding of individual responsibility rather than of an imperfect understanding; for the problem as proposed in the Old Testament supposes a perception of "the necessary connection between free will, on the one hand, and sin, guilt, and punishment on the other." It was precisely because Israel was aware of the religious value of the individual that it sought a more satisfactory explanation of the great problem of why the good and the wicked should suffer alike. It was the mission of the prophets of the exile and after, and of many unnamed poets of Israel, to apply a religious truth already possessed to a new situation, and to show that the most precious of the covenant blessings was untouched by these external evils; that blessing was the union of the individual man with his God. This union was attained, now as always, by individual justice. Yahweh had not cast off his people, even though He submitted them to a terrible testing; those who were faithful to him would find him faithful as ever.

This period is, of course, the key period for the evolution of individualism, and the key texts which are supposed to teach individualism as something new are the following:

¹⁰ Amos 2:6-8; 5:11-13; 8:4-6; Osee 4:1-2; Isa. 1:16-17; Mich. 2:1-2; 6:8-12; 7:6.

Jer. 31:29:

In those days they shall say no more:

The fathers have eaten sour grapes,

And the children's teeth are set on edge.

* For each man shall die for his own iniquity; every one that eats sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge.

Ez. 18:1-4:

The word of Yahweh came to me, saying:

"What does this mean, that you utter this proverb in the land of Israel, saying:

'The fathers have eaten sour grapes,

And the children's teeth are set on edge'?

As I live"—the oracle of the Lord Yahweh:—"this proverb shall no be uttered in Israel. Behold, every soul is mine; behold, as the soul of the father, so the soul of the son is mine; behold, the soul that sins, the same shall die."

In interpreting these texts the same error is made that is made so frequently in the exegesis of the prophets: the assumption that the ideas and practices which the prophets attack were a part of the ancient legitimate religion of Israel. That the proverb quoted by Jeremias and Ezechiel was current in Israel is evident from the texts; that it is a part of Old Testament teaching is by no means clear. It is not found elsewhere in the Old Testament, nor is it quoted by these prophets with approval; it is not an accurate interpretation of Ex. 20:5, repeated in Deut. 5:9:

You shall not adore them (false gods), nor serve them; for I am Yahweh your God, a jealous God, who visits the iniquity of the fathers upon the sons, even unto the third and fourth generation, to those who hate me.

Nor is it a legitimate inference from this text. This passage enunciates a truth which is quite evident: that the sins of the fathers often have evil effects which last far beyond their own time. Not the least of these evil effects is the transmission of sin by false instruction and bad example, which perpetuate the sin and assure the visitation of divine justice upon the children as well as the fathers. But the evil effects of sin, which, due to human solidarity, often affect many besides the sinner himself, are not to be confused with the direct punishment which each one must bear for his own sins. This was the popular fallacy expressed in the proverb.

The reasons why this fallacy became a special problem for Jeremias and Ezechiel should be fairly evident. In the time of national trial the people must have speculated on their misfor-

tunes, and the reason why the hand of Yahweh lay so heavy upon them. It was only natural that they should cast the blame on some one else; they said, with a sly indirectness, that they suffered for the sins of their fathers. The antiquity of the proverb is uncertain; there is no evidence to show that it was ancient, and it may have been of quite recent coinage. This dangerous error could not be permitted to spread; it created a false innocence and a lack of confidence in the justice of Yahweh. Hence the prophets refute it at some length, by applying principles already enunciated in the religion of the Old Testament. Jeremias' prophecy of the new covenant is directed against this error, and Ezechiel explains the doctrine of individual responsibility step by step throughout chapter 18 of the prophecy. It is not a new doctrine, but a new application of doctrine already possessed to a new and current necessity.

There is, then, no reason to doubt that the Israelite, in early as in later times, realized that his own fellowship with Yahweh depended on his own individual fidelity to the covenant; and the concrete expressions of this covenant fellowship which are so common in the Psalms flow from the religious traditions of Israel. To deny this continuity is to make literary and religious freaks of the Psalms, or to throw practically the whole Book of Psalms into the post-exilic period—a step which many non-Catholic critics, otherwise hardly conservative, are quite unwilling to take.¹¹

The Psalmist is conscious of his union with Yahweh; and he realizes that union with Yahweh is based on that personal justice which is his part of the covenant.¹² The "self-righteousness" of the Psalmist has been an ethical problem to Protestant exegetes who cannot accept justification by works in any form.¹³ Interpreted in the light of the covenant, as they should be, these frequent protestations of the Psalmist that he is just before God are no problem. The appeal to his "self-righteousness" is an appeal to the covenant love of Yahweh; and to what else could the Psalmist appeal? He realized, better than modern exegetes credit him, the tremendous importance of his individual obligations and

¹¹ "The dating of the majority of the Psalms after 400 B.C. is seriously questioned by competent scholars" (Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 629).

¹² Cf., e.g., Pss. 22; 40; 69.

¹³ Briggs (non-Catholic) has a very sane treatment of this question (*The Psalms*, I, pp. xcvi ff.).

the gravity of his transgressions. The Church has found no better words for her children to use to express their sorrow for sin than those of the ancient Hebrew poet.

The Psalmist is conscious of a close and intimate personal union with Yahweh. As the heart pants after the fountain of waters, so his soul desires God (Ps. 42:2). One day in the courts of Yahweh is better than thousands elsewhere. His heart and flesh cry in joy for the living God; his spirit longs and pines for the dwellings of Yahweh (Ps. 84:2-3). Yahweh in his Rock, his protector; Yahweh is with him against his enemies; his help is in the name of Yahweh (Ps. 22:42). Yahweh is the portion of his inheritance, which is goodly; Yahweh will not abandon him to Sheol, nor suffer his faithful one to see the Pit (Ps. 16:5-6,10). The presence of Yahweh is the fullness of joy (Ps. 16:11). The Psalmist in his justice will behold the presence of Yahweh, and will be sated with his appearance (Ps. 17:15). Yahweh as a gracious host spreads a table and presents the refreshing cup; the Psalmist will dwell in His house for length of days (Ps. 23:5-6). One thing he asks, that he may dwell in the house of Yahweh and look upon His beauty (Ps. 27:4). His soul thirsts and his flesh faints with longing for Yahweh; Yahweh has given him delight in His works, and the consolations of Yahweh have rejoiced his soul (Pss. 63:2; 92:5; 94:19). The law of Yahweh—the individual's side of the covenant—far from being a burden, is his joy and delight, the constant object of his thoughts and desires (Pss. 1:2; 19:8-12). There can be no doubt that the love of Yahweh and the special providence which is the effect of that love is regarded as something which touches him individually—it is holy and just.¹⁴ The horrible uncertainty of one who is not sure of his union with God is the theme of the Book of Job. Job feels that he is faithful, yet God appears to have cast him off; but no matter how God may afflict him, Job will never confess to a breach of the law of God of which he is not guilty—not because of his "self-righteousness," but because his consciousness of fidelity is his last anchor of hope.

¹⁴ It seems unnecessary to delay on the collective interpretation of the "I" in the Psalter. This view has never gained any notable assent even among radical critics. Pfeiffer, a recent and hardly conservative writer, accepts the thesis of E. Balla that "the 'I'-psalms in the Psalter and in the other books of the Old Testament are all to be understood individually" as the "most natural" interpretation (*Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 634). Cf. also Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 389; Steuernagel, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, p. 730.

These passages from the Psalms are chosen at random to illustrate the Israelite's consciousness of a personal relation to God. That this consciousness appears not only in late post-exilic times, but in early as well as in late literature, is evident even in the views of the critical school concerning the dates of these Psalms; and it is quite well known that the critical methods by which the Psalms are dated are very arbitrary processes. I take Briggs and Baethgen, neither of whom admits more than a small number of pre-exilic Psalms, as representatives of critical opinion. Of the passages cited above, Briggs regards Pss. 23, 27, 42, 63, 84 as pre-exilic. Baethgen agrees with this for Pss. 42 and 63, and admits the possibility that Ps. 84 is pre-exilic; but he also proposes Ps. 1 as pre-exilic. Of the Psalms which these writers regard as post-exilic, they assign a definitely late post-exilic date (Greek or Machabean) to Pss. 69, 92, 94; for the others a relatively early exilic or post-exilic date is at least quite possible in their opinion, and is proposed by Briggs for Pss. 16, 19, by Baethgen for Pss. 16, 23. Boylan, a Catholic interpreter, admits a post-exilic date for Pss. 19b, 84, 94, as at least possible.

What did union with Yahweh mean in the inner consciousness of the Israelite? I am not sure that we can or ought to answer this question. It is a great thing to feel that one is "right with God," and the inner happiness which comes from this feeling is difficult to translate into language. The Israelite who felt that he was one with the almighty and eternal God of Israel was convinced that he need have no apprehension about his future; Yahweh would never abandon those with whom He had made His covenant.

Blessed are they who dwell in Thy house;

They shall praise thee always (Ps. 84:5).

"As soon as the expressions 'communion with God' and 'life' begin to be at all synonymous, the foundation is laid of a true religious assurance of immortality, even though the doctrine itself is not yet consciously held."¹⁵ And I may add that when communion with God is proposed as the ultimate human happiness, immortality is certainly believed, even though it is not expressed in so many words. And union with God is certainly so proposed in the Old Testament. The Psalmist, viewing the prosperity of the wicked, is tempted to believe that man's justice is vain. But he rejects this thought instantly; whatever goods the wicked may

¹⁵ Schultz, *Old Testament Theology*, II, p. 82.

acquire, their end is destruction. The just, the generation of the sons of God, are secure in the possession of the one good worth having:

What have I in heaven,
 And in Thy fellowship in what do I delight on earth?
 My flesh and my heart are consumed;
 Thou are the Rock of my heart,
 My portion, O God, forever (Ps. 73:25-26).
 Yahweh, my portion of possession, and my cup,
 It is thou that dost grasp my lot;
 The cords have allotted me delight,
 Yea, my inheritance is fair.¹⁶

The covenant with Yahweh placed the individual Israelite in a state of justice—not by making him just, but by imposing on him the obligation of being just. To use a scholastic analogy, he was in a "status perfectionis acquirendae." Hence it is principally as just that the individual Israelite is regarded as the son of God. Already in Deuteronomy divine sonship is urged as a motive for the observance of the law of Yahweh (Deut. 14:1); Malachias presents it as a motive for justice towards one's neighbor, and for observing the obligations of ritual holiness (Mal. 1:6; 2:10). Yahweh speaks through Isaias of the sons and daughters whom He has reared, but who have rebelled against Him (Isa. 1:2; 30:1); for the Psalmist the just of Israel are the generation of the sons of Yahweh (Ps. 73:15).

It must be recalled, however, that this justice is a free gift of Yahweh to the individual as well as to the whole people. The justice of the individual supposes the covenant love of Yahweh which makes it possible for him to be just. Without the covenant and his membership in Israel, his works would be as those of the heathen. If the sacred writers protest their justice before Yahweh, it is that they may show their fidelity to the covenant, which in the first instance is due entirely to the loving-kindness of Yahweh their God.

When under the later kings Israel began to be corrupted and as a body was turned away from Yahweh, the faithful remnant was sorely perplexed. The prophets threatened dreadful punishments if the people were not converted, but their warnings were

¹⁶ Ps. 16:5-6. The explicit teaching of the Psalms on personal immortality has been recently treated by Volz ("Psalm 49," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 14 (1937), pp. 235-264) and Gruenthaner ("The Future Life in the Psalms," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 2 (1940), pp. 57-63).

unheeded and the evil came to pass. Israel was destroyed by the Assyrians and the Babylonians and its people were scattered among the nations. When at last after the Persian conquest of Babylon a few returned, it was not to the former kingdom. The glory of the kingdom had passed forever. It appeared that Yahweh had at last wearied of the faithlessness of Israel and cast off his first-born. But the religious mission of Israel had not passed away with the kingdom and the Temple. The true religious meaning of this crisis had been explained by Israel's prophets, especially by Isaias, Jeremias, Amos, and Osee.

I will turn my hand upon thee,
 And I will refine thy dross as with lye,
 And I will remove all thy alloy.
 And I will bring back thy judges as of old,
 And thy counsellors as in the beginning.
 Hereafter thou shalt be called a city of righteousness, a
 city of fidelity.
 In justice shall Sion be ransomed,
 And in righteousness those who return to her (Isa. 1:25-27).

By the purging of Israel the covenant is renewed. The Israel that comes forth from Yahweh's cleansing fires will be a new Israel, a just Israel. The covenant will then find its complete fulfillment in the covenant of the New Law for which it is a preparation. The new covenant of Jeremias expresses the same truth:

For this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after these days—the oracle of Yahweh:—I will put my law in their midst, and I will write it upon their heart; and I will be their God, and they will be my people. And they shall no more teach, each man his neighbor, and each man his brother, saying, 'Know Yahweh'; for all of them will know me, from the least to the greatest (Jer. 31:33-34).

This new covenant will not be marked by external signs and prodigies, like the first; it will be made in the heart of man, where God will write His law. The classic expression of the old covenant is repeated, but carrying a new meaning for personal religion; for each man Yahweh is his God, and he belongs to Yahweh. The established intermediaries of Israelite religion will disappear; each one, however uninstructed, will know God; and whatever be the intermediaries of the new covenant, God will be closer to each one than he was under the Mosaic dispensation. Yahweh had of old spoken to Moses, and given him the Law and the promises; now He would speak to each one, and each one

would realize his covenant obligations to God. It will be an ideal Israel, a faithful Israel; it will be a covenant of Yahweh with His just. Here the vision of the prophet reaches beyond the limits of the old covenant, and sees in the ruins of Israel the promise of a far more perfect union of God with man.

The Book of Wisdom merely restates the prophetic teaching when it says that the just man is the son of God. He is the true representative of the covenant, the bearer of the promises to Israel. It is through the just remnant that the covenant of Yahweh with His people is maintained; the just are, in a very true sense, the saviors of Israel. The same truth had already been uttered by the early prophets:

“Behold, the eyes of Adonai Yahweh are upon the sinful kingdom,

And I will exterminate it utterly from the earth;

Save that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob;”—

The oracle of Yahweh,

For behold, I will command:

And I will sift the house of Israel among all the nations,

As wheat is sifted in a sieve;

And not a pebble shall fall to the ground.

By the sword shall die all the sinners of my people,

Who say:

‘Calamity shall not approach,

It shall not meet us.’

In that day I will raise up the tabernacle of David, which is fallen;

And I will close up its breaches, and raise up its ruins;

And I will build it, as in the days of old.

That they may possess the remnant of Edom, and all the nations,

Because my name is invoked among them;”—

The oracle of Yahweh, who does this (Amos 9:8-12).

And it shall be, that which is left in Sion, and that which remains in Jerusalem, shall be called holy; and every one that is written among the living in Jerusalem (Isa. 4:3).

Thus the title of sonship, bestowed on the people by the covenant, is transferred to those individuals who by their fidelity maintain the covenant. This is a development of doctrine, but a continuous and harmonious development.

Before summing up the conclusions of this article, we must deal with a further difficulty.¹⁷ The words father and son in re-

¹⁷ Hempel's contention (*Gott und Mensch im alten Testament*, pp. 171-173) that the metaphor of father-son to express the covenant relation is neither native to Israelite piety nor characteristic thereof, but a foreign

ligious usage are to be understood according to the social life of the people who employ them. We are told, and there is no reason to doubt the substantial truth of the assertion, that among Oriental peoples the relations of father and son are altogether dissimilar to these relations in Western Christendom.¹⁸ In the East the love of the father and son is subordinate to the authority of the father, the obedience and reverence of the son. The position of the son is something like that of a servant. The same is to be said of the relations of husband and wife, especially in a polygamous society. Hence it seems that when the analogies of father and son, of husband and wife, are applied to Yahweh and His people, we must modify our interpretation in the light of Oriental customs.

These statements have some force, but they should be accepted with due proportion. What these authors mean to say, I think, is that the authority of the husband and father is acknowledged and respected much more in the East than in the West. What they imply is that authority is incompatible with love; and this is obviously false. It is only where authority is abused or condemned that affection between superior and inferior becomes impossible. The spirit of tender love which is so apparent in the texts hitherto quoted or cited is sufficient evidence that the love of father and son, of husband and wife, was known and esteemed among the ancient Hebrews, as it is among us.¹⁹ We may be sure that in this respect the fatherhood of God suggested the love of God to the men of the Old Testament, as it does to us. They were the little ones of Yahweh, the apple of His eye.

I propose the following conclusions concerning the place of divine sonship in the personal religion of the Israelite and the unique quality which it adds to that religion:

Religion is in the first place the attitude of a man towards his God, and is determined by his ideas about God. God can be

element introduced from heathenism, rests on a critical chronology which is highly hypothetical, and on textual difficulties which have a very slight foundation. Nor are all the texts taken into consideration. Hempel's opinion is quite singular, and is of a piece with his suggestion (*ibid.*) that the title of "Rock" applied to Yahweh is rooted in an ancient worship of stones.

¹⁸ Batiffol, *L'enseignement de Jésus*, pp. 94-96; George Adam Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, II, p. 353; Lebreton, *Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ*, II, p. 67.

¹⁹ Cf. Deut. 1:31; Osee 11:1; Jer. 3:19; 31:20; Ps. 103:13; Eccles. 4:10 (Heb.).

understood as a creator, a master, a being of relatively or absolutely supreme power, and as nothing more; and as such He will be feared and revered. He may be regarded as arbitrary and capricious, and religion will be chiefly concerned with superstitious means of placating Him; it will be a relation of master and slave. He may be regarded as a lawgiver whose government is defined by a constitution; and the fear and reverence accorded Him will be that of the citizen towards his ruler, and not of the slave towards his master. He may be regarded merely as a ruler who deals out rewards and punishments for services rendered or omitted; and religion will take on the nature of a business contract. These ideas of God are all found in natural religions.

In no genuine religion can the fear and reverence due God ever be banished. He never loses His character of supreme lord and master, the creator and last end of His creatures. The natural position of man before God is that of subjection, and on this position all religion must be based. But the revelation of the Old Testament adds a new quality to religion; it adds not merely the relation of love, but of a peculiar love. The tremendous power of God, so feared in nature-religions, is now promised in favor of His children; and that which is man's fear becomes his greatest security. The love of a father makes it impossible to regard God as an arbitrary ruler. The laws of God are not the cold decrees of a despot, but the easy commands of a father. Even the punishments of divine justice are seen to be not merely retributive, but medicinal; chastisement comes from the Father who strikes that He may heal, and forgives those who learn from His instruction. We may say that the fatherhood of God, by setting up a truly personal relation between God and man, gives the death-blow to nature-religion—and to any ideas that the religion of the Hebrews was elaborated from nature-religion.

The duties of worship and of obedience cannot be regarded as servile or civil obligations once the fatherhood of God is realized. The duties of man towards God his Father are all summed up in piety—an affectionate service. The bond between the father and his children is the bond of love. As the gifts of God to man are now perceived to be the manifestations of divine affection, so the offices of man towards God are the manifestations of love. To judge the spirit of Israelite worship by the ritual prescriptions which regulate that worship is as unfair as it would be to measure the piety of St. Teresa by the rubrics of the missal and breviary, or the patriotism of the soldier by the manual of arms.

We find the true spirit of that worship expressed in its finest form in the writings of the prophets and poets of Israel.

Man is a social being, and his life must be lived in human fellowship. Once God is recognized as the lawgiver, human relations fall under religion. Men are bound together by justice and charity, by a system of rights and duties and by that closer bond of the natural affection and regard which men have for their own kind. Here again the idea of divine sonship intervenes to transform these relations. Not merely a scheme of rights and duties, not merely a spontaneous natural charity which is so easily suppressed by the demands of selfishness, are the bonds of society, but the consciousness of a family unity under one Father, God. The obligations of men to each other also become obligations of piety; and the sacredness of these obligations is all the more apparent, because in wronging the children one wrongs the father.

Finally, there is the effect of the idea of divine sonship of man's view of his individual personality. It is a great thing when one realizes his position before God as that of a servant who owes obedience and reverence; that man should be a son of God, in the image and likeness of God, adds an inestimable dignity to the human personality. It shows man that he is an object of special concern to his Creator, an object of His special love and care, and marks off clearly the gulf which separates him from the rest of creation. He pertains to God; he is holy, he is sacred, and he must never permit himself to be profaned.

From the earliest to the latest documents, therefore, the fatherhood of God and the sonship of man in the Old Testament are expressions of a covenant relation, a special relation with Yahweh. By such a union the people or the individual is holy to Yahweh, bound to Him by a special attachment of intimate and personal love. The common note which runs through the various applications of the idea of divine sonship is holiness; the son of God, by that which he receives from God, becomes holy—in a sense, divine. This is true of the nation, and it is true of individuals, who are holy either in fact or in obligation. If they do not fulfill their obligation they are cut off from the people. This was the divine sonship which God gave to the Israelites; and this was what Christ and His Apostles presupposed when they announced to Israel the new covenant which the prophets had foretold.

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TRANSLATING THE OLD TESTAMENT OUT OF THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES

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The decision of the Episcopal Committee that the Old Testament (OT) should be translated¹ from the original languages will be welcome to all those who wish to have a version giving the sense of the biblical text in a more correct form than would have been possible on the former plan. For while the revision which had proceeded for the last few years on the basis of the Vulgate, corrected within rather narrow limits by recourse to the original languages, allowed us to obtain a much better text than the old version,² there can be no doubt that the direct use of the original texts must result in a decided improvement of the translation. Yet, use of the original texts might not prove decisively advantageous if the revisers were to be restricted to the received forms of the text. True, in the protocanonical books,³ the Hebrew text, the descendant and the direct representative of the one written by the authors, deserves all our respect. We know that it was

¹ The translator's task is twofold: ascertaining the sense of the original after establishing the correct text, and rendering the sense according to the exigencies of his language. Here we consider only the first part of the task. Hence the translations of texts in the following are by no means offered as models. It is hardly necessary to remark that the examples serve primarily the purpose of illustrating the possibilities and implications of the new principles of translation, without meaning to give them as settled questions.

² The Revised Text of the Minor Prophets and of the Psalms was practically ready for publication. Those who have seen it agree that the translation was greatly superior to the old form: the better rendering of the verbal forms, the recognition of the poetical structure, the division into sense paragraphs, were among the features which helped much to make the sense more intelligible, even if some blemishes could not be removed, largely on account of the restrictions placed upon the translators by the principles of revision, restrictions which were quite natural since the Vulgate was the basic text.

³ To simplify matters, we speak here only of the Hebrew. Naturally, the same remarks would apply to the other languages used in OT. In the case of some of the deuterocanonical books, of which the original Hebrew or Aramaic has been lost, extant therefore only in a Greek version as the oldest form, our remarks would apply also, but the problem becomes more complicated, as we have to take into account not only the state of the original—known to us only indirectly—but also the possibility of mistakes by the translators, and the possible mistakes of copyists of the translation. Some illustrations will be given further on.

preserved carefully and watched over with piety. But venerable as its tradition may be, the Hebrew cannot be regarded as perfect in every respect. In the course of its long history, from the dates of the original works to the time of the final settlement of the traditional text, it suffered more or less extensively from the accidents to which works reproduced by copying are necessarily exposed.⁴ So then, the traditional Hebrew text must be used as the basic text, and we must try to understand it as perfectly as possible, by using all the means available for this purpose, yet without forgetting that in places it needs correcting. Indeed, if

⁴ The traditional or received text referred to here is the Masoretic Text, MT, the result of minute, century long work by the Masoretes. It consists of two elements: the consonants, and the vowel signs and accents which were added much later to preserve the pronunciation of the words, and to help grouping them according to the sense understood by the scholars. Evidently the consonantal text represents the older element, in which we may look for the text of the authors. The other helps are valuable, and represent a venerable tradition, but do not stand on the same level as the consonantal text. In doubtful places, the accents, because of their function as signs of punctuation, should be taken into account in order to know the construction intended by the traditional text, though some other construction may be preferred. Compare for instance in Isa. 40:3 MT, and LXX followed by Mt. 3:3, the Vulgate, AV. Practically all the moderns follow MT—which agrees with the parallelism (among Catholics, cf., v.gr., Joüon, § 15; Crampon's translation, Riessler, Van Hoonacker). Similarly in Ez. 37:1, MT represents the construction adopted by LXX, and, among moderns, by the American Version (ed. by J. M. Pervis Smith: Chicago, 1927), Moffatt, Crampon, Menge (*Die Heilige Schrift*, Stuttgart, 1927), the Jesuits' Arabic Version (Jes. Ar., Beyrouth: 1897); but the construction adopted by St. Jerome, is found in AV, RV, the Dutch (*Het Oude Testament naar de Leidsche Vertaling*: verkorte uitgave: Hooykaas and Oort, Leiden: 1906, LV), the Swedish (*Bibeln eller den heliga skrift*, Stockholm: 1932).

It is to be remembered that the pronunciation provided for our texts is uniform for all the books, irrespective of their dates and therefore cannot be regarded as representing the real pronunciation, nor therefore the real grammatical forms of the authors. MT, therefore, to a very large extent effaces grammatical peculiarities of our texts. (Cf., v.gr., D. W. Thomas: *The Recovery of the Ancient Hebrew Language*, Cambridge: 1939, p. 28 ff.)

We would have something roughly analogous if for instance a Maltese text were written in Arabic characters with the signs and the grammatical forms of the classical language. The pronunciation would be disfigured completely, and a multitude of grammatical peculiarities would disappear. Thus, then, it may be said that MT represents the "original form" only in a relative sense. On MT cf., v.gr., P. Kahle in H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments*: I (Halle a/s.: 1918) pp. 77 ff; Jos. Balestri, *Biblicae Introductionis Generalis Elementa* (Rome: 1932) pp. 88 f. (Peff.).

we were to restrict ourselves to MT, we would not, even with the most perfect knowledge of Hebrew, be able to give a fully satisfactory version of the Bible. We must have the possibility of correcting MT in the passages where it is unquestionably wrong by recourse to the principles of textual criticism. And here we may appeal—if it were necessary to justify our procedure—to the authority of the Encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, which urges so warmly the application of the methods of textual criticism, “used with great and praiseworthy results in the editions of profane writings,” as something deserving to be “quite rightly employed in the case of the Sacred Books.” In fact, the very reverence due to the word of God demands that we should endeavor to have it in as perfect a form as possible, “purified from the corruptions due to the carelessness of the copyists,” “freed, as far as may be done, from glosses and omissions, from the interchange and repetition of words and from all other kinds of mistakes which are wont to make their way gradually into writings handed down through many centuries.”⁵

PROBLEMS IN THE ORIGINAL TEXT

To be properly equipped for his task, the translator must know perfectly the ancient languages, not only the biblical languages, Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, without which it would be impos-

⁵ Encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* of Sept. 30, 1943. (English authorized edition published by the National Catholic Welfare Conference). See § 17-18 on the importance of textual criticism; § 20-22 on the Tridentine decree, explaining the meaning of the “authenticity” of the Vulgate. It is somewhat surprising that there could be a question regarding the use of another text than the Vulgate for vernacular translations. Translations from the original languages never were forbidden. (Cf. Encyclical *Div. Affl.*, § 9 and 10.) It will suffice to recall some of those translations: the French translation “Crampon” (*d’après les textes originaux*)—revised and edited several times; *La Sacra Bibbia tradotta dai testi originali . . . per cura del Pontificio Istituto Biblico di Roma* (1922, incomplete); Paul Riessler, *die heilige Schrift des Alten Bundes* (2 Vols., Mainz: 1924); P. P. Saydon; *il kotba mqaddsa bil-Malti* (1929, incomplete); the Jesuits’ Arabic translation of the whole Bible (Beyr.: 1897) which according to its Preface was made “from the original languages, Hebrew and Greek, in which the Bible was written”; it was undertaken and published with the encouragement and approval of all the competent authorities. Earlier, there was, for instance, Houbigant’s new Latin translation made in accordance with his corrections of the original texts: *Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis et versione Latina ad Notas criticas facta: accedunt Libri Graeci qui Deutero-canonici vocantur*: 4 folio Vols. Paris: 1753. His *Prolegomena* (Vol. I: pp. CXCI) contain much material on textual criticism that is still valuable.

sible to think of translating at all, but also other Oriental languages, in short, the aids supplied by all branches of philology. Thus only will the translator be able to ascertain the true sense of his texts, down to "the very least expressions," and to render with greater fidelity the mind of the Divine Spirit, even if it is impossible, even for the best translation, ancient or modern, to equal fully the authority of the original.⁶ The knowledge of Hebrew,—which cannot be too perfect nor too extensive, since it should not be limited to biblical Hebrew, but should include also Neo-Hebrew to enable one to read the great Jewish commentators of the Middle Ages, not to speak of more recent works in Hebrew on the Bible deserving attention,—will make it possible for the scholar to see the reasons for some interpretations and their limitations, the possibilities of some grammatical constructions differing from those received usually; in a word, to exercise his own judgment on the merits of a proposed interpretation. Some of the other languages, beside the strictly biblical languages, may be important as enabling the scholar to determine, with varying degrees of probability, the meaning of words which present difficulties in the biblical text, or at least to judge the possibilities of interpretations proposed by others. Thus the reader of Gen. 1:1-3 in some of the modern translations will find, instead of three independent sentences, one long sentence consisting of a subordinate temporal clause (v.1), a parenthetical clause (v.2), and the principal clause (v.3): When God began to create . . . , the earth being . . . , then God said: This construction, or some variant form of it, is possible grammatically, even with the text as it stands. It is adopted by LV, Am. V., Moffatt, A. Kahana in his Hebrew commentary; cf. also Rashi, Ibn Ezra; more recently A. Loisy in *les Mythes Babyloniens* (1901; cf. *Rev. Bibl.* 1902, pp. 119-124), and lately Albright's remarks in JBL, Vol. 62 (1943), pp. 369 ff. and Reff. It is possible grammatically. Can it be made probable in the strict sense by considerations drawn from the style of creation narratives, from similar constructions in other texts, from the development of theological ideas among the Jews? Is the construction favored by the moderns suitable to the style of this account of the creation? Such are some of the questions which the translator must examine before deciding on the text of his version of the very first lines of Genesis.⁷

⁶ See *Div. Affl.*, § 14-16 on the importance of knowledge of Oriental languages, also § 35-39 and 42.

⁷ On the rendering of Gen. 1:1 ff., see v.g., the note *i. h. l.* summing up

A similar problem of grammatical construction, this time without theological implications, confronts the translator of Am. 3:12. The versions, almost universally, it may be said, take the last clause (*in the corner of a bed and on the cushions /damask/ of a couch*),—whatever the correct reading and meaning of some words here,—as going with the participle (*ha-yošebīm*: that dwell). The result is a comparison left hanging in the air: the prophet does not say clearly how the comparison of the shepherd applies to the Israelites. But if we take the words of the last clause as the complement to the verb “to be rescued, to get out (with),” and as denoting somehow parts of their furniture saved by the Israelites in the catastrophe, the comparison becomes fully satisfactory:

As the shepherd gets out of the mouth of the lion
two shank bones or a bit of an ear,
So shall the Israelites dwelling in Samaria get out
with the corner of a bed⁸

On close examination of the grammatical construction of a text, sometimes even very generally accepted, one may find that the common view is open to question, and that MT may be suspected. Thus in Isaias 10:10-11, the versions (AV, RV, Am.V., LV, Swed. V., Van Hoonacker, Moffatt, Menge, practically also Crampon, Arab Jes.; cf. also D. Qimhi) agree in understanding v.10c as a *comparatio decurtata*.⁹: “though their graven images

conveniently the different views in: *Variorum Reference Bible* 3 London: 1892 (O.T. edited by T. K. Cheyne and S. R. Driver; *Apocrypha*, by J. J. Ball; N.T. by R. L. Clarke and W. Sanday, referred to hereafter as VR). On the question, see also Plessis in the Supplement to Vigouroux’ *Dictionnaire*: I, 716/718 and Reff.). It is hardly necessary to remark that those who maintain the traditional construction and rendering of Gen. 1:1 ff. do not have to read all the fine points of the Treatise *de Deo creante* into these verses of Genesis. Even for them there is room for a development of doctrine.

⁸ Cf. N. Hertz: JTS 1914 (Jan.) 262. This construction is adopted by JV, Am.V., Menge: cf. also *apud* Ben Jehuda: *Thesaurus*: II, 966b Note (end of page). The rendering of the last two words especially is disputed. For conjectures, see N. Hertz *l.c.* (followed by JV); G. R. Driver: JTS, 1939 (Vol. 39) 262. In any case, MT does not mean Damascus. Even if Damascus were intended, it would be against grammar to make the word a genitive in the sense seen by the Vulgate: *In Damasci grabato*. It hardly needs to be pointed out that the widely accepted rendering “damask” or “silken cushions” (Gesenius, Ewald, etc: of VR, RV, Moffatt, LV, Swedish V., Crampon, Riessler, Menge) is nothing but a conjecture.

⁹ Ges-K. no. 133e and reff; Ges-Buhl (17) *s.v.*, *min.*: 3b, p. 434b and reff.; BDB *s.v.*, *min.*: 6,c,p. 582b.

(were better) than (those of) Jerusalem and Samaria." This supposes a rather forced grammatical construction of the clause, or even of the whole sentence 10-11 and besides it leaves several difficulties in the text. The Assyrian will hardly have been made to speak of the kingdoms of the *idol* (with the word in the sg., while everywhere else *Isaias* uses it in the plural), and moreover v.10b with its supposed reference to the idols of both Jerusalem and Samaria implies that Samaria itself is not yet conquered, though the context (v.9 and 11) clearly states that Samaria has been taken already. We are, therefore, led to suspect in 10d *hā-elīl*, for which LXX, though it translates rather freely, read the demonstrative *ha-elleh*, and in 10b the name Samaria where we may rather think of a verbal form. How to correct the text positively, is more difficult to say; there are several possibilities, a matter of conjecture.

There are many such places where the usual view supposes a more or less forced grammatical interpretation if one wishes to maintain MT. In such cases, where the ancient versions do not give us the means to correct MT, it is natural to think of recourse to conjecture. If, however, the reviser thinks that he may follow the line of interpretation adopted generally, it would be advisable at least to tell the reader that MT is questionable, and the translation therefore only a possible approximation to the sense apparently intended. In the text of *Isaias* just mentioned, MT, in spite of its imperfection, still retains the general sense, a sense suitable to the context. In fact, this explains why commentators and translators keep MT even at the cost of some violence to grammar.

But there are passages where it would be impossible to make the same plea for MT, though it may be supported by the ancient versions and tortured by moderns to make it say something supposed acceptable. Thus, in 4(2) Kings 14:28, the summing up of the reign of Jeroboam II. Literally, MT reads: "Now the rest of the acts of Jeroboam and all that he did, and his might, how he warred, *and how he recovered Damascus and Hamath for Judah in Israel, are they not written . . . ?*" Frankly, such a text makes no sense, and the statement could not be justified from history. We have no right to paraphrase: ". . . recovered Damascus and Hamath (*which had belonged to Judah for Israel*)" (cf. AV, RV, Leeser, Menge, Crampon). The translator may not reproduce the literal rendering of MT—really a non-sense in this

case—without a warning (*Sic!*) and a note telling the reader that the text is wrong. This is the method adopted here by the Maltese translation (Saydon) which then explains that a slight change allows to read: “and how he warred *with Damascus*, and *how he turned away the wrath of the Lord from Israel*.” The Hebraist will see at once that the change in the Hebrew is very slight indeed.¹⁰ Elsewhere an expression of MT which may be explained more or less naturally can be corrected to great advantage in the light of the ancient versions. Thus, MT in 4 Kings 15:10 ordinarily is taken to say that Zacharias the son of Jeroboam was slain by Sellum “*before the people*.” This supposes an Aramaism, without any clear reason for its presence. But here we have Greek evidence that the place of the murder, not some outrageous circumstance of the murder, was meant: “*in Jeblaam*,” a correction accepted very widely (v.gr., Burney, Stade-Schwally, LV, Am. V., Moffatt, Riessler, Menge, Saydon; and in their commentaries, Schlögl, Šanda, Landersdorfer; also Wutz, *Transkriptionen*, p. 122). Similarly 4 Kings 13:19 MT is explained, more or less ingeniously, by Ges-K. § 114, k and § 159 as a pregnant form of expression meaning literally: “and he said: (it was) to smite” = “thou shouldst have smitten” . . . So Rashi and D. Qimhi, AV, JV, Riessler, Am. V., Šanda. It is far simpler to make a very slight change with LXX and Vulg; and to read: “and he said: *would* thou hadst smitten . . .” So, v.gr., Klostermann *i.h.l.*, LV, Schlögl, P. Haupt (*ap. Stade-Schwally*), Saydon (Maltese), and Ehrlich, who even condemns MT here as “unhebräisch” (*Randglossen*, 7, 308). In this case, there is no really important difference of sense. Yet, this should not justify an easy going attitude towards the text, “for it is the duty of the exegete to lay hold, so to speak, with the greatest care and reverence, of the very least expressions which, under the inspiration of the Divine Spirit, have flowed from the pen of the sacred writer, so as to arrive at a deeper and fuller knowledge of his meaning” (*Divino* . . . § 15).

¹⁰ This is a conjectural emendation which therefore should figure only in a note. cf. below on conjecture. For this correction, see Burney *i. h. l.*; also Šanda, P. Haupt (note *i. h. l. apud Stade-Schwally* (*Polychrome Bible*: Heb. ed.); Am.V., Moffatt, Landersdorfer (in *Bonner Bibel*). It is surprising that it is not even noticed in Kittel (3) which in effect follows Houbigant, as done before by the *Biblia Hebraica* of Boothroyd (2 Vols: Pontefract 1810/1816), A. Geddes, Stade-Schwally, LV.

USE OF THE LXX

Indeed, we should not be satisfied with a translation which does get some kind of sense out of MT, *per fas et nefas*, but a sense which is hard to justify naturally. Isaias, describing the coming ruin of Damascus, says according to MT 17:2: "Forsaken are the *cities of Aroer*, they shall be for flocks..." The "*cities of Aroer*" cannot be explained. Hence one should not hesitate to adopt the correction suggested by LXX, after the example of Dathe, Lowth, and many others since: "Forsaken are her cities *forever*." Another example of the same nature is to be found in Isaias 17:9; MT may be rendered: "In that day, his strong cities shall be *as the forsaken place of the wood(ed height) and of the top* which they forsook because of the Israelites and there shall be desolation." This is certainly not over-clear. Hence, the advocates of MT try to coax something more satisfactory out of it by pressing the meaning of the one or the other word,¹¹ but without success: "No one has ever yet been able to make any tolerable sense of these words" (Boothroyd's *Biblia Hebraica*, 2,245). Here again LXX allows us to restore a satisfactory text:

In that day, his strong cities shall be
as the abandoned places of the Hivite and Amorite
Who abandoned them before the Israelites
and there shall be desolation.¹²

So again in the description of the seats occupied by the guests at Saul's table in 1 Sam. 20:25. After stating that Saul sat in his usual place against the wall, MT, followed by Vulg., goes on to say: "and Jonathan *got up*, and Abner sat by Saul, and David's place was vacant." Jonathan's rising makes no sense in the context, and therefore something must be wrong with the text

¹¹ See Rashi AV, RV (which follows Ges., Ew., etc.), Leeser, JV, Jes.Ar. The fact is that all the translation of MT here are nothing but brave attempts at guessing some kind of sense, not more successfully than St. Jerome.

¹² For this see: Houbigant (in part), Lowth; also names in BDB, p. 361b s.v. LV, Riessler, Am.V., Van Hoon.; Kissane; Menge, who, however, seems to combine the correction from LXX with the questionable interpretation of MT adopted by RV, etc. Cf. Fried. Delitzsch: *Lese u. Schreibfehler*, no. 147; Perles: *Analekten*, N.F., p. 42. Speiser would rather have the *Horite* instead of the *Hivite* (*Annual of Amer. Schools of Oriental Research*: XIII, 1931-2: *Ethnic Movements in the Near East*, p. 27). This conjecture would in fact be closer to MT; but the other reading is attested directly by LXX.

(cf., v.gr., Houbigant's comment). Apparently Dathe was the first to recognize that LXX *ephthasen* here supposed *w y q d m* instead of MT *w y q m*. The sense then is: "and Jonathan was *opposite*" (viz. Saul), which fits the context perfectly.¹³ As further instances of corrections supported by the evidence of LXX may be mentioned: 1 Sam. 1:24, where another division of the words allows us to read "a three year old bull," agreeing with 1:25 which mentions only one bull. (Cf. other examples of wrong divisions of words in MT in Fried. Delitzsch, *op. cit.* § 3, a (p. 2). 1 Sam. 3:15: MT reads: "And Samuel lay down until morning and opened the doors." LXX inserts between these clauses: "and he arose in the morning," which should be restored, as the Hebrew writer likes to state details which we would rather take for granted. Likewise in 1 Sam. 9:25-26; 10:27c, LXX shows that in MT there has been a confusion of several letters, easily remedied: MT can be maintained only by a *tour de force*.

Instances of this kind, where the ancient versions, primarily LXX, allow us to restore the proper text, are very numerous. Evidently, the mere fact that the ancient versions differ from MT is not sufficient. The Hebrew must be clearly unsatisfactory, and the versions, especially LXX, must have read a Hebrew text of superior character. This supposes that one has examined the value of the version in a particular book or section, as, otherwise, its value as a witness to the text cannot be appreciated accurately. This means that the use of the versions is something rather delicate.

In the texts examined so far, we may with the help of LXX restore the correct reading, or at least something better than MT. Yet, there are some places where LXX or the ancient versions in general do not enable us to recover a better reading; we do not know what Hebrew text LXX read, even if the rendering seems to imply some difference, or else their Hebrew was identical with MT, and they translated as best they could, as is done by our modern versions which wish to follow MT faithfully. Thus, for instance, Ps. 8:2c, is really untranslatable as it stands:

¹³ See note in Boothroyd (*Biblia Hebraica*); Sam. Davidson, *The Hebrew Text* (1855) p. 59; V.R. (names of critics): Thenius, Ewald, Wellhausen, Graetz; Driver (*i. h. l.*): LV, Am.V., Moffatt, Menge, Riessler; Fried. Delitzsch *cf. cit.* no. 90,b (p. 86); Jas. Kennedy; *An Aid to the Textual Amendment of the Old Testament* (Ed. 1928), p. 140; Perles, *Anal.* (N.F.) p. 52, 1.

Lowth remarks on the word *tenāh* that "it is absolutely beyond the power of grammar to account for this word." Likewise, in Ps. 2:12a as understood so often, one must suppose a strange combination of Hebrew and Aramaic. Ps. 110 (109), v. 3 at least, cannot be explained properly. What modern versions give us as representing MT is, in such cases, really nothing but a guess on the basis of some words in the context the meaning of which is known or supposed to be known. There are, of course, many conjectures in those cases, most of them no better than the text they are intended to replace. Since our principles (see further on) exclude recourse to conjecture as a regular way out of difficulties, there would seem to be no other course than to leave such verses untranslated in our version. This is the device adopted in the French Protestant *Bible du Centenaire* (OT unfortunately incomplete) which leaves in the text a blank corresponding to the untranslatable phrases and gives in the notes the meaning of the words of MT. This method is really quite objective; there is no danger here of misleading the reader. If, however, too much horror is felt for empty spaces in our translation, it might be possible to reproduce the received form of the Vulgate, where it makes some kind of sense. However, texts thus borrowed from the Vulgate for an untranslatable Hebrew should be marked in some way, so that the reader might always know the authority of his text. A note could also explain matters briefly. If this procedure is limited to texts which are not translatable and impossible to correct, there will not be much danger of too many blanks or of too many borrowings from the Vulgate to fill gaps, though this procedure might find much more frequent application than is thought in some parts of the Old Testament.¹⁴ In Ps. 91(90):1-2 the endeavor to follow MT strictly leads to many differences—a good sign, it would seem, that something is wrong in MT. AV, RV, Crampon, Jes. Ar., translate:

¹⁴ In some places at least, the translation will have to leave a blank if we do not wish to misrepresent the text by an arbitrary interpretation. Thus, the Vulg. translates MT in 1 Sam. (Kgs.) 13:1: "Saul was one year old when he began to reign, and he reigned two years over Israel." AV tries to make this more acceptable: "Saul reigned one year, and when he had reigned two years . . ."; similarly Leeser, Swed.V. LXX does not have this verse,—which might imply that the verse is a note or an interpolation. Possibly, the number or numbers have disappeared. The text, therefore, should be translated: "Saul was . . . years old when he became king and he reigned . . . two years over Israel." Cf. V.R., R.V., Am.V., Moffatt, Menge, LV, Riessler, Saydon (Maltese), Galea (Maltese translation also).

He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High
shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

I will say of the LORD: he is . . .

On this rendering, v. 1 is simply tautological. J.V. reads:

O thou that dwellest in the covert of the most High
and abidest in the shadow of the Almighty;

I will say of the LORD . . .

This is not particularly clear. Vaccari and Riessler with several others (cf. V. B.), improve on this by reading the verb in the imperative in v.2:

O thou etc.

Say to the LORD

This implies a correction of MT. If the text is to be corrected, one might as well go a step further and read:

He that dwells,

that abides . . .

May say to the LORD . . .

(Cf. LXX; LV; names in V.B.; Wutz, Am. V., Menge, Swed. V.). Or even we might have, though here we enter the realm of conjecture:

/Blessed/ he that dwells . . . ,

that abides

that may say to the LORD: . . .

(Ginsburg, Pannier, Landersdorfer, Kautzsch-Bertholet, Moffatt).

Comparison of MT and LXX, however, may also leave us wondering what the correct text is. Psalm 12(11):9c, in MT is, to put it mildly, most difficult. There is indeed rather general agreement among moderns to translate: "... when vileness is exalted among the sons of men." (cf. in the Hexapla, ancient Greek Versions outside LXX; RV, JV, Am. V, LV, Menge, Vaccari, etc., cf. other names in V. R.). Some translators warn their readers rightly that the translation is doubtful (Menge, Vaccari; cp. also Crampon, who has another translation). Hence quite naturally various suggestions have been made. Thus it is supposed that the word rendered "is exalted" comes from *r m m*, not from *r w m* (Grazowsky, *Millon ha-saphā ha-ivrit*; Tell Aviv: 1934, p. 968; Driver in JTS, Vol. 43 (1934), p. 152). It would then be possible to translate: "like *rot* thou art despised by the sons of men." But this would hardly be suitable as a conclusion to the psalm. Hence Driver would correct the verb *z l l*

to make it transitive: "like *rot* thou despisest . . .", which would be preferable. But when we turn to LXX we find that it read a suffix (kata to hypsos *sou*); if the reading is correct, it does not allow us to understand the text as supposed by Grazowsky and Driver. Besides, LXX apparently translates *zll* so as to say the exact opposite; *ēpolyōrēsas*: to hold in high esteem. (on the explanations of LXX, cf. the glosses reproduced in L. Bos: *hē Palaia Diathēkē*. . .; Franequerae: 1709; also Schleusner: *Novus Thesaurus* . . . IV, 416 f.) It might be supposed that LXX had a different Hebrew or that for some reason the translator deliberately altered the text,—two rather desperate solutions. The question might be rather whether our present LXX is correct. We might correct: *ēpolyōrēsas* (from: *apolyōreō*) = to hold vile. On this restoration of LXX which makes it express a satisfactory sense, we may read the Hebrew with a transitive verb:

(the wicked may strut about:)

"According to thy loftiness, thou holdest vile the sons of men." The essential sense is that seen by Driver, but it is less conjectural, nearer to the traditional form of the text.

GLOSSES AND OMISSIONS

Close attention to details of grammar and points of style may enable us to recognize "glosses and omissions" from which the biblical text should be freed, if we mean to apply the principles of textual criticism (cf. *Divino* . . . § 17 end). Thus Isaias 17:8: "Neither shall he look to the altars, the work of his hands, and what his fingers have made he shall not regard, and the asherahs and the sun-pillars."

Altars are rather usually the work of human hands, hence the appositive construction supposed by MT, and adopted by those who follow it yields a weak sense. Hence Qimhi, followed by LeCler, and Lowth, would rather make "the work of his hands" a genitive limiting "the altars": viz. "the altars of the work of his hands," i.e., the altars of the idols. This, in spite of the presence of the article before "the altars"; we could thus have another example to add to A. Sperber's list in his *Hebrew Grammar, a new approach* JBL, 1943, Sept., p. 24, § 82, d.), but the great majority of Hebraists would hardly regard this construction as orthodox. Rather, we may take "the altars," as also "the asherahs. . .", as a gloss, limiting too narrowly the extent of the preceding text which refers to the idols in general.¹⁵ Similar

¹⁵ For this see Bachmann (*Praeparation u. Commentar zum Jesaia*. Ber-

glosses, often explanations of some word or words in the text, will be found pretty generally recognized, in Isa. 7:4c (with the glowing heat . . .), v.17b, 20a and 8:7a (the King of Assur), etc.¹⁶ Recognized glosses should be identified as such in our version by some means to be agreed upon,—such as italics or some form of brackets. Elsewhere, on the contrary, we may detect some omission in MT which we may not be in a position to remedy. Yet, its recognition may help to understand the text better. We may take Isa. 7:8-9 as an instance where we can only point out an omission. The text reads now:

- 8: a For the head of Aram is Damascus
and the head of Damascus is Resin:
b but yet sixty-five years,
Ephraim shall be broken so as not to be a people;
9: a the head of Ephraim is Samaria,
and the head of Samaria is the son of Romelia.
b If you do not believe,
surely you shall not be established.

It is not necessary to examine the various difficulties of 8b, and to weigh the different solutions proposed especially to explain the 65 years. We are concerned exclusively rather with the form of the text; once established, it may help to find a better explanation. But what should be clear is that 8b is out of place: since it refers to Ephraim, it should stand after 9a. Further, it is clear, also, that the text says nothing of the fate of the other ally, Aram, and yet there was no reason why Isaias should say nothing about Aram. The text then will have been originally:

- 8: a/ for the head of Aram is Damascus
and the head of Damascus is Resin:
(a/ /lost: a prediction of the ruin of Aram/).
9: a/ the head of Ephraim is Samaria
and the head of Samaria is the son of Romelia.
8: b/ but yet *sixty-five* years (?)
Ephraim shall . . .
9: b/ If you do not believe . . .

lin: 1892 ff.), p. 195; VanHoonacker (*het boek Isaias*: Brugge; 1932, p. 103): Kissane (The Book of Isaiah I, 1941, pp. 197-199).

¹⁶ Glosses of various kinds and extent are fairly numerous, though naturally there will be some difference of opinion in individual cases. For a classification of the different possibilities, without meaning to endorse in full the views of those authors, one may consult: Fried. Delitzsch (*op. cit.* § 149-163, pp. 132-143): Felix Perles (*op. cit.*), pp. 96-112.

Understanding the text thus allows us to keep it as genuine—excepting the number 65— instead of regarding it as a later gloss as supposed quite generally.¹⁷ The very difficulty of the text tells against its being a gloss and speaks in favor of its being a part of the genuine text. To enable the reader to see the condition of the text, we might leave a blank after 8a, and print 8b after 9a, and a brief note could explain matters.

Similar problems will come up more frequently in some books such as Samuel (1 and 2 Kgs) and Proverbs. Thus, in Proverbs, LXX has a rather large amount of surplus matter as compared with MT. Sometimes Vulgate shares this matter with LXX (v. gr., 4:27; 6:11 etc). To what extent is the LXX surplus part of the genuine text? How far may the additional material found in the Vulgate be taken as belonging to the Hebrew translated by St. Jerome or rather material which has crept into St. Jerome's translation from the old Latin?¹⁸

USE OF ANCIENT ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

Ancient Oriental languages may enable us to see more clearly the meaning of words and phrases occurring seldom in the Bible. It cannot be claimed that this allows us to explain all the obscuri-

¹⁷ V.gr., by Condamin, S. Minocchi, Dillmann, Duhm; LV, Moffatt, Am.V. (Note p. 1674), Guthe, Van Hoonacker, etc. The point of the text is rather (cf. Kissane) a contrast between the present condition of the allies and what God has in store for them. This sense could be brought out more definitely by translating:

the head of Aram may be Damascus

and the head of Damascus may be Resin: etc.

¹⁸ Thus Vulg. 10:4 comes from LXX 9:12; Vulg. 13:13b is from LXX 13:9b; Vulg. 14:15b is from LXX 13:13b. Beside the commentaries on Proverbs, a good study of this question will be found in G. Mezzacasa: *il libro dei Proverbi di Salomone. Studio critico sulle aggiunte greco-alesandrine* (Rome 1913); cf. also the careful study of the text of Proverbs by Zenner-Wiesmann: "das Buch der Sprüche," in *Biblische Zeitschrift*, Vols. VII-XII (1910-1914). Wiesmann's comment on Proverbs in the *Bonner Bibel* (1923), though brief, will be found very useful for the text. One might consult also with profit, from the textual point of view, Ab. Kahana's Hebrew comment, on Proverbs (Tell Aviv: 5689, 1928-9) in the series (Hebrew) edited by him.

For the Books of Samuel, besides the well-known works by Wellhausen, Klostermann, Driver, Dhorme, A. Schultz, all of whom pay special attention to the text, we have special works by N. Peters, *Beiträge zur Text-u Literarkritik sowie zur Erklärung der Bücher Samuel* (Freiburg B., 1899); A. Fernandez Truysols, S.J., *Estudios de critica textual y literaria*, II, 1 Sam. 1-15 (Rome: 1917).

ties or difficulties; nevertheless, we find here a most welcome help. Recourse to the ancient languages indeed is nothing new: Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic—this last language especially on account of the resources of its enormous vocabulary—have been called upon frequently for a long time for the light they might throw on some obscure word of the Hebrew text. More recently, we have seen used also Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian), South Arabic, Ugaritic (language of Ras Shamra), to mention only some of the Semitic languages more closely related to Hebrew (cf. D. W. Thomas. *The Recovery of the Ancient Hebrew Language*, pp. 14 ff; pp. 25 ff.). Sometimes the new evidence will confirm MT or suggest the possibility of a new shade of meaning, or even a new sense. Often at best it may make us more careful in questioning words used only seldom in the Hebrew Bible; the biblical text, after all, preserves only a small part of the ancient language, and much of ancient Hebrew literature has not survived. MT in 4(2) Kings 9:27 mentions a place *Gūr* near by Jebelaam, not otherwise known from the Bible. LXX misread the name; St. Jerome give it the form *Gaver*. Now, a cuneiform text examined by Dr. Albright (BASOR, § 94, April, 1944, p. 21, N. 52) confirms the reading of MT. It would be advisable in such a case to disregard the Vulgate form which disfigures the name too much.

A promising field, opened up recently, is Ugaritic. Its literature, fragmentary as it is, offers much to compare with the Bible from the standpoint of language and form, and as in the course of time matters are clarified, it is possible to foresee a time when the biblical scholar will find much here to illustrate the biblical text. We are all familiar with some phrases, reproduced in recent publications: the phrase "the bird(s) of the heavens and the fish in the sea and what wanders..." reminding us of Ps. 8:5;¹⁰ the phrase *r k b' rpt* (= *rākibu 'arpāti*) = rider of the clouds, recalling Ps. 68(67):5;²⁰ the serpent monster, "*L t n*

¹⁰ For a convenient edition, excellent as a first introduction, see Jas. A. Montgomery and Z. S. Harris, *The Ras Shamra Mythological texts* (Phila. 1935; quoted here as: Myth. texts). The phrase will be found p. 77, L. 63 f.

²⁰ Thus confirming an old suggestion that the Hebrew word here does not mean "desert." Cf. D. Qimhi; also Mandelkern's concordance, 913 s.v. '*arabak* I (the explanation in Hebrew); for this phrase, see Myth. texts, p. 61 C.11; p. 62 C. 11; Ginsberg in *Tarbiz* 4 (Oct. 1932) p. 109 (begin.); H. Bauer in ZATW, 1933 no. 2, 88 f. on this Ps. in general: Cassuto in *Tarbiz*,

the fleeing serpent . . . , the tortuous serpent" mentioned in Isa. 27:1;²¹ in the monster *Ltn* with seven heads (Myth. texts p. 78,1.3) may be recognized Leviathan whose heads (pl) are crushed by the LORD (Ps. 74 (73):14).

But, in spite of considerable progress in the study of Ugaritic, much still remains doubtful, and therefore one must proceed cautiously in the use of the new material. There may be agreement in the reading of a text, but considerable difference in the interpretation. Yet, in some places those texts may be used to clear up a difficulty.²² Thus Job 39:21 is translated:

"(the horse) paweth *in the valley*.

and rejoiceth in (his) strength." (so AV, RV, JV, LV. etc.). "*In the valley*" is hardly satisfactory, and therefore some render more freely "the earth" or the like. Further, in the second line, the suffix is supplied: (*his*) strength, and a silent correction is made by making the verb "he paweth" singular, where MT has the plural, this last correction is evidently necessary. There is no doubt that the text is difficult (cf. the commentaries, which propose different changes). The difficulty will be explained satisfactorily if we suppose for '*mq* (= the usual *valley*) the meaning "strength, force," which belongs to this root in Akkadian and in Ugaritic, and meets the requirements of parallelism in our text. Hence we could translate: "(he) paws *with force*, he exults with might."²³ Dr. Albright proposes to define more strictly the meaning of Deut. 34:7 by appealing to Ugaritic. The text, describing Moses' physical condition at the time of his death,—he was then 120 years old—says: "his eye was not dim nor *his natural force* abated" (so AV, RV, JV, Swed. V.). Others speak of *his vigor* (Moffatt, Crampon, Saydon) or of his "*freshness*" (Vaccari, LV) meaning of course youthful vigor. The true read-

12 (1930 Aug.) pp. 1-27. On this view of the Hebrew word, there is no need of any correction as still proposed in Kittel 3.

²¹ Myth. texts: p. 78, 1/2—*Ltn* (*b_{tn}*) *brh* . . . *bt_n* '*qltn-Isa: Lwyt_n nhš brh* '*qltn*.

²² Cf. v.gr. Bea; *Biblica*, 1939, pp. 436-453; de Vaux, O.P., *Rev. Bibl.*, 1939, pp. 593 ff; de Langhe, *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 1939, pp. 245-327.

²³ C. Gordon in *Jew. Q.R.* (Vol. 30); 1939 p. 213, n. 1; *Ugaritic Grammar* (Analecta Orientalia) Rome, 1940, p. 105; Albright: *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 77, 196; *id. in BASOR* § 94, p. 34: '*ašqlk tht—N'mn cmq nšm* = "I will humble thee (from: *ql*) beneath—, O Nu'man strongest of men."

ing and meaning of LXX is rather doubtful, while the Vulgate misses the point altogether (*nec dentes illius moti sunt*). There is no doubt that the modern versions represent the general sense correctly. The Hebrew word used here (*lēaḥ*) means, "sap," "greenness," hence the vigor of youth (Ben Jehuda, *Thesaurus*: 5, 264^s/2650; Grazowsky...). Dr. Albright BASOR § 94, 32 ff.) studies the word in the light of two passages of the Epic of Dan'el. The sense seen by Albright would be in fact that expressed by Am. V.: "*his virility unabated*."²⁴ This view seems to exaggerate one particular aspect of which the author need not have been thinking distinctly. The idea is that in spite of his years, Moses was still in full possession of his physical faculties. The rendering "vigor" or that of LV and Vaccari would render the sense correctly and quite satisfactorily.

The value of Arabic—North-Arabic and South-Arabic—has long been recognized, and perhaps at times Arabic has been used somewhat indiscriminately to restore Hebrew words.²⁵ Nehem. (2 Esd.) 3:8b is translated by St. Jerome as well as LXX: "*et dimiserunt Jerusalem usque ad murum plateae latioris*." This supposes here the usual meaning of the Hebrew verb, but it is difficult to get any clear sense, and therefore some condemn the text as hopeless. Thus, Ehrlich (*Randglossen* 7 /1914/ p. 189).²⁶ But several ancient Jewish authors had suspected that we had here a technical term and compared it with a word used in the

²⁴ The clearer of the two texts—on Albright's reading—is II Dan'el VI, 27-28. Cf. Charles Virolleaud: *la légende Phénicienne de Danel* (Paris: 1936) p. 207 (transliterated text), p. 209 (translation), p. 212 (commentary); plates at end of Vol. Albright reads: *w'-atnk. bl-mt. w'ašlhks* "and I will grant thee not to die, and I will give thee life-force" (= *w'asaliyhuka: lhh*: "to be moist," "vigorous"; thus = "I will make thee vigorous." "The precise connotation ... is undoubtedly 'sexual power.'" In fact, the idea of an immortality like that of the gods agrees quite naturally with the following lines. It should be remarked however that Virolleaud reads, though doubtfully, *w'ašltk*: and I will give thee power (sovereignty)—which also would yield a tolerable sense.

²⁵ Thus for instance Franz Wutz. His edition of the Psalms (*Die Psalmen: text-kritisch untersucht*, Mün.: 1925) has, pp. 380-395, a "Lexikon" of new words recovered for Hebrew, many of them with the help of Arabic; also *Die Psalmen des Breviers* (Mün.: 1926, p. 1-28, "Nachtrag u. Lexikon"). Out of "Dictionary Arabic" one may create new Hebrew words rather easily. Discretion is necessary here as elsewhere, but not always so easy to observe.

²⁶ "... ist mit *wa-ya'azbu* nichts anzufangen, denn *cāzab* kann keine hier passende Bedeutung haben."

Talmud; the meanings proposed were: "to pave," "to repair."²⁷ "To repair" or "to restore" may be confirmed from S. Arabian inscriptions, and this suits our text: "and they restored Jerusalem as far as the broad wall."²⁸ Some modern versions, following the lead of LXX, translate Isa. 11:15b . . . and shall raise his hand against the River (= Euphrates) *with his mighty wind*: *pneumati biaioi*: cf. Vul., *in fortitudine spiritus sui*, AV, LV, Jes. Ar.²⁹ MT has a word of peculiar form found only here. Did LXX read *bəšm* for MT *bəym* as supposed by some? (cf. BDB, 744a; Perles: Anal., p. 32). This would mean a phrase not occurring elsewhere. Other authors render: "with the *glowing heat* of his breath"—or a similiar phrase: thus RV, JV, Am. V., Moffatt, Menge, Kissane, Bachmann, Van Hoonacker, and, in effect, Riessler, Swed. V. This supposes that the Hebrew word is explained from the Arabic. On either view, then, the rendering is conjectural, but the sense remains pretty much the same. According to some authors, Arabic might help to explain a text found in three places in the Bible in practically the same form: Ex. 15:2; Isa. 12:2; Ps. 118 (117):14. This is translated in the Vulgate: "fortitudo mea et laus mea Dominus et factus est mihi in salutem," while LXX has different translations. Modern translators generally agree with the Vulgate and therefore suppose the reading of the first pers. sing. suffix with *zimrāth*. (See, v. gr., for this correction Ginsburg, Kittel; Del., *op. cit.*, § 8b (p. 11), § 150c (p. 133). This, of course, leaves unexplained the form in MT, which indeed raised questions in the mind of Rashi. In fact, in Ex., LXX does not have the suffix with the first word any more than with the second word (*Boēthos kai skepastēs*). Did it have—or read—a different text? (cp. Kennedy, *op. cit.*,

²⁷ Cf. *ap. V.B.*; Ges-B. (17) p. 577a: J. Fürst; *Hebr. u. Chald. Hdwb.* II. (1861) 130a; Mandelkern, *Con.* 839a; Ab. Kahana (*Heb. Comm. i. h. l.*); Ben Jehuda; *Thes.* 9, 4407a.; Grazowsky: *Millon* . . . 738b.

²⁸ D. S. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the rise of Islam* (Lond.: 1924), p. 25. For this S. Ar. word, cf. also K. C. Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis epigraphica* (Rome: 1931) p. 203a; J. H. Mordtmann, u. E. Mittwoch, *Sabäische Inschriften* (Hamb. Universität: *Rathjens-v. Wismannsche Südarabien-Reise*, I, 1931), p. 78, § 36.2. The verb occurs also in Ugaritic, in a different shade of meaning, cf. Montgomery and Harris, *Myth-texts*, p. 114 (glossary); Virolleaud, *légende de Danel*, p. 238 (glossary).

²⁹ In fact, the doubtful expression belongs to the first part of the verse where, also, as recognized generally, we should read: *we-heherib* (and . . . shall destroy utterly): cf. v.gr., Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, no. 114a (p. 113).

p. 81). This is possible, but hardly likely. If the Hebrew was the same, the translator of Ex. did not connect the word *zimrāth* with "song" or the like, but he understood it as describing some attribute of the LORD. In that case, the word could be explained from the Arabic *dmr*: brave, courageous (cf. also S. Arab., L. K. C. Rossini, *op. cit.*, p. 129b). Then, also, the first term (*azzī*) would not be a form with the suffix, but derived from *‘āzāh* (= Arab. *ghāzā*), to be read *‘āzī*. The translation then would be: "a warrior and a conqueror is Y...: he became, etc."³⁰ Even if one prefers the more usual and easier method of correcting the text supposed by the current translations, one can see at least that MT contains a problem, skipped by the authors, which may be approached differently.

THE DEUTEROCANONICAL BOOKS

The deuterocanonical books are to be translated on the same general principles of textual criticism as the other books. Their case, however, is more complicated. We must make some distinctions, as they cannot be treated exactly alike.

Some of them were composed in Greek, at least according to the generally received view, thus Wisdom and 2 Machabees. Here the Greek text is the original, just as in the Books of the New Testament. The translator therefore will go back to the Greek, not behind the Greek. He will naturally compare the evidence of the ancient versions, especially the Latin, which may clear up some obscurities. All in all, the translator's task is simple enough.

Other books will present greater difficulties. They were written in Hebrew or in Aramaic, but the evidence for the original language may not be decisive, though the point is not without its importance for the translator trying to settle the genuine sense of some particular passage. The essential point, however, is that those books are translations, just as much as the Greek or the Vulgate of the protocanonical books. We must, therefore, reckon with the possibility of mistranslations of more or less serious character such as we find in the LXX or the Vulgate of the protocanonical books. Further, we have to reckon with the possibility of mistakes in the lost Hebrew or Aramaic copies used by the Greek translators of those books, mistakes of the

³⁰ Ben Jehuda, *Thes.* 3, 1363 f; Kissane: I, p. 149; cf. also Grazowsky p. 247a.

same nature as those found in the Hebrew and Aramaic of our protocanonical books. There must be added further the possibility of mistakes which may have crept into copies of the Greek translations disfiguring in part the text of the original translator. Which of those different possibilities has to be taken into account in particular cases, or what combinations of the various possibilities may have to be thought of, is a question impossible to settle a priori. The editor of each book has to examine closely the data in each case, a complicated task as one can easily see. Some examples will help us to realize the task of the translator of this class of books.

The Prologue to Ecclesiasticus tells us definitely that the work was written in Hebrew. The Greek text is evidently a translation, as recognized universally. The Syriac Version also was made from the Hebrew, though in places it was influenced by the Greek. In this case we have also considerable parts of the Hebrew, faulty indeed in many places, but yet representing the original text, as is agreed pretty generally. Here, then, the translator has at his disposal a rather large, though complicated, amount of material which may assist him considerably in establishing a satisfactory basic text for his version.

The case of Tobias and Judith is quite different. Here we do not have the original Semitic text itself,—there are differences on the question whether they were composed in Hebrew or in Aramaic—; we have only Greek translations, with considerable differences: though the essential contents remain the same, the fact is that we have widely divergent types of text for the Greek translations of each of these books.³¹ We meet here with another

³¹ The view that Tobias and Judith were composed in a Semitic language is the ordinary view and finds considerable support in the text of these books. Whether it was Hebrew or Aramaic is not so clear. St. Jerome used an Aramaic text for both books, but this does not necessarily settle the question. In favor of a Hebrew original of Judith, we have for instance: Houbigant, II, 577; T. André: *les Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament* (Florence: 1903), p. 158 f. and p. 181; Joh. Nikel, *Einleitg. i. d. A.T.* (Münster: 1924), p. 162; H. Fuchs, *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, VI, 264; Van Zinnicq-Bergmann, *het boek Judith* (notes by A. Jansen and A. W. H. Sloet (Dutch) in *Biblia Sacra Veteris Testamenti*, III, 407 f.; A. Kahana: *hasefarim hahisonim* II, Tell Aviv: 5697, 1936-7, p. 353 (declares the style thoroughly Hebraic, the work undoubtedly translated from a Hebrew original, translated almost word for word); also Göttberger, *Einleitg. i. d. A.T.* (Freib. B: 1928), p. 183 (Reff.). For a Hebrew Tobias: P. Vetter in *Theol. Quart. Schrift.*, 1904, 526-530; Höpfl, *Introductionis . . . Compendium*, II, 4th. ed.,

special problem. Should our translation take the Vulgate as its basic text and limit itself to recording in the footnotes the passages where the Greek texts present important differences? The Jesuits' Arabic translation here follows the Vulgate and makes no use of the Greek in its few notes. Crampon's version also translates the Vulgate in the text, but its notes give extensive sections from the Greek, though by no means the full text of the Greek; yet this enables the reader to form some idea of the problem of the text. Much can be said in favor of the use of the Vulgate as the basic text: it is the official text of the Latin Church, and therefore fully deserves recognition from us. Still we know the hurried character of the work done by St. Jerome on those books,³² and, from a critical point of view, the Vulgate can be regarded only as a rather secondary text while the Greek "parait être, au point de vue critique, une plus fidèle reproduction de l'original" (Crampon). Besides, the authority of the Greek is fully recognized by the Church which has always acknowledged the value of the LXX and, in fact, did at first use it in the Old Latin and still continues to use it in the Oriental versions derived from the Greek. Hence the procedure of Houbigant (II, 541-636) giving a new Latin translation from the Greek and of Riessler translating these books directly—and only—from the Greek is perfectly legitimate. Since we are committed to the production of a critical translation from the originals and at the same time we are "to give all due recognition to the authority of the Vulgate as the official text of the Latin Church," we should find some means of doing justice to both the Greek as "the oldest known

1935, p. 144 (Reff.); Kahana, *op. cit.*, p. 292 f.; More generally perhaps *Aramaic* is regarded as the original language of Tobias: Marshall: art. "Tobit" in *Hastings' D. B.* Göttberger, *op. cit.*, p. 175 (Reff.); G. G. Fox, *Univ. Encyclopedia* X, 259. Others leave the question of the particular language (Semitic) undecided: Van Zinnicq-Bergmann, *het boek Tobias* (*op. cit.*), III, 355; Schumpp, O. P., *das Buch Tobias (Exeget. Hdb. A.T.)*, 1933, pp. XLV ff. (praised by Kahana as "very thorough").

However, the thesis of Greek composition of Tobias has some notable advocates: names in Göttberger, *op. cit.*, p. 177; L. Gauthier, *Introd. A.T.*, II, 451; André, *op. cit.*, p. 181; Löhr, in Kautzsch, I (1900), p. 136.

³² Thus, for instance, Crampon (Preliminary note to Judith): "... La Vulgate, au point de vue dogmatique, mérite un respect particulier à cause de l'approbation officielle que lui a donnée le Concile de Trente." *Idem* (Prelim. note to Tobias) characterizes St. Jerome's translation as a "travail hatif" and, speaking of Judith, "le St. Docteur declare l'avoir vendu d'une manière libre et parfois sommaire."

form of the text" and to the Vulgate.³³ One way would be to give the translation of both texts. The increase in bulk will not be very considerable, nor is there—rather there should not be—any danger of scandal to the faithful. The introduction to the new translation, explaining the character of the work, could justify this feature by the authority of the Encyclical (*Divino . . .*). We spoke above of the difficulties which may be experienced by the translator of deuterocanonical books written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic. In some places it may even be impossible to give a satisfactory translation even where the wording is otherwise correct grammatically. According to Tobias 1:5, the Tribes used to "offer sacrifice to the *Heifer Baal*." The feminine term is used again only once of the calf worship of Israel in Osee 10:5, where, however, MT is not supported by LXX and Syriac (which read "the calf"). Moreover the expression "the heifer Baal" is at least rather unusual. The Codex Sinaiticus here reads: "They would offer sacrifice to the *calf* which Jeroboam, King of Israel, had made in Dan on all the mountains of Galilee," but here the latter part of the verse could hardly be defended as a real improvement. The Vulgate speaks of "the golden calves made by Jeroboam, King of Israel," which is better but possibly a free adaptation of St. Jerome, and, in any case, it does not help to explain the reading "the heifer Baal." It may be suspected that none of those texts represents the original form accurately. It is possible that the word "Baal" is a corruption of "in Bethel" as surmised by Houbigant, and the text may need still more extensive correcting, but this would take us into the realm of conjecture, and therefore in the end, if the text of the Codex Vaticanus is adopted, we may have to be satisfied with the translation "the heifer Baal." But then a note should tell the reader of the uncertainty and of the unsatisfactory character of the reading. When Anna explains (Tob. 2:14) that the kid was given her above her wages, her husband is made to say: "I did not believe her and told her to return it to its owners and *I blushed for her*" (*pros*)*ērythrion*. Thus according to Vat., Alex., Sin. One might, therefore, be tempted to leave this reading unchallenged.³⁴ But the Syriac—and the Hebraeus Münsteri—suppose the reading *ērizon*: "I would quarrel with her," the

³³ The quotations are from the "Principles," CBQ, VI (1944), pp. 363 f.

³⁴ For another hypothesis of similar character, of a confusion of two Hebrew verbs by the translator, cf. T. André (*op. cit.*), p. 159.

correction made again by Houbigant and supposed by Riessler's translation.

The Book of Judith presents perhaps greater difficulties. In general, the geographical names or even better the proper names—which vary considerably in the MSS—show hopeless confusion, so that it is practically impossible to restore their true forms. They are, besides, very largely unknown. Hence it is at least very difficult to identify them; this evidently complicates the understanding of the text. We read in 1:6: “and there met him all those that *dwelt* in the mountain country, and all those that *dwelt* by the Euphrates and the Tigris and the Hydaspes (Katoikeo, accusat), *kai pediōi Eirioch ho basileus Elymaiōn*. The dative (pediōi) makes no sense in the context, nor does the genitive plural (pediōn) of other texts. Nor can the nominative singular (basileus) be accounted for. Only by correcting—as suggested by some MS evidence (pedia . . . basileos) can a proper grammatical construction be obtained, this last phrase becoming the object of katoikeō like the preceding accusatives: “. . . and on the plain of Ariocho King of Elymais.” But even so the sense remains unsatisfactory. We must rather suspect deeper corruption than the mere misspelling of Greek forms, yet in our text we may hardly do otherwise than give what we find.

There is another difficulty in the text of Judith 2:2: “*Kai synetelesen pasan tēn kakian tēs gēs ek tou stomatos autou*. The translators are embarrassed and try in various ways to make some kind of sense. Vigouroux' *Polyglotte* translates (3, 532): “*il accomplit (il expose complètement) de sa propre bouche toute la méchanceté de la terre . . .*” Similarly Riessler, “und teilte ihnen seines Plans Geheimnis mit, der Erde ganze Bosheit voll erklärend.” Goodspeed: “and fully related all the wickedness of the land with his own lips”; Houbigant (2, 600): “renarravitque ore suo cunctam terrae improbitatem.” Cp. T. André (*op. cit.*,) p. 158 f. It might be hard to justify such renderings. May we not rather suspect that the translator is at fault? In this case, we could compare similar phrases in LXX of 1 Sam. 20:7g., 33,34; 25:17, and supposing a Hebrew text like that in 1 Sam., we might think of rendering: “and evil was determined upon by him against all the land (the earth?).” This, however, is conjectural, and therefore open to question—though apparently the sense seen by AV. It would be defensible only as an attempt at understanding the text in the light of its Semitic (Hebrew) sub-

stratum, as is done for instance by Joüon in *Les Evangiles*. On account of its conjectural character, it might preferably be given in a note, the text rendering along the line of AV. So also in 8:21: "for if we are taken (*en tōi lempthēnai hēmas*), so shall all Judaea sit (*Kathēsetai*). AV paraphrases: "... *Shall lie waste.*" Another reading, unsatisfactory, is *Klēthēsetai*, or better at first sight, yet hardly right: *Kaythēsetai*. This is a case where one might be tempted to surmise a mistake on the part of the Greek translator of Judith. Thus Ball (in VB) supposes that the translator misread: *Tšb*, hence *Kathēsetai*, for: *Tšm* (be desolated).

But the difficulty here may have its origin in the transmission of the Greek text itself, not in a mistranslation; everything falls into line if we suppose with Rahlfs the original Greek text to have read: "if we are taken, *houtōs kai lempthēsetai*, so also shall all Judaea be taken." Written in capitals, this reading accounts easily enough for the other readings, and at the same time, the resultant sense is most acceptable. In 16:15 (Vulg. 18) we have:

Montes a fundamentis movebuntur cum aquis (*syn hydasin*), sicut cera (*hōs keros*) liquescent.

It is possible to make out a satisfactory sense. Hence the literal reproduction of the expression in AV, Douay, Jes. Ar. is not to be condemned.³⁵ But we may admit here a literal translation of the Hebrew preposition, to be understood as meaning "like" (cf. Ges-B (17) p. 595a, § 1, e). The rendering then would be, with better parallelism: ... "like water" corresponding to "like wax." So Crampon, Riessler, Goodspeed.

One last example—out of many other possible instances—may be taken from Judith 14:13 (Vulg. 12) "Rouse our lord *hoti etolmēsan hoi douloi katabainein eph hēmas eis polemon*. The Vulgate has an interesting difference: *quoniam egressi mures de cavernis suis ausi sunt provocare nos ad proelium*. Supposing a Hebrew original, the Greek implies: *ha-abadim*. The Aramaic behind the Vulgate supposes Hebrew reading: *ha-akbarim*. At the basis, we might posit: *ha-ibrim*. In Hebrew characters, the three words present great resemblances and contain letters often confused in Hebrew texts: *R* and *D* (cf., v. gr., 1 Sam. 13:3 and 17:8). The Aramaic-Vulgate reading reminds us, of course,

³⁵ Same general sense in A. Kahana whose Hebrew translation, however, adds a suffix "with *their* waters."

of 1 Sam. 14:11: "Look! *Hebrews* are coming out of (their) hiding holes!" Where some authors would like to replace the "Hebrews" by "mice" (cf. *apud* Kittel; so, v.gr., Moffatt). Does the Aramaic-Vulgate reading represent a genuine original reading? Is it due to a more or less free recasting of the text by the Aramaic editor using his imagination? The question might almost be raised whether the variations between the different forms of the Books of Tobias and Judith are not due in some manner to the "editors" who preserved indeed the outlines and general contents of the original works, but felt free to revise their text, each according to his taste. In fact, St. Jerome himself seems to have done something of the kind in the two Books of Tobias and Judith. If this were the case, it would be well-nigh impossible to restore the form of the original authors, incomparably more difficult at least than in the case of other books, the original form of which was treated with greater respect.

USE OF CONJECTURE

Our new principles of translation do not allow recourse to *Conjecture* as a regular way of solving difficulties. Our rule is that whatever corrections are made should be made on the authority of external evidence. This does not mean that we are adverse to the idea of conjecture altogether. We know that conjecture has its recognized place, at least in theory, in the treatises on textual criticism. In fact, it may be said translating involves some degree of conjecturing. When we admit that a difficult text may be cleared up by recourse to the cognate languages which may help to give a new meaning to an obscure word or phrase, or may suggest a new construction of a difficult text, evidently we admit the value and use of conjecture. But conjecture also means more or less arbitrary correcting or changing of a text for reasons of literary taste, style or some subjective reason. Even where there is objective ground for questioning the received text, but where there is no external evidence preserving the correct form, there will be often several possible corrections or guesses as to what may have been the original form: that is to say, there is room here for a good deal of subjectivism. But since our work, while aiming at giving a translation based on a critical text, a text established according to the principles of textual criticism, is destined not to be for the specialist, but primarily for the average faithful, we do not think it right to embody our own private views and guesses in the text offered to

the reader, still less do we intend to rewrite the biblical text or parts of it. Our purpose is essentially to reproduce the traditional text, which sane modern criticism tends to recognize as rather well preserved all in all. To maintain this traditional character, our corrections must be based as a rule on external evidence, naturally on satisfactory external evidence. We know very well that this method will leave many a difficulty unexplained, many an obscurity not accounted for. The only way of avoiding this would be recourse to conjecture, but conjectural emendation, brilliant as it may be in some cases, seldom will be so completely satisfying as to exclude prudent doubt. Often a scholar's conjecture will appeal only to its author or to a limited number of critics. We all know the excesses to which conjecturing can lead an author: it will suffice to recall the names of Cheyne and of Duhm as examples of scholars whose conjectural emendations were numerous and learned, but for the most part useless, a mere waste.³⁶ Much remains to be done to have the canons of conjectural emendation placed on a solid basis and to check effectively, if not to eliminate completely, undisciplined guessing and imagination. It was Fr. Wutz's ambition to contribute to the placing of conjecture on a more objective foundation. It cannot be said that he succeeded in his undertaking. If, then, we wish to avoid the risk of reading too often our own thoughts into the text and of correcting the text according to our impressions and limitations, we must learn how to be satisfied with external evidence. But where there is a serious difficulty, grammatical, historical or otherwise, and we have no external evidence for a better text, we may record the conjectural emendation in a note, together with a remark calling the reader's attention to the uncertainty of the text.³⁷

³⁶ Needless to say that the remark applies to Cheyne in his Yerahmeel period; compare for instance his two editions of the Psalms to see the excesses to which a theory or mania may bring a scholar. Regarding Duhm, see, for instance, Joh. Bachmann, *Präparation u. Commentar zum Jesaja*, H. 2 (Berlin: 1893): Preface and passim. Duhm was the *bête noire* of Bachm.

³⁷ Those familiar with questions of textual criticism will agree that rather few conjectural emendations are really "evident." There are numerous texts in the Bible which are for some reason unsatisfactory, but about the correction of which it is impossible to feel sure. The history of emendations (conjectural) would be very instructive, from Houbigant's work to, v.gr., the Hebrew *Regenbogenbibel* (Polychrome Bible), not to come to more recent times. Alongside of some good emendations by scholars of older dates,

The reader who will have followed the foregoing development will understand better, we hope, the difficulties of the task of making a new translation of the Old Testament out of the original languages, according to the demands of textual criticism. It is a task which requires great caution, constant care, untiring attention, we might say, in each and every line and word. Only so will it be possible to establish the correct text and to ascertain its sense accurately and to express that sense in a suitable form according to the requirements of modern English idiom. It would be presumption on our part to expect perfect success. In spite of all our best efforts, some imperfections and blemishes will creep in, such as are bound to appear in any human work. Those of our readers who realize the difficulties will be disposed to overlook our shortcomings or rather will assist us in removing the

which have survived, and for which at times credit has been given to more recent scholars (cf. G. R. Driver: JTS, 44 (1943) § 173-174, p. 23), there are numerous others deservedly forgotten. Within more narrow limits, one might study the various reconstructions of Psalms 9 and 10 (9 A and B). Very good reasons can be given for the view that this was originally one alphabetic psalm; but how can this alphabetic feature be restored throughout the text? How can one obtain anything like a satisfactory sense? Cf., beside the commentaries on the Book of Psalms, v.gr., Gray; *Expositor*, 1906, Sept., 233-253; G. R. Driver, JTS, 43 (1943) 151 ff; J. Leveen, *ibid.*, 45 (1944) 16-21. So also in the case of Psalm 68 (67), cf., for instance, P. Haupt, AJSL (1907, pp. 220-240); J. C. Ball, JTS (1910, pp. 415-432); Riessler (*Theol. Q. S.*, 1912, 169-182); Cassuto (*Tarbiz*, 1940 XII, Aug. 1, p. 27); or in the case of Psalm 110 (109) with its abundant literature.

One might also compare recent critical translations of the Old Testament, such as those of Kautzsch, Moffatt, and the American translation of Chicago. The American Version does indeed introduce conjectural emendations into its text (v.gr., Psalm 2:11-12, cf. 1927 edition with notes, p. v.), yet on the whole it is more moderate in this point than Moffatt's version. Compare v.gr., the treatment of Gen. 4:8 in Am.V. (with note *i. h. l.*) and in Moffatt. Indeed good arguments can be given to justify Moffatt's procedure (p. XVII). Moffatt, wherever he was satisfied with some correction or conjecture, making a plausible sense, preferred to adopt that correction or conjecture rather than to leave a gap in the text (p. XVII). This involves "a large act of faith" on the part of the reader, as he acknowledges (p. XVIII). However, in those places, would not it have been advisable to warn the reader, by some means, that he is called upon then to make an act of faith?

On the value of conjectural emendation, see, for instance, D. W. Thomas, *The Recovery*, p. 35 ff.; cf. de Vaux, O.P., in *Rev. Bibl.* 1940, pp. 151 ff; also N. Peters, *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene Hebräische Text des B. Ekklesiastikus* (Freib. B.: 1902), pp. 79 ff.

mistakes by calling our attention to them in a spirit of cooperation and charity. We need not assure them that the work is done out of love for the Scriptures, which we all revere as the word of God, in a spirit of loyalty to the Church, and with the purpose of being of some service to the faithful. Even if some readers find in our translation features with which they may at first be inclined to disagree because of their unfamiliar character, may we ask them to exercise charity in their judgments and, above all, not to usurp the function of judges of orthodoxy? We mean to do our work as men of good faith, guided by the light of science as well as of faith, and with the approval of the lawful authorities. The approval of the Episcopal Committee, of which we hope to remain worthy, will, we hope, be regarded by all as a guarantee of the correctness, if not of the perfection, of our work.

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DEFENSE OF THE HEXAEMERON

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III

1: DEFENSE OF THE WORK OF THE FOURTH DAY

The narration of the work of the fourth day is contained in verses 14-19. Gen. 1:14: "And God said: 'Let there be made lights in the firmament of heaven so that they may shine upon the earth and divide between day and night.'¹

Verse 15: And let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years; and let them be for brightness in the firmament of heaven, so that they may shine upon the earth.' And thus it was done.²

Verse 16: And God made two lights, a greater and a less: the greater light unto the ruling of the day and the lesser light unto the ruling of the night, and the stars.³

¹ "Et dixit Deus: Fiant sidera in firmamento coeli, sic ut luceant super terram, et dividant inter diem et noctem" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 14; MPL 34, 182). *Lib. imp.* 12 (MPL 34, 235) has "luminaria" instead of "sidera" and omits "sic." *De Gen. ad lit.* 2, 13 (MPL 34, 273) has "luminaria" for sidera," retains "sic" in mss., and after "super terram" inserts: "in inchoationem diei et noctis" and repeats "ut" before "dividant." In *Locutiones in Heptateuchum* 1, 1 (MPL 34, 485) this variation is read: "Et dividant inter medium diei et inter medium noctis"; and in *Confess.* 13, 18 (MPL 32, 854): "Fiant in firmamento luminaria, luceant super terram et dividant inter diem et noctem" (cf. McIntosh, *op. et loc. cit.*).

² "Et sint in signa, et in tempora, et in dies, et in annos; et sint in splendorem in firmamento coeli, sic ut luceant super terram. Et sic est factum" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 14; MPL 34, 182-183). *Lib. imp.* 12 (MPL 34, 235) has the ablative "in ... in signis, et in temporibus ..." *De Gen. ad lit.* 2, 13 (MPL 34, 273) transposes the order of the last sentence: "Et factum est sic." The variants are these: *Quaest. in Hept.* 5, 6 (MPL 34, 750) has "in signis, etc."; *Adnot. in Job* 1, 38 (MPL 34, 877), "Et sint in signis et in temporibus, etc."; *Enarr. in Ps.* 109, 16 (MPL 37, 1458-1459), "Ut sint in signis, etc." *Epist.* 55, 7 (MPL 33, 211) has the ablative "in signis." (Cf. McIntosh *op. et loc. cit.*)

³ "Et fecit Deus duo luminaria majus et minus: luminare majus in inchoationem diei, et luminare minus in inchoationem noctis, et stellas" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 14; (MPL 34, 183). *Lib. imp.* 13 (MPL 34, 236) omits the adjectives "majus et minus" after "luminaria" and instead of the phrase "in inchoationem" has simply the word "initium." *De Gen. ad lit.* 2, 13 (MPL 34, 273) substitutes "magna" for "majus et minus." *Contra Faust.* 14, 11 (MPL 42, 300) has the variation: "Solem in potestatem diei, lunam in potestatem noctis" under a twofold citation, viz., "Gen. 1:16" and "Ps. 135:8,9" (cf. McIntosh *op. et loc. cit.*).

Verse 17: And God set them in the firmament of heaven so that they might shine upon the earth.⁴

Verse 18: And might rule the day and the night, and might divide between the day and the night. And God saw that it was good.⁵

Verse 19: And there was made evening and there was made morning the fourth day."⁶

The Manicheans attack the things narrated in the above verses by saying: we now see a day pass through the rising and the setting of the sun; it is, therefore, impossible that the first three days of creation should be without sun. We also see now that night comes about through the absence of sun, i.e., night falls in that place from which the sun absents itself while returning from west to east. How, then, can it be that only on the fourth day the sun and the moon and the stars were made? what of the three preceding days and nights?

In answer, Augustine gives two explanations of the above verses: prescinding from the fact that it has been said: "And there was made evening and there was made morning," the first three days could have been computed individually as the amount of time now consumed by the sun in going from the east to the west and back again. This duration or amount of time could be experienced even by men who dwell in caves and who accordingly cannot see the rising and the setting of the sun. In the judgment of such men this space of time could be completed without the sun, even before the sun was made, and thus could be computed the first three days.⁷

Such an explanation, however, does not satisfy Augustine, and he abandons it in the face of the dictum: "And there was made

⁴ "Et posuit illas Deus in firmamento coeli, sic ut luceant super terram" *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 14 (MPL 34, 183). *Lib. imp.* 13 (MPL 34, 237) has the neuter "illa" instead of "illas" and omits the "sic." *De Gen. ad lit.* 2, 13 (MPL 34, 273) has "ea" in place of "illas" (the Mss. have "ea" but edited works have "eas").

⁵ "Et praesint diei et nocti, et dividant inter diem et noctem. Et vidit Deus quia bonum est" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 14; MPL 34, 183). *De Gen. ad lit.* 2, 13 (MPL 34, 273) has this variation: "Et ut sint in inchoationem diei et noctis, et ut dividant inter lucem et tenebras. Et vidit Deus quia bonum est."

⁶ "Et facta est vespera, et factum est mane dies quartus" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 14; MPL 34, 183).

⁷ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 14; MPL 34, 183.

evening and there was made morning"; for without the coursing of the sun, neither evening is able to be made, nor morning.

The only alternative left, then, is to interpret this place in the Mosaic narrative according to the interpretation given above where the computation of the first day was discussed. A day is regulated by the operation taking place within its indeterminate period of time; evening denotes the consummation of one work; morning, the inception of another.⁸ As a general rule, men begin their labors in the morning and quit them in the evening; hence an analogy can be struck between man, the laborer, and God, the Creator, in order that we might better understand those things which, because of our deficiency, we cannot comprehend.

The Manicheans continue their attacks and insolently ask what is meant when here it is said that the lights in the firmament were made for signs, for seasons, etc. If these lights were not made until the fourth day, what of the first three days? Were they lacking in their times or did they not pertain to spaces of times?

To this Augustine responds, showing that the lights in the firmament were made for the purpose of aiding men to distinguish the passing times. As a matter of fact, times can pass and elapse even though there did not exist in the firmament lights to distinguish them. It is the function of these lights, through their coursings, to distinguish spaces of time. Men take note of the various positions of these lights in the firmament and thus distinguish times and seasons, etc. Sometimes, indeed, the day is so cloudy that men cannot see these lights to distinguish the times; yet the hours pass even though they cannot be distinguished or noted. The lights in the firmament were made as an *aid* to man in distinguishing times.

The greater light which God made to rule over the day is the sun. The sun not only begins the day, but also by its setting brings the day to an end and completes it. Augustine uses the expression "unto the ruling of the day"⁹ and arrives at it in this

⁸ It must not be thought that the Mosaic narrative of the work of the six days of creation posits any duration in the creative act, as though God were in need of certain intervals of time, according to the predefined days, for the establishment of His works. Augustine teaches that God created all things simultaneously (*De Gen. ad lit.* 10, 2; 5, 3; 4, 35: MPL 34, 409, 323, 320). Confer what has been said above (p. 472, note 65) regarding "creation" and "formation."

⁹ "... in inchoationem diei" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 14: MPL 34, 183).

way: the word "inchoation" (inchoationem) signifies "beginning" (principium), and this latter is understood as principality, rule, or dominance (principatus). Accordingly, when it is said that the greater light was made "in inchoationem diei" the meaning is that the sun was made to rule over the day. The lesser light is the moon. The moon, however, does not always begin the night; sometimes, indeed, it appears to our view when the night has already ended. But by reason of the brilliance of its light, it surpasses the other lights that appear at night, and for this reason it is said to have been made to rule over the night.¹⁰

There may seem to be a contradiction between that which is related in verse 18: "... (that they) might divide between the day and the night" and that which is read above: "And God divided between the light and the darkness, and God called the light day, and the darkness He called night."¹¹ How had God made this division the first day, if the stars do it on the fourth?

Augustine points out that the present citation: "... (that they) might divide between the day and the night" is to be interpreted in the following manner: Day and night having been divided one from the other, as related above, a division among the lights in the firmament is now effected in such a way that some are designated to appear by day, others by night. The day is given over to the sun the night, to the moon and the other stars.

2: DEFENSE OF THE WORK OF THE FIFTH DAY

The work of the fifth day of creation is described in verses 20-23.

Gen. 1:20: "And God said: 'Let the waters bring forth creeping things (having) living souls, and flying things, flying above the earth under the firmament of heaven.' And thus it was done."¹²

Verse 21: And God made the great whales, and every soul of animals and creeping things which the waters brought forth according to the genus of each, and every winged flying genus

¹⁰ "... in inchoationem noctis" (*ibid.*).

¹¹ Gen. 1:4-5; MPL 34, 180.

¹² "Et dixit Deus: Ejiciant aquae reptilia animarum vivarum, et volatilia volantia super terram sub firmamento coeli. Et sic factum est" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 15: MPL 34, 184). *De Gen. ad lit.* 3, 1 (MPL 34, 279) has "educant" instead of "ejiciant," omits "volantia," and has "secundum firmamentum coeli" for "sub firmamento coeli." *Enarr. in Ps.* 80, 2; 49, 18 (MPL 37, 1035; 36, 577) and *Confess.* 13, 20 (MPL 32, 856) have "pro-

according to its genus. And God saw that they were good.¹³

Verse 22: And God blessed them, saying: 'Increase and multiply and fill the waters of the sea, and let the flying things be multiplied upon the earth.'¹⁴

Verse 23: And there was made evening and there was made morning the fifth day."¹⁵

The Manicheans here wish to know why not only the fishes and the other animals that live in the waters, but also the flying things that fly in the air, are said to be born of the waters.

Augustine answers them, first of all recalling to mind the opinions of learned authorities on the subject. These indeed, after diligently searching into the matter, generally consider misty and humid air in the same class with the waters. It is formed and made misty by the quasi vapors that arise from land and sea, and in a certain manner is made thick by this moisture that it might support the flight of birds.¹⁶ Even on the most serene nights, dew falls, and drops of this dew gather on the blades of grass. Mountain climbers, for example, those who ascend the lofty heights of Olympus, recount that they found the air so rare there, that they had difficulty in breathing and even

ducant." *Serm.* 268:3 (MPL 38, 1233): *natantia*; *De anima et origine* 4, 23 (MPL 44, 546): "*Producant aquae repentia animarum viventia*"; *Loc.* 1, 2 (MPL 34, 485): "...*volatilia volantia super terram secundum firmamentum coeli*." (Cf. *A Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis, loc. cit.*)

¹³ "Et fecit Deus cetos magnos, et omnem animam animalium et reptentium quae ejecerunt aquae secundum uniuscujusque genus, et omne genus volatile pennatum secundum genus. Et vidit Deus quia bona sunt" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 15: MPL 34, 184). *Lib. imp.* 15 (MPL 34, 239) omits the "et" between "animalium" and "reptentium," substitutes "eorum" for "uniuscujusque," inserts "suum" between "secundum" and "genus" after omitting "genus" before "volatile," and uses the singular form "quia bonum est." In *De Gen. ad lit.* 3, 1 (MPL 34, 279) the verse reads: 'Et fecit Deus cetos magnos et omne animal reptilium, quae educerunt aquae secundum genus eorum et omne volatile pennatum ... etc.'; *ibid.* 3, 12 (MPL 34, 287) has "... omnem animam animalium reptilium" instead of "... omne animal reptilium."

¹⁴ "Et benedixit illa Deus dicens: Crescite et multiplicamini et replete aquas maris, et volatilia multiplicentur super terram" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 15: MPL 34, 184). *Lib. imp.* 15 (MPL 34, 240) and *De Gen. ad lit.* 3, 1 (MPL 34, 279) have "ea" for "illa," and the latter alone has "in mari" for "maris."

¹⁵ "Et facta est vespera et factum est mane dies quintus" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 15: MPL 34, 184). (Cf. McIntosh, *op. et loc. cit.*).

¹⁶ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 15: MPL 34, 184.

had to insert moist sponges into their nostrils to overcome the lack of moisture in the air they had to breathe. In that great altitude, no rain falls, no wind blows, nor has any bird ever been seen.

The flying creatures were made to fly above the earth *under the firmament of heaven* in the air made humid by the moisture that arises from land and sea. Not without merit then, are the birds also said to be born of the waters, since they are enabled to fly in this moist and humid air.

3: DEFENSE OF THE WORK OF THE SIXTH DAY

Verses 24-31 recount the work of the sixth day. The creation of the animals is described in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth verses:

Gen. 1:24: "And God said: 'Let the earth bring forth the living soul according to each kind of four-footed (animals) and of serpents and of the beasts of the earth.' And thus it was done."¹⁷

Verse 25: And God made the beasts of the earth according to (their) kind, and the cattle according to (their) kind, and all creeping things of the earth according to (their) kind. And God saw that they were good."¹⁸

Against the account of the creation of the animals as related here, the Manicheans raise the same difficulty which they raised against the creation of the poisonous and thorny herbage and the

¹⁷ "Et dixit Deus: Ejiciat terra animam vivam secundum unumquodque genus quadrupedum et serpentium et bestiarum terrae. Et sic est factum" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 16: MPL 34, 184-5). *Lib. imp.* 15 (MPL 34, 241) has "suum" instead of "unumquodque," and after "terrae" adds "secundum genus et pecora secundum genus" and transposes the order of the last sentence to read: "Et factum est sic." *De Gen. ad lit.* 3, 11 (MPL 34, 285) quotes the verse in this fashion: "Et dixit Deus: *Educat* terra animam vivam secundum genus: *Quadrupedia et reptilia et bestias terrae secundum genus et pecora secundum genus. Et factum est sic.*" *De civ. Dei* 13, 24 (MPL 41, 401); 16, 7 (MPL 41, 485); *Sermo* 268 (MPL 38, 1233) et al. have "producat" for "ejiciat." *De civ. Dei* 13, 24 (MPL 41, 401), and *De anima et origine* 4, 23 (MPL 44, 546) have "viventem" instead of "vivam" (Cf. *A Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis*, loc. cit.).

¹⁸ "Et fecit Deus bestias terrae secundum genus, et pecora secundum genus, et omnia reptantia terrae secundum genus. Et vidit Deus quia bona sunt." (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 16: MPL 34, 185). *Lib. imp.* 16 (MPL 34, 241) has "serpentia" instead of "reptantia," and "bonum est" instead of "bona sunt." *De Gen. ad lit.* 3, 11 (MPL 34, 285) has "reptilia" for "reptantia"; *ibid.* 6, 12 (MPL 34, 348) has this variation "Et finxit Deus adhuc de terra omnes bestias." (Cf. McIntosh, *op. et loc cit.*)

non-fruit-bearing trees. Why, they ask,¹⁹ did God make so many animals that are neither necessary for man nor useful for him, so many that are actually harmful and fearsome?

Augustine answers: we should not despise those things, of whose causes, i.e., of whose reasons for being, we are ignorant. To the Creator of the world, all the things which He created are beautiful and good; each thing occupies its proper place in the government of the universe. He uses all things according to a predefined end and keeps His world in better order than we do our homes. Men are so very ignorant of the purpose of so many things, that it behooves them rather to be silent than to ridicule those things whose end they know not. No one but a fool considers superfluous those instruments which he sees in a workshop and whose purpose and use are unknown to him. The thinking man knows that each tool has its definite use and accordingly he believes it to be necessary. For a greater reason, the wise man, considering the world and its Creator, does not dare to find fault with those things whose reason for being is unknown. All things are, in their own way, beautiful; every animal is beautiful: the members of his body, in their dimension and number and co-ordination, contribute to the unity of orderliness; unity shines forth in the distribution of his members, and "unity is the form of all beauty."²⁰ The perfections which make for beauty in created things are found in a sublime degree in the eternal and unchangeable God, from whom come all beautiful things, both the highest and the lowest.

Many things are beautiful in themselves, even though they may not seem so to us, blinded by our sins. In relation to us, all animals can be divided into three classes: the useful, the harmful, and the superfluous. The Manicheans have nothing to say against the useful animals because, perhaps, they see the reason for their existence. In response to their querulous demands concerning the other two classes, Augustine explains: the harmful animals were created as a trial for us and in punishment of our sins and also as a lesson for us not to place too much hope in this life beset with dangers and tribulations, but rather to love and long for that other life where the utmost security reigns. And the superfluous animals, rather than being a source of displeasure to us because they are not useful, should be a reason for gratitude

¹⁹ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 16: MPL 34, 185.

²⁰ *Epistola* 18, n. 2: MPL 33, 85.

in this, that they are not a hindrance. Indeed they are not necessary, yet they serve to complement the integrity of the universe whose administrator is the eternal and unchangeable Creator for whose praise they were made.²¹

The creation of man is narrated in verses 26-31.

Gen. 1:26: "And God said: 'Let us make man to Our image and likeness; and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea and the flying things of heaven and all cattle and wild beasts and the whole earth and all creeping things that creep upon the earth.'"²²

Verse 27: God made man to the image and likeness of God. Male and female He made them.²³

Verse 28: And God blessed them saying: 'Increase and multiply and beget (offspring) and fill the earth. Have power over the fishes of the sea and the flying things of heaven and all creep-

²¹ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 16: MPL 34, 185.

²² "Et dixit Deus: 'Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et habeat potestatem piscium maris et volatilium coeli et omnium pecorum et ferarum et omnis terrae et omnium reptilium quae super terram repunt. (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 17: MPL 34, 186). *Lib. imp.* 16 (MPL 34, 241) quotes only the first part of this verse, viz., "Et dixit . . . similitudinem nostram." *De Gen. ad lit.* 3, 19 (MPL 34, 291) has "dominetur" instead of "habeat potestatem," omits "et ferarum" and substitutes "repentium super terram" for the clause "quae super terram repunt." The variants of this verse are many: *Loc.* 1, 2 (MPL 34, 485) has "Faciamus hominem secundum imaginem et secundum similitudinem"; *De Gen. ad lit.* 6, 2 and 8 (MPL 34, 339, 344) reads the same as *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 17 (MPL 34, 186) as quoted above, except that it omits "et ferarum," substitutes "repentium" for "reptilium," and transposes the final clause thus: "quae repunt super terram"; *De civ. Dei* 19, 15 (MPL 41, 643): "Dominetur piscium maris et volatilium coeli et omnium repentium quae repunt super terram"; *Sermo* 43, 2 (MPL 38, 255) quotes: "et serpentium quae repunt super terram" only, immediately after "pecorum"; *Quaest.* 1, 153 (MPL 34, 590): "Habeat potestatem piscium maris et volatilium coeli et omnium pecorum quae sunt super terram"; *In Epist. Joann.* 8, 6 (MPL 35, 2039) has the same as the immediately foregoing, except that it substitutes "repunt" for "sunt." Cf. McIntosh, *op. et loc. cit.*

²³ "Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei. Masculum et feminam fecit illos." The first part of this verse is not found in the first book of *De Gen. contra man.*, but appears in the seventh chapter of the second book (*De Gen. contra man.* 2, 7: MPL 34, 201; 1, 19: MPL 34, 187). *Lib. imp.* 16 (MPL 34, 244) quotes only the first part thus: "Et fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem Dei." (*De Gen. ad lit. lib. imp.* ends with chapter 16). *De Gen. ad lit.* 3, 19 (MPL 34, 291): "Et fecit Deus hominem, ad imaginem Dei fecit eum: masculum et feminam fecit eos." *Contra Jul.* 4, 14 (MPL 44, 772) has only the latter part of the verse and therein substitutes "eos" for "illos."

ing things that creep upon the earth.'"²⁴

Verses 29 and 30 are not quoted in *De Genesi contra manichaeos*.²⁵

Verse 31: "And God saw that all things whatsoever He made, were very good."²⁶

The Manicheans are wont loquaciously to agitate this question and to insult those who believe that man was made to the image and likeness of God. They consider the figure of the human body and unhappily ask whether God possesses nostrils, teeth, a beard, and even internal members, which in man are necessary. To believe such things of God is ridiculous, indeed impious; accordingly, they deny that man was made to the image and likeness of God.

²⁴ "Et benedixit eos Deus dicens: 'Crescite et multiplicamini et generate et replete terram. Habete potestatem piscium maris et volatilium coeli et repentium omnium quae repunt super terram.'" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 19: MPL 34, 187). In the first part of this verse, *De Gen. ad lit.* 3, 19 (MPL 34, 291) omits "et generate" and substitutes "implete" for "replete"; *ibid.*, the second part of this verse reads thus: "... et dominamini eius et principamini piscium maris et volatilium coeli et omnium pecorum et omnis terrae et omnium reptilium repentium super terram." The variants are many: *Contra Jul.* 4, 14 (MPL 44, 772) has "Et benedixit illos" instead of "Et benedixit eos." *Contra duas epist. pelag.* 4, 2 (MPL 44, 610) reads "Et dixit: Crescite...;" *ibid.*, 4, 5 (MPL 44, 615) reads the same except for the present "dicit"; *De civ. Dei*, 14, 21 (MPL 41, 428) has "implete"; *ibid.*, 22, 24 (MPL 41, 788) has "replete." Cf. McIntosh, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

²⁵ Verse 29: "And God said: 'Behold I have given to you every herb bearing seed which is upon the whole earth, and every tree which has in itself the fruit of (its) seed; it will be food for you. "Et dixit Deus: 'Ecce dedi vobis omne pabulum seminale seminans semen quod est super omnem terram, et omne lignum quod habet in se fructum seminis seminalis; vobis erit ad escam.'" (*De Gen. ad lit.* 3, 19: MPL 34, 291); *ibid.* 6, 8 (MPL 34, 344) "fructiferum" is inserted after "lignum" and the last clause reads: "Quod erit vobis..." *Contra Jul.* 4, 14 (MPL 44, 772) has "fenum sativum" instead of "pabulum seminale," "sativi" for "seminalis," and "in escam" instead of "ad escam." Cf. McIntosh, *op. et loc. cit.*)

Verse 30: "And for all the beasts of the earth and for all the flying things of heaven and every reptile creeping upon the earth, which (reptile) has in it the spirit of life; and every green herb for food. And thus it was done.'" "Et omnibus bestiis terrae, et omnibus volatilibus coeli, et omni reptili repenti super terram, quod habet in se spiritum vitae; et omne pabulum viride in escam.' Et factum est sic." (*De Gen. ad lit.* 3, 19: MPL 34, 291). *Contra Jul.* 4, 14 (MPL 44, 772) has "serpenti," "animam," and "fenum" for "reptili," "spiritum," and "pabulum" respectively.

²⁶ "Et vidit Deus omnia quaecumque fecit, esse bona valde" (*De Gen. contra man.* 1, 21: MPL 34, 188). Here the formula with which the narra-

Answering them, Augustine repeats once again the principle laid down above, viz., that Holy Scripture often makes use of visible things to make clear to us invisible and more difficult things,—and this in compensation for our deficiency. He convicts them of unfairness and inconsistency because, while they reject the Old Testament and rail against it for the use of such figures as are considered here, they nevertheless accept the New and take no offense when the Evangelists speak of the ears, feet, finger, etc., of God²⁷ or when Saint Paul speaks of the “shield of faith,” the “helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit.”²⁸ All these figures, obviously, are to be interpreted spiritually.

Faithful Catholics do not believe that God is inclosed in a corporeal form. When man²⁹ is said to have been made to the image of God, the meaning is that the resemblance is according to the interior man, i.e., in the reason and intellect with which man is endowed. Precisely because of this special endowment does man hold dominion over brute animals. Not because of his body, then, is man said to have been made to the image and likeness of God, but rather because of his intellect, the possession of which gives him dominion over the animals.

The posture of the human body, likewise, indicates that man is superior to brute animals and is, in this superiority, like to God. The bodies of the brutes are inclined toward the earth, whereas the body of man stands erect tending toward things supernal. This erect posture attests to the fact that the natural tendency of the mind is not toward things of this earth, but rather toward those on high. Because he has been endowed with reason and

tion of the work of each day closes, is not explicitly quoted; however, after the direct citation of the text of Genesis, Augustine writes: “... and the rest, up to the evening and the morning with which the sixth day is completed” (“... et cetera usque ad vesperam et mane quo completur dies sextus:” *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 17; MPL 34, 186.) in *De Gen. ad lit.* 3, 19 (MPL) 34, 291) the verse reads thus: “Et vidit Deus omnia quae fecit, et ecce bona valde. Et facta est vespera, et factum est mane dies sextus.” This verse is quoted rather frequently and without variants except for slight adaptations to the context in which it is cited; cf. *De bono viduitatis* 6 (MPL 40, 435): “Fecit Deus omnia, et ecce bona valde” (cf. McIntosh, *A Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis*, pp. 17, 45).

²⁷ Mt. 5:35; Luke 11:20.

²⁸ Eph. 6:16-17.

²⁹ Man is a rational substance consisting of soul and body. “Homo est substantia rationalis constans ex anima et corpore” (*De Trinitate* 15, 7: MPL 42, 1065).

intellect, then, man is said to have been made to the image and likeness of God.

The rational power of the soul by which man surpasses the brute animals and dominates them in accordance with the law of nature is often called, in Holy Scripture, the spirit of man.³⁰ God breathed this spirit into man when He formed him out of the earth.

When "God fashioned man out of the slime of the earth and breathed into him the spirit of life, and man was made into a living soul,"³¹ the meaning is not that here a new action was begun; the significance is rather that here a fuller exposition is given of what was done when "God made man to the image and likeness of God." One should not suppose that God fashioned man out of the slime of the earth as though, lacking a better and more celestial matter out of which to make him, He was forced to fashion him out of mud.³² God the Omnipotent lacks nothing. Nor is it to be marveled at, that out of such common material He wrought such a wonderful work as the unblemished, incorruptible and immortal body of man.³³ Only after original sin did this body become subject to corruption and death in punishment of man's transgression. Viewed in the light of the significant roles its constituents play in the pages of Holy Writ, mud, a mixture of earth and water, is not to be condemned.

"And breathed into him the spirit of life." This expression means that if, as yet, only the body existed, then the soul was now joined to it. With regard to the soul, two alternatives are here considered: 1) either the soul, having already been created and resting, as it were, in the mouth of God, i.e., in His Truth or in His Wisdom, departed thence when it was breathed forth into the body; (this departure is not to be construed as a local motion, for God who is omnipresent can not be confined to any place); or, 2) the soul was created at the moment God, by the Spirit of His power, breathed the spirit of life into the body.

If, however, man had already been fashioned, body and soul,

³⁰ *De Gen. contra man.* 2, 8: MPL 34, 202.

³¹ "Finxit Deus hominem de limo terrae et insufflavivit in eum spiritum vitae et factus est homo in animam viventem" (Gen. 2: 7; *De Gen. contra man.* 2, 7 and 8: MPL 34, 201).

³² *De Gen. contra man. loc. cit.*

³³ Man, constituted in the state of original justice, was *able not to die*; this ability, too, distinguished him from angels who are *not able to die*. Cf. *De Gen. ad lit.* 6, 25: MPL 34, 354.

then the expression "breathed into him the spirit of life" signifies that God added to the soul the power of sensing, thus making man into a living soul. This breathing action on the part of God is not converted into the soul as though the soul were, or became, a part of God, but rather, this action acted upon the living soul. We should understand that at this point man, though rational, is as yet animal and not spiritual. Though elevated to dominance over brute animals by virtue of his rational soul, he tended toward truths of an inferior order (*scientia*). He became spiritual when, located in paradise, he contemplated, through his intelligence, supernal truths (*sapientia*), and observed the divine precepts.³⁴ Dismissed from paradise because of his disobedience, he fell back into the state of the "animal Adam" in which we are all born³⁵ and according to which we act until, through baptism, we are re-created and re-vivified and re-instated in paradise through the new, "spiritual Adam," Our Lord Jesus Christ.³⁶

The soul, through whose rational power man dominates the beasts and resembles God to whose image and likeness he has been made, was made by God. It cannot be a part of God, for it is changeable, it errs, and sometimes finds itself in sad states. God, on the contrary, is immutable. The soul, made by God almighty, cannot be its Maker, because, whatever is *made*, cannot be God.

The soul, considered also under the aspect of the spirit of life that God breathed into man thus making him into a living soul, cannot be God or a part of God. Even considered as the "breath" of God, i.e., the action by which God breathed into man, it was made by Him, and therefore cannot be identified with Him. Neither can it be a part of God, since God is indivisible. In truth, it is not said that this "breath" was converted into a living soul but rather that it made man into a living soul. Even endowed with the spirit of life, man at times errs, at times acts prudently, shows himself to be changeable. But God is immutable, wherefore this spirit cannot be God.

³⁴ This is the correct distinction between wisdom and knowledge: the intellectual cognition of eternal things pertains to wisdom; the rational cognition of temporal things pertains to knowledge. (*De Trinitate* 12, 15: MPL 42, 1012).

³⁵ In the *Retractions* 1, 10 (MPL 32, 600), Augustine declares that here he did not understand the words of Saint Paul (1 Cor. 15:44-46) as the Apostle meant them to be understood.

³⁶ 1 Cor. 15:44-46.

The Manicheans deny that man has power over the beasts. Since there are many that he can neither capture nor avoid, even though he so wish; and since, too, there are many others that harm and even kill him,³⁷ where is his so-called dominion over them?

Augustine points out the error of those who confuse the condition of man before the fall with his subsequent state. Before the fall, man enjoyed the gift of immortality; after it, he lost this perfection by which he had been made to the image of God. Before his prevarication, he could not be killed; nor, as we read, did any harmful animals exist at that time. Even afterward he could not be dominated by any animals, although it is true that because of the frailty of his body he could be killed by some. Yet the number of animals over which he still held dominion was so great as to include almost all.

This dominion over the animals which man clearly holds by reason of his intellect, can also be interpreted allegorically. When we, through the exercise of temperance and modesty, hold in subjection to right reason the affections and motions of lower nature, we attain the ascendancy. Indeed, unless we hold in subjection these motions (which we have in common with brute animals), they break forth, lead us into foul practises, and render us very much like the brute beast. Maintaining, on the other hand, control over these, we may be said, in a manner, to dominate the brute kingdom.³⁸

Augustine takes up for consideration, in its place, the latter part of verse 27: "Male and female He made them," and the first part of verse 28: "And God blessed them, saying: 'Increase and multiply and beget (offspring) and fill the earth.'" He asks whether this joining together of male and female and this special blessing are to be taken in the carnal or the spiritual sense. Here he interprets them in the spiritual sense: this joining together of male and female was brought about for the purpose of filling the earth with spiritual joys, with the male in the role of the ruler, and the female in the corresponding character of the submissive.³⁹ Only later, i.e., after the commission of original sin, did this spiritual relationship pass over into the carnal. The Tagastan bases this interpretation on the fact that children

³⁷ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 18: MPL 34, 187.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1, 20: MPL 34, 188.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1, 19: MPL 34, 187.

of this world did not exist before the fall of the first parents. He believes himself upheld in this interpretation by the Gospel narrative of Saint Luke,⁴⁰ wherein Our Lord, comparing the future life which is promised to us, to the present life in which the "children of this world marry and are given in marriage," demonstrates that this carnal generation is to be contemned.⁴¹ Later, however, in another work,⁴² Augustine declares that he can in no wise approve the interpretation given to his words by those who conclude that the only meaning to be drawn therefrom is that men would have had no offspring had they not sinned.⁴³

Verse 31: "And God saw that all things whatsoever He made, were very good." Augustine points out why they are said to be very good. In recounting the work of the five preceding days, the hagiographer sums up the work of each day: "And God saw that it was good." But now God, on the sixth day, viewing all things whatsoever He made, saw that they were superlatively good. And this is only right; for if the work of each day, considered in itself, is good and worthy of praise by the prudent, then all the works, taken together, are more than good: they are very good. All the works taken together as parts to make up a whole, concur to form the universe which has its name from unity.⁴⁴

"Heaven and earth and all things that He made, having been completed, God rested on the seventh day from all His works, and blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it because He rested from His works."⁴⁵

The Manicheans bluntly demand: "What rest did God need? was He, perhaps, fatigued and tired from the work of the six days?"⁴⁶ And in an attempt to prove that here the New Testament contradicts the Old, they cite the words of our Lord in the Gospel:⁴⁷ "My Father works even until now."

⁴⁰ Luke 20:34-36.

⁴¹ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 19: MPL 34, 187.

⁴² *Retract.* 1, 10: MPL 32, 599.

⁴³ "Quod vero ibi legitur, benedictionem Dei qua dictum est, 'Crescite et multiplicamini' (Gen. 1, 28), in carnalem fecunditatem post peccatum convertam esse credendam (*Lib.* 1, c. 19, n. 30); si non potest alio modo dictum videri, nisi ut putentur illi homines non habituri fuisse filios homines nisi peccassent, omnino non approbo" (*Ibid.*).

⁴⁴ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 21: MPL 34, 189.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 1, 22.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ John 5:17.

In response to their blunt demand, Augustine likens the Manicheans to the Jews who found fault with Jesus because He healed on the Sabbath.⁴⁸ These latter, interpreting in a carnal sense God's resting, and observing in the same sense the Sabbath day of rest, failed to grasp the significance of the Sabbath. Likewise the followers of Manes, too utterly carnal in their observances and in their execration of that which they fail to understand, know no true rest.

When it is said that God rested from the works which He made (all of which were good), the meaning is not that He needed rest as though He were tired. Here is signified nothing other than that rest from all our works which will be given to us, provided these works are good. This manner of speaking is found in the pages of Holy Writ, e.g., "The Lord your God trieth you that He may know if you love Him."⁴⁹ He permits us to be tried, not that He may learn something (for nothing lies hidden from Him) but that He may make us know how much we have advanced in His love. We have many similar expressions in everyday life: we call a day happy that makes us happy; a climate lazy that makes us lazy; a pit blind because we do not see it; a tongue polite because it speaks polite words; a time quiet in which we rest free from all annoyances. Analogously, God is said to rest from His works, to teach us that in Him we shall rest from all our works, provided that these works are good.

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⁴⁸ *Contra Adimant.* 2: MPL 42, 131.

⁴⁹ Deut. 13:3.

THE EDICT OF CAESAR AUGUSTUS (LK. 2:1-5)

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In the Old Testament we read the following Messianic prophecies: "The sceptre shall not be taken away from Juda, nor a ruler from his thigh, till he comes that is to be sent, and he shall be the expectation of the nations" (Gen. 49:10). "Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel" (Isa. 7:14). "Seventy weeks are shortened upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, that transgression may be finished, and sin may have an end, and iniquity may be abolished; and everlasting justice may be brought; and vision and prophecy may be fulfilled; and the saint of saints may be anointed" (Dan. 9:24). "And thou, Bethlehem Ephrata, art a little one among the thousands of Juda: out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be the ruler in Israel: and his going forth is from the beginning, from the days of eternity" (Mich. 5:2). These prophecies were fulfilled in the coming of Christ.

With the subjugation of Egypt, in 30 B.C., and the submission of the East in 29 B.C., a new era of peace and prosperity dawned in Roman history. Caesar Augustus (b. 23 Sept., 63 B.C.; d. 19 Aug., 14 A.D.) was *de facto* the lord of the Roman Empire in 30 B.C., but *de jure* was not invested with the plenitude of power till 23 B.C., which power he retained till his demise, 14 A.D.

In 65 B.C., Cneius Pompey (106-48 B.C.) conquered Syria; and in 64 B.C., Syria was annexed as a province of the Roman Empire. In 63 B.C., he captured Jerusalem. From 63-40 B.C., Judea was a part of the province of Syria; from 40-4 B.C., Judea was a dependent principality under Herod the Great.

In the days of the Republic, no one had ever tried to settle how much money was needed to carry on the government, and how much of this sum each province ought justly to pay in the form of taxes. Augustus proceeded to put together huge census lists and property assessments, by which to determine the population and the total value of the property in each province.¹

Suidas, a Greek lexicographer of the tenth century, wrote on the term *ἀπογραφή* as follows:

Augustus, having become the sole master, chose twenty men distinguished for integrity and probity, and sent them through all the earth subject to him, to make a census of persons and goods, in order to apportion justly the contributions which should be paid into the public treasury. This was the first census. That which had preceded

¹ J. Breasted, *Ancient Times* (1916), p. 606.

was sort of a spoliation of the rich, as though the state regarded the possession of property as a public crime.²

Again, writing on Augustus: "When the Emperor Augustus wished to know the number of those who inhabited the Roman Empire, he caused them to be numbered individually."³

The rules for the census were severe and obnoxious to both Romans and provincials.

A person, who voluntarily absented himself from the census, became an *incensus* and was subject to the severest punishment. Servius Tullius is said to have threatened the *incensus* with imprisonment and death (Liv. 1.44); in the republican period, he might be sold by the state as a slave (Cic. *pro Caecin.* 34). Cicero pleaded the cause of his friend, Archias, who was absent from Rome. His plea was: that being in the army of Lucullus was sufficient reason for not having enrolled in the census.⁴

On the walls of a temple at Ancyra we have in the form of a "sacred inscription" the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, the best preserved copy of a secular document of the highest historical importance as to the life of Augustus—the *Index rerum a se gestarum*, originally incised on bronze tablets to be placed in front of his mausoleum in Rome (Suet. *Aug.* 101).⁵

The *Monumentum Ancyranum* attests that the census was taken up three times during the reign of Caesar Augustus:

28 B.C. registered 4,063,000 *civium capita*.

8 B.C. registered 4,233,000 *civium capita*.

14 A.B. registered 4,937,000 *civium capita*.⁶

These figures pertain to the Roman population in Italy. The population of the Roman Empire at the time of Caesar Augustus' demise is estimated at about 54,000,000.⁷

Not only Roman citizens but likewise other people were registered in various provinces. The *Tabula Claudiana* found at Lyons, France, in 1527, attests the registration of the Gauls. The *Lapis Venetus* discovered in Venice, in 1880, describes the numbering of the population of Apameia, Syria, during the governorship of P. Sulpicius Cyrinus. In the provinces of Africa, Lower Germany, and Spain similar censuses were conducted....

From various papyri documents found at Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, it is evident that there was a system of periodic censuses every fourteen years. From the eighth year of Nero (61-62) up to the year A.D.,

² *Lexicon*.

³ *Id.*

⁴ W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1878) p. 265.

⁵ J. E. Sandys, *A Companion to Latin Studies* (1921) p. 759.

⁶ Cf. J. E. Sandys, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

257-258, there is a series of documents to show that every fourteen years, there was a census by household. . . . It seems, therefore, most probable that St. Luke (2:1ff) is referring to the first census which began this periodic enrolment system of every fourteen years under Augustus. This system of periodic enrolment began 9-8 B.C.

The reason why a census was taken every fourteen years was to obtain a head-tax from all who had reached the age of fourteen. Since the name, age, profession, and the personal wealth of every one was carefully recorded on the official registers, all this information was preserved for other future taxes. Incidentally, it also gave the manpower of the future potential enemy.⁸

Originally, the censor was elected in the *comitia centuriata* held under the presidency of the consul.⁹ "His office was regarded as the highest dignity of the state, with the exception of the dictatorship; it was a *ἱερὰ ἀρχή*, a *sanctus magistratus*, to which the deepest reverence was due."¹⁰

In the days of Caesar Augustus it was an appointive office of the dictator for the provinces. These vicegerents of the emperor were called *legati Augusti pro praetore*, *legati praetorii*, *legati consulares* or simply *legati*, and they, like the governors of the *provinciae populi Romani*, had one or three *legati* as their assistants.¹¹

Historical records adduce the following names of legates of Caesar Augustus to Syria, according to the partial list of L. Szczepanski, S.J., from 9 B.C., to 14 A.D.:

C. Sentius Saturninus	9-6 B.C.
P. Quintilius Varus	6-4 B.C.
P. Sulpicius Quirinius	3-2 B.C.
P. Caesar	1 B.C.-4 A.D.
L. Volusius Saturninus	4-5 A.D.
P. Sulpicius Quirinius	6-12 A.D. ¹²

Doubt has been raised relative to the term *ἡγεμνευοντος* of St. Luke (2:2). Seemingly, it was contradictory to Roman policy to have two legates in a province simultaneously. Josephus does speak of two legates acting concurrently in Syria, e.g., "a hearing before Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then legates of Syria";¹³ "but that Sylleus had frequently come before Saturni-

⁸ J. Steinmueller, *A Gospel Harmony* (1942) p. XIX.

⁹ Cf. Gell. 13, 15; Liv. 40, 45.

¹⁰ Cic., *ad Fam.*, 3, 10.

¹¹ Cf. Strabo 3. Tac., *Ann.*, 12, 59.

¹² *Geo. Hist Palaestinae Antiquae* (1926), p. 225.

¹³ *Ant.* 16, 9, 1.

nus and Volumnius, the legates of Syria";¹⁴ "Saturninus sought moderation in the sentence of Herod's sons; Volumnius sought the death penalty."¹⁵

Apparently, we have two sets of legates acting concurrently. In this we may discern between the civil legates and the military legates.

The Emperor had financial interests in every province, senatorial as well as imperial. His financial agent (procurator) became a concurrent power with the governor in all the province, and in fact, a political agent of the ruler, and through him the collection of the senatorial revenues could be checked and watched, greatly to the benefit of all the provincials at the outset.¹⁶

Publius Sulpicius Quirinius was a man of consular rank, whom Tacitus designated a military genius. As the military legate of the Emperor, it was his duty to supervise the military aspect of the province; to take up the census; and to exact the revenues due the Emperor. Also being the *legatus militaris Augusti*, he was subject to no one save the Emperor.

And when the Emperor had decreed that the whole (Roman) world should be enrolled in the census, Quirinius was entrusted with this particular task. Judea being subject to the Syrian legate, Quirinius also had jurisdiction over Judea. He proceeded to fulfill the decree of the Emperor, and took up the census. "An inscription on the census of Quirinius once supposed a forgery is now accepted as genuine" (Rushford, no. 23).¹⁷

St. Luke alone recounts the fact of the census, for which he is subjected to severe criticism on the part of rationalists.

Having the Greek concept that history should be artistic, he arranges his facts in chronological order and weaves his sentences together with real literary ability. His Greek is pure and faultless as any profane author of his time. His selection of vocabulary and proper word sense show forth his profound knowledge of Greek, the accurate shade of the meaning of Greek words. He interweaves the spiritual with the human to enable man to understand the spiritual more clearly. To him, the first chapters of his Gospel were familiar refrains. These he gleaned from trustworthy witnesses, our Lady and the Apostles, whose veracity and trustworthiness are not subject to doubt nor criti-

¹⁴ *Ant.* 16, 10, 8.

¹⁵ *Ant.* 16, 11, 3.

¹⁶ J. E. Sandys, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 763.

cism. Hence when St. Luke wrote: Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐξῆλθεν δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο γήμενουέντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου. καὶ ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν (2:1-2), it had only one meaning in the mind of St. Luke.

St. Luke uses the expression ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, "to register the world." This connotes a more specific meaning than πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. For πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην signifies the whole world, in as much as it pertained to the Roman world. The Greeks used this form to designate their portion of the world in opposition to the barbarian world.

Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη, "register, inventory, enrolment," in contradistinction to ἀποτίμησις. Again, St. Luke uses the precise word precisely. For ἀπογραφὴ was applicable to the enrolment in the provinces; whereas ἀποτίμησις, to the enrolment of Roman citizens.¹⁸ Πρώτη would be indicative of the first census, that is, a general enrolment of the world, under which Judea would be enrolled for the first time.

We find a reason for this in Josephus. When Syllaeus accused Herod to Caesar, Caesar wrote Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this, that whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject."¹⁹ Herod realising his mistakes "strove to obtain the good graces of Saturninus by presents."²⁰ Quirinius, in the meantime, carried out the edict of Caesar Augustus.

Ἡγεμονεύωντος also connotes "one holding the office of a Roman provincial governor"; the noun form, besides the meaning of leader, guide, means "one who does things first." In this particular case, we find, one holding the office of provincial governor, taking up the census in Syria and Judea.

We can analyse St. Luke's words and find them devoid of all subtlety. He narrated the simple facts as they really happened, in pure and simple words.

St. Justin Martyr (d. ca. 167 A.D.), an erudite and prolific writer of the second century, who had access to early writings and tradition, substantiates the words of St. Luke: "Now there

¹⁸ Cf. Knabenbauer, *In Lucam*, p. 103.

¹⁹ *Ant.* 16, 9, 3.

²⁰ *Ant.* 17, 1, 1.

is a village in the land of the Jews, thirty-five stadia from Jerusalem, in which Christ was born, as you can ascertain also from the registers of the taxing made under Cyrinus, your first procurator of Judea."²¹

The ultimate conclusion arrived at is: St. Luke is absolutely correct in relating the place, time and nativity of our Lord, Jesus Christ. The prophecies of Genesis, Isaias, Daniel and Micheas have been fulfilled in the emperors of Caesar Augustus, and legateship of P. Sulpicius Cyrinus, 745-746 A.U.C., or 9-8 B.C.

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ALFRED LOISY

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Never to be forgotten are the first words of a lecture Loisy gave us at the "Institut Catholique" in 1893. He looked at several volumes on his desk, and then, brusquely, in the plain voice of a country pastor: "Here," he said, "is a book by so and so, and that one by so and so." And then reverently taking a Bible in his hands, he added: "And this one is by God: Deum habet Auctorem. It will be the subject of our studies and investigations." His pupils were under the impression—so great in some circles was his fame—that they were listening to a "future Father of the Church." It was also his hope which he confided to one of us.

Such was not to be his destiny. Not many months after, because of wilful errors which he refused to retract, Loisy was dismissed from his chair. And then began the downfall of a man as pure as an angel, as proud as Satan. A great force, if it swerve, means great ruin. The snow once soiled makes the blackest mud. "Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds." *Corruptio optimi pessima.*

Slow was his march toward the abyss. *Nemo repente fit malus.* Full deliberation is relative to the importance of the step taken. No doubt, the fatal step is always the act of a moment which closes a period of coldness and indifference to God; of wavering allegiance; during which the wish to cling to God has been growing weaker. There is but one step over the brink of the precipice; but there is many a step before one gets to the brink.

²¹ *Apol. c. 34.*

Superbia vitae! Loisy read Renan and became infected with the brilliant sophistry of that demi-savant. He aimed at a renaissance of Renan, he whose expectation was "to die a Father of the Church." It was his boast that he was born February 28, "34 years to the day after Renan." He imbibed the virus of German higher critique. He let the seeds of scepticism enter his soul concerning the authority of the Bible and the divinity of Christ. The pity of it! Doubt darkened unto unbelief; shade after shade went grimly over his soul, till he had the fixed, starless black. On November 1, 1906, he celebrated his last Mass.

Soon he obtained a chair at the "Ecole des Hautes Etudes," the paradise of unbelievers; right royal was his reception. But here may we inquire why it is that unbelief or so called free-thinking is so attractive to some human minds? Yesterday as obscure as a sacristan, Loisy became the cynosure of the world. Pascal has said it long ago: "If faith could be made fashionable, there would be few un-faithful." But the way of the world is irrational, for faith respects the rights of reason. Unbelief regards only itself. Yes, unreasonable is the challenge of the infinitesimally small against the Infinitely Great. *Superbia vitae!* Take, for instance, the very mystery of faith, the Holy Eucharist. Any mind with a modicum of modesty will never be scandalized by the "how" of transubstantiation. It takes pride, prejudice, and ignorance combined to be bold enough to set limits to God's almightiness and God's truthfulness. Even in heaven, unless God vouchsafes to reveal it, the mystery of divine love enshrined in the Eucharist will ever be past absolute understanding, but the mystery does not wound our mind. Love is an affair of the heart, "and the heart has reasons that reason cannot grasp adequately."

In July 1926 I tried to meet Loisy in his little cottage near Paris. I went there, but I was refused admittance. I begged his servant to tell him that "long had been my journey to see him. Masters do not reject their disciples." The door was shut on me. I saw him in his garden; he was feeding his chickens. A former country pastor, he still looked the son of the soil he had been as a child. I wished that he had remained on the farm.

The words of Francis Thompson keep ringing in my ears:

Such a soul for saddest end
Finds Love the foe in Love, the friend;
And—oh, grief incredible!
Treads the way of Heaven, to Hell.

His fall is worst whose fall is from the sky. Shakespeare has said it too: "And when he falls he falls like Lucifer."

By study and prayer I had equipped myself for an interview with Loisy. Reverently and lovingly, sacerdos ad sacerdotem, I would have whispered the text that he knew so well: "Brother Saul, the Lord Jesus who appeared to thee on thy journey has sent me that thou mayest recover thy sight" (Acts 9:17). And then with the bold timidity of an auld lang syne pupil I would have broached that subject "of perennial, infinite character whose significance will ever demand to be anew inquired into and anew made manifest," the Divinity of Christ, Eternal Son of the Eternal Father. My argument would have run in these lines: If Christ is not God, then there is no God, for it is conjointly with the Father that the Son said what He said, and did what He did. He and the Father are One. He who hates the Son hates the Father also. . . Reason postulates and requires the existence of God. Christ then is Deus de Deo, lumen de Lumine . . .

Loisy in 1926 had still a remnant of Christian faith, for, once acquired, it is difficult to lose the gift of faith completely. I think he would not have dared to face the image of the Crucified for fear to see blood flowing from the wounds. But the fact is that I did not meet him. It may so happen that being then a "vitandus" he did not want me to be censored by my superiors. He never was a proselytizer nor a perverter.

But let us come to the book of Lady Maude Petre which we have been requested to examine.¹ There is very little to say about it, for it is a congeries of facts already known and of deductions not always logical. The author tells us that it is a work of friendship; the work of a "solitary marooned passenger, the sole living representative of what has come to be regarded as the lost cause of modernism." Undoubtedly she is sincere, with that sort of sincerity which may co-exist with absolute error. We may add with respect that it is the work of an octogenarian compelled to write during air raids, and at intervals between fire-watching, attending a L. C. C. nursery, and ministering to French and other refugees. The lady died before her book was published by the Cambridge University Press. It is also a matter of regret that her knowledge of the French language was far from faultless: for instance, where Loisy speaks of "La tourmente" in

¹ *Alfred Loisy. His Religious Significance.* By M. D. Petre. (Cambridge: The University Press. New York: The Macmillan Company).

which he is, she translates it "the torment" when it should be "the storm" or "the tempest." She has also "limited science" when it should be "limited knowledge." Lady Maude Petre was a descendant of Sir William Petre, Under-Secretary of State under Henry VIII. While maintaining loyalty to the Church her illustrious family seems to have always been tainted with that kind of liberalism which is apt to degenerate into what must be called and stigmatized as indisciplinarianism.² George Tyrrell called her "Rock versus Rock and Petre versus Peter." She speaks very little of Tyrrell whose life she wrote in 1910; but she has chapters on Duchesne, and on Von Hugel; and paragraphs on Henri Bremont; her pages are replete with insinuations; declarations are rare; such vagueness leads to vapidness.

Alfred Loisy and Maude Petre have now both passed "ex tenebris et imaginibus in veritatem Dei." He died in June 1940. She expired in December 1942. May God have mercy on them both and on us all. They failed to feel that only "obedient souls shall speak of victory"; and that to obedience life owes its happiness, faith its acceptance, creation its continuance.

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² Ignoring the possibility of excommunication the ninth Lord Petre became the Grand Master of English Freemasonry in 1772.

REPORT OF THE SEVENTH GENERAL MEETING OF THE CATHOLIC BIBLICAL ASSOCIATION

The seventh general meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association of America was held on August 22-23, 1944, under the patronage of the Most Rev. John F. Noll, D.D., Bishop of Fort Wayne, in an environment conducive to scholarly discussion, St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana. In making St. Mary's College the headquarters of this meeting the Association was honoring that celebrated institution on the centenary of its foundation. The members of the Association, who had the privilege of attending this meeting, will always cherish a kindly affection for the Sisters of the Holy Cross because of their generous hospitality and exquisite courtesy.

The Program Committee prepared an interesting and provocative program of papers and discussions. This committee was made up of the following officers of the Association: Very Rev. Donat Poulet, O.M.I., President; Rev. Edward P. Arbez, S.S., Consultor; Right Rev. William L. Newton, Consultor; Rev. Joseph L. Lilly, C.M., General Secretary; Rev. Michael J. Gruenthaner, S.J., Editor-in-Chief of the Catholic Biblical Quarterly.

Dr. William Foxwell Albright, the celebrated archaeologist of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., was the distinguished guest of the Association at this meeting.

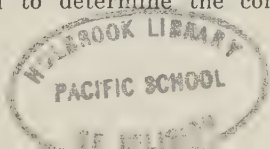
The Most Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, D.D., Bishop of Kansas City, showed his unflagging interest in the work of the Association by attending all the sessions. The Most Rev. James Kearney, D.D., Bishop of Rochester, N.Y., honored the Association by attending the sessions of the second day. The Association was also honored by the attendance of the Very Rev. J. Hugh O'Donnell, C.S.C., the distinguished President of Notre Dame University.

The following Active Members were in attendance:

Ahern, Rev. Barnabas, C.P.	Gaul, Rev. Cyril, O.S.B.
Arbez, Rev. Edward P., S.S.	Gruenthaner, Rev. Michael J., S.J.
Bourke, Rev. Myles M.	Guyot, Rev. Gilmore H., C.M.
Brunet, Rev. Achille, S.J.	Halas, Rev. Roman, O.F.M.
Coleran, Rev. James E., S.J.	Hanley, Rev. John G.
Cotter, Rev. Anthony C., S.J.	Hartdegen, Rev. Stephen, O.F.M.
Considine, Rev. J. S., O.P.	Hartman, Rev. Louis, C.Ss.R.
Cummins, Rev. Patrick, O.S.B.	Heupler, Rev. Charles, O.F.M. Cap.
Crump, Rev. Francis J., O.M.I.	Hodous, Rev. Edward J., S.J.
DeGuglielmo, Rev. Antonine, O.F.M.	Kenneally, Rev. William J., C.M.
Dobell, Rev. Richard J.	Kleist, Rev. James A., S.J.
Donzé, Rev. Edward H., S.M.	Kronlage, Rev. Camillus, C.P.
Duffy, Rev. Walter, O.M.C.	Kugelman, Rev. Richard, C.P.
Gaspar, Rev. Joseph, M.S.C.	Lambert, Rev. Jacques H., S.M.

Lilly, Rev. Joseph L., C.M.	Pickar, Rev. Charles H., O.S.A.
Louis, Rev. Conrad, O.S.B.	Plassmann, Rev. Thomas, O.F.M.
McEvoy, Rev. John A., S.J.	Poirier, Rev. Leandre, O.F.M.
McClellan, Rev. William H., S.J.	Poulet, Rev. Donat, O.M.I.
McGlinchey, Rev. James M., C.M.	Quigley, Rev. Owen, C.M.
McKenzie, Rev. John L., S.J.	Reilly, Rev. Wendell, S.S.
Martin, Rev. Daniel W., C.M.	Seraphin, Rev. Eugene, O.F.M.
Murphy, Rev. John H., C.S.C.	Siegmán, Rev. Edward F., C.P.P.S.
Murphy, Rev. Richard, O.P.	Sloane, Rev. Charles, O'C.
Murray, Rev. John J.	Smyth, Rev. Kevin, O.F.M.Cap.
Newton, Rt. Rev. William L.	Stapleton, Rev. Matthew
O'Callaghan, Rev. Roger T., S.J.	Steinmueller, Rev. John E.
Ouellette, Rev. Lucien, C.S.V.	Taggart, Rev. Sylvester, C.M.
Olinger, Rev. Eberhard, O.S.B.	Temple, Rev. Patrick J.

On Monday evening, August 21, at 7:30 P.M., there was a meeting of the Executive Board of the Association. On Tuesday at 9:00 A.M., the seventh general meeting was officially opened with the celebration of Holy Mass in the College Chapel. The Most Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, D.D., was celebrant. He was assisted by the Very Rev. Donat Poulet, O.M.I., President of the Association, and the Very Rev. Matthew Schumacher, C.S.C., Chaplain of St. Mary's College. At 10:00 A.M., the first session began. All the sessions were held in the spacious reading room of the college library. After a few words of welcome addressed to the attending members and our distinguished guests by the Very Rev. Donat Poulet, President, the session got under way. Fr. Cyril Gaul, O.S.B., read a very provocative paper titled, "Let Us Put Our Active Members to Work." He pointed out that the Association has an "unemployment problem." Only forty-one percent of our active membership has engaged in the various works of the Association: Revision of the Old and the New Testament, writing articles for the Quarterly. He called on the active members to interest themselves particularly in the dissemination of biblical knowledge among the parochial clergy and the laity. Among other things he suggested lectures on biblical subjects to study-clubs and the contribution of articles on Sacred Scripture to the diocesan papers. After an interesting discussion of Fr. Gaul's proposals the Chairman called on Fr. Plassmann, O.F.M., to deliver the second paper of the morning session. Fr. Plassmann had chosen a very timely and practical subject: "What the Association Can Do to Train Biblical Scholars." He proposed that the Association institute one or two scholarships of five hundred dollars a year for five years to enable qualified active members to pursue special studies at the biblical schools in Rome and Jerusalem. Those who received these scholarships would be expected to obtain the doctorate in Sacred Scripture. A committee should be appointed by the Association to determine the conditions for the



granting of the scholarships. A lively discussion followed Fr. Plassmann's paper. It was decided to take action on his proposal at the Business meeting to be held in the afternoon.

The first afternoon session, 2:00-3:30 P.M., was given over to a lecture by our distinguished guest, the eminent archaeologist, Dr. William Foxwell Albright. All present were enthralled by his very interesting and scholarly discussion on the relation between the Canaanite language and biblical Hebrew. Dr. Albright's paper will be published in the Quarterly. Fr. Poulet expressed to Dr. Albright the sincere appreciation of the Association for his scholarly lecture.

The business meeting followed Prof. Albright's lecture. Fr. Poulet requested that the General Secretary, Fr. Lilly, act as chairman of this meeting. The request was approved and Fr. Lilly graciously acquiesced.

Report of the General Secretary: Fr. Lilly stated that in accordance with the resolution adopted at the last general meeting held in Cleveland, the officers of the Association had contacted the National Catholic Educational Association with a view to affiliation with that body. The negotiations were still continuing.

To assure the proper observance of Biblical Sunday the General Secretary suggested that a sermon outline be prepared every year and sent in good time to all the parochial clergy. A motion was so formulated, seconded, and passed.

In reporting for the *Committee on Membership* Fr. Stapleton told of his campaign to enlist the interest of non-Catholic scholars in the Quarterly. He suggested that the Active Members endeavor to obtain subscriptions to the Quarterly from institutional and local libraries. At present there are seven hundred and thirty-three subscribers to the Quarterly.

Fr. Stapleton also reported for the *Committee on the Revision of the New Testament Commentary*. The first printing of the Commentary has been exhausted. A second printing will be ready in the very near future. So well had the original work been done that only a few minor changes were called for in this second printing.

Fr. Hartdegen reported for the *Committee on Visual Aids*. During the past year the Association's library of lantern slides was greatly augmented by the gift of Rev. F. Keenan's collection of 815 slides. These slides are now being reduced to the convenient size 2 x 3 and will soon be ready for the use of the Active Members. A printed catalogue, "Lantern Slides of Bible Lands," has been prepared and sent to all the Active Members.

In his report on *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* Fr. Gruenthaner stated that he had under consideration the inauguration of several series of articles, similar to the present series on the Gospels for Feast

Days. Thus he hopes to obtain contributions by direct request. He appealed for more contributions and urged that a greater use be made of the Correspondence department.

Fr. Steinmueller submitted the Financial Report for the past year.

Upon the recommendation of the *Committee on Credentials* the following were elected Active Members of the Association:

Rev. Myles Bourke	Rev. Francis Pansini, C.M.
Rev. Philip J. Donnelly, S.J.	Rev. Walter H. Peters
Rev. Walter Galus, C.R.	Rev. Leandre Poirier, O.F.M.
Rev. Joseph Gaspar, M.S.C.	Rev. Owen Quigley, C.M.
Rev. Roman Halas, O.F.M.	Rev. Daniel Saunders, S.J.
Rev. James A. Kleist, S.J.	Rev. George M. Sauvage, C.S.C.
Rev. Conrad Louis, O.S.B.	Rev. Sylvester Taggart, C.M.
Rev. Roger O'Callaghan, S.J.	Rev. George Wolz

Under *Old and New Business* the first matter proposed for discussion was the suggestions outlined by Fr. Gaul in his paper "*Scrutamini Scripturas*—Let us Put Our Active Members to Work." Fr. Hartdegen made a motion that the Executive Committee be instructed to appoint a *Committee on the Diffusion of Biblical Knowledge*. The motion was seconded and passed.

Fr. Plassman's recommendation concerning the institution of scholarships to train biblical specialists was then offered for discussion. Msgr. Newton made a motion that the Association institute a scholarship of \$500 annually for five years; also that the Executive Committee be empowered to appoint a Committee to determine the conditions of this scholarship and to administer it. The motion was seconded by Fr. Hartman and passed without dissent.

A proposed amendment to Article VII, Section 1 of the Constitution had been submitted in good time to all the Active Members to be voted on at this meeting. After discussion a vote was taken and by unanimous assent the following amendment was made to Article VII, Section 1 of the Constitution: "The officers here named,—except the Consultors, who shall be appointed by the Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine for a term of two years,—shall be elected at the general meeting, which ordinarily shall be held annually, and their term of office shall extend from one general meeting to the next." Since this amendment necessitates a change in the wording of By-Laws 7b, a motion was adopted instructing the Executive Committee to change By-Law 7b to conform with the amendment.

It was decided to hold the next general meeting in New York City or vicinity. The Executive Committee will appoint a local Committee (of New York members) to determine upon a suitable place for this meeting.

Fr. Plassmann moved that Dr. William Foxwell Albright be named an honorary Associate Life-Member of the Catholic Biblical Associa-

tion of America. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

Following the report of the *Committee on Nominations* presented by Fr. Dobell, the following members were elected to office:

President: Rev. William McClellan, S.J.

Vice President: Rev. John G. Hanley

General Secretary: Rev. Joseph Lilly, C.M.

Asst. Gen. Sec.: Rev. Dominic Unger, O.F.M.Cap.

Recording Secretary: Rev. Edward Siegman, C.P.P.S.

Treasurer: Rev. John E. Steinmueller.

Elected to the Committee on Nominations: Rev. Richard Murphy, O.P.; Rev. Achille Brunet, S.J.

Appointed Consultors for a two-year term: Rev. Wendell Reilly, S.S.; Rt. Rev. Henry Grimmelsmann.

Elected to the Editorial Board of *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*: Rev. Gilmore H. Guyot, C.M.; Rev. Edward Cerny, S.S.

Appointed to the Committee on the Diffusion of Biblical Knowledge: Rev. Cyril Gaul, O.S.B., Chairman; Rev. William Kenneally, C.M.; Rev. John G. Hanley.

The morning session of Wednesday, August 23, were devoted to two papers and discussion on the recent Encyclical Letter of the Holy Father, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. Fr. Barnabas Ahern, C.P., read a paper on the first part of the Encyclical; Fr. William Kenneally, C.M., on the second part. Both papers were received with great interest and provoked spirited discussion.

The Address of the President, followed the discussion of Fr. Kenneally's paper. Fr. Poulet called attention to the growing Jewish attacks on the fundamentals of the Christian Religion as evidenced in the recent books of Klausner, Asch, and Zeitlin. Such attacks will unfortunately strengthen that movement so contrary to Christian charity, anti-Semitism.

At Luncheon Fr. Poulet asked for a few words from Bishop O'Hara, Bishop Kearney and Sister M. Madeleva, C.S.C., the distinguished President of St. Mary's College and the very gracious host of this seventh general meeting. Bishop O'Hara read a letter he had received for the Association from His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate. This letter has been published in the *Quarterly*. The Bishop also read a letter from Bishop Noll of Fort Wayne, expressing his regret at his inability to attend our meeting and warmly welcoming us to his diocese.

The final session of this seventh general meeting was devoted to two very scholarly papers; one on "Orphism and the New Testament" by Fr. Murphy, O.P., the other on "New Theories on Ezechiel" by Fr. Gruenthaner, S.J.

At 4:00 P.M. this very successful seventh general meeting was brought to a close with Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament given in the college chapel by Bishop O'Hara assisted by Fr. Richard Murphy, O.P., and Fr. Charles Heupler, O.F.M.Cap.

RICHARD KUGELMAN, C.P.
RECORDING SECRETARY

QUERIES

THE ENUMERATION OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

QUESTION: Recently I was reading a magazine article, apparently written by a non-Catholic, in which sexual immorality was repeatedly referred to as a violation of the "Seventh Commandment," whereas we Catholics always speak of such sins as violations of the "Sixth Commandment." I would like to know if there is any scriptural basis for this difference in the enumeration of the Ten Commandments.

ANSWER: The mere manner in which the Ten Commandments are counted has no direct bearing on their practical interpretation and application, and therefore does not concern Catholic faith and morals. However, the question proposed seems to be of sufficient historical interest to warrant some discussion.

It is certain that the basic code of morality which God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai must be considered as made up of *ten* distinct commandments, for in three passages (Ex. 34:28; Deut. 4:13; 10:4) Moses calls it "the ten words," or, as we may perhaps translate this Hebrew phrase more freely, "the ten sentences."¹ In two of these passages the Greek translators of the Bible (the LXX) render this phrase as "the *deka logoi*"; from this Greek phrase is derived our English expression, "the Decalogue," which we use as a synonym for "the Ten Commandments."

The relative order of the various precepts of the original Mosaic Decalogue may be considered as certain beyond any serious doubt, for almost all the manuscripts, both of the original Hebrew text and

¹ The use of this term to describe the Ten Commandments adds weight to the probable opinion that the Decalogue, as *inscribed on the two tablets of stone*, was made of *pithy* precepts, on the style of "Thou shalt not kill," for *all* of the Ten Commandments. In their present form, as contained in the Pentateuch, several of the Commandments have probably been enlarged with explanatory and exhortatory phrases, added either by Moses himself or by some later writer who recorded the Mosaic traditions. The question as to how these ten pithy sayings were distributed on the *two* tablets of stone is purely theoretic, the Bible itself giving us no information on this matter. In any case, any pictorial attempt to represent the two tablets as they really appeared is bound to fail, because both tablets were inscribed on both sides, front and back (cfr. Ex. 32:15).

of the ancient versions, are in agreement on this point. However, it seems that around the time of Christ the Ten Commandments were sometimes copied or quoted rather freely according to divergent principles of sequence. Thus, in Philo,² in Luke 18:20, in Rom. 13:9, in a few manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, and in the Nash Papyrus (a Hebrew copy of the Decalogue written in the second century after Christ) we find this order: prohibitions against adultery, murder, theft. In a few Greek manuscripts of the Bible, notably the famous Codex Vaticanus of the fourth century, the order is: adultery, theft, murder. In Mark 10:19 the command to honor father and mother is placed *after* the prohibitions against murder, adultery, theft, false witness, fraud. However, none of these accidental vagaries in the relative sequence of the precepts is the cause of the divergent systems that are now in use among Catholics, Protestants and Jews in the enumeration of the Ten Commandments.

The cause of these divergencies is chiefly twofold: (1) The Pentateuch gives us the Decalogue in two somewhat different forms, in Ex. 20:2-17 and in Deut. 5:6-18; (2) *either* the prohibition against the worship of false gods and that against the worship of images (even those of the true God), *or* the prohibition against coveting a neighbor's wife and that against coveting a neighbor's goods, must be considered as one single commandment, in order to get *ten*, and not *eleven*, commandments. Accordingly, the following different systems of enumerating the Ten Commandments are used at present:

(a) The worship of false gods and the worship of images are considered as included under one single prohibition (the First Commandment), while lust for another's wife and lust for another's goods are considered as prohibited in two distinct commandments (the ninth and tenth respectively). This enumeration of the commandments was known to Origen, but not accepted by him.³ Since the time of St. Augustine, who strongly advocated this classification of the Decalogue,⁴ it has been universal in the Latin Church. The Massoretic paragraph markings in the Hebrew text, likewise are based on this enumeration of the Ten Commandments, both in Exodus and in Deuteronomy. In favor of this system one may argue that image-worship is not essentially different from the worship of false gods and should, therefore, be included under one single precept; whereas the two forms of evil desire differ just as much from each other as do the two corresponding evil actions: adultery and theft. This method of classifying the Ten Commandments can be applied quite easily to the

² *Quis rer. div. heres*, 173; *de decal.*, 51.

³ *Hom. in Ex.*, 8:2.

⁴ *Quaest. in Ex.*, q. 71.

Decalogue of Deuteronomy but not so well to that of Exodus. (See below under (c).

(b) Essentially the same enumeration as (a), except that the prohibition against coveting another's goods is considered as the ninth commandment, and that against coveting another's wife as the tenth commandment. This system, which is really based on an erroneous interpretation of Ex. 20:17 (see below under (c), is the one used by the Lutherans.

(c) The commandment forbidding the worship of false gods is considered as distinct from that forbidding image-worship, these two prohibitions making respectively the first and the second commandments; all covetousness, both of another's wife and of another's goods, is reckoned as coming under one prohibition, the tenth commandment; hence, all the intervening commandments are given numbers that are one higher than those in systems (a) and (b). This method of enumerating the Ten Commandments was apparently common among the Jews at the time of Christ, as shown in the writings of Philo⁵ and Josephus.⁶ It was accepted by most of the Fathers of the Church, and is still used by the Eastern Churches. Adopted by the early Calvinists, it is now the ordinary way of numbering the commandments among almost all modern Protestant sects except the Lutherans. Although this system is not in accordance with the sound philosophical distinctions that form the basis for systems (a) and (b), still it does seem to be more in keeping with the mind of Moses himself. For Ex. 20:17 gives the last commandment(s) as, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbors house: thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that belongs to thy neighbor." Here, evidently, the word "house" means simply "possessions"; the brief prohibition containing this generic word is then repeated with the same verb but with a list of more specific objects to explain what is meant by "house," that is, "wife, servants and domestic animals." On the other hand, in Deut. 5:21 the word "house" is used in the specific sense of "dwelling-place" and therefore placed after the word "wife."

(d) The first commandment is considered to consist solely of the words, "I am the Lord, thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" (Ex. 20:2; Deut. 5:6);⁷ the prohibitions both against the worship of false gods and against the worship of images are reckoned as only one commandment, as in systems (a) and (b), but this combined precept is here called the second

⁵ *Quis rer. div. heres*, 168 ff; *de decal.*, 51.

⁶ Ant. III, 5,5 § 91 f.

⁷ The sense of the Hebrew most probably is, "I, Yahweh, am thy God, for I brought thee out of the land of Egypt ..."

commandment; all the remaining commandments are reckoned as in system (c). This method of enumerating the Ten Commandments was common among the rabbis at least since the time of Maimonides⁸ and is still the ordinary enumeration in use among modern Jews. The obvious objection against it is that Ex. 20:2 is not a commandment at all but merely a simple statement of fact, serving as a preamble either to the first commandment alone or to the whole Decalogue.

The practical conclusion from the consideration of these various systems seems to be in that in any writing intended for readers of more than one religious group reference to any particular commandment of the Decalogue should not be made by a mere ordinal numeral, such as "the Fifth Commandment," but explicitly stating what commandment is meant.

LOUIS HARTMAN, C.Ss. R.

CORRESPONDENCE

Editors: The Committee for the preparation of a Revised Edition of "A Commentary on the New Testament" is grateful to R. Henry for the expression of his views on the Commentary, (C.B.Q., 6 (1944) pp. 489 ff.) which coincide in many respects with those expressed by the Committee in its Report of Jan. 8, 1944. If and when a thoroughly reworked second edition of the Commentary should be prepared, (as recommended by the Committee), his and similar views will be, I am sure, gratefully considered.

The Committee felt that for the reasons given in its Report it would be better not to undertake at the present the preparation of such an edition but to arrange for a second printing with only minor changes in the text. This is now available for distribution.

M. P. STAPLETON, S.T.D.
Chairman of the Committee

Editors: Dr. Dorothy Donley's interesting communication in the July 1944 issue of the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* relative to St. Paul's affliction strengthens my conviction that his disability was not epilepsy. Several of the means indicated by Dr. Donley for inducing an acidotic state, which seems to be a preventive in certain cases of epileptic attacks, found place in the life of St. Paul. Although he did not starve himself, he did fast frequently and often experienced the pangs of hunger and thirst (2 Cor. 11:27), and he led a life of great physical activity, laboring by day at his trade of tent-maker, while devoting the evenings and sometimes whole nights to preaching and in-

⁸ Cfr. also the Targum of Jonathan, and St. Jerome on Os. 10:9ff.

structing his flock (Acts 20:11), journeying great distances on foot, often through wild mountainous country. This regime would have reduced the attacks to a minimum, if indeed they would not have completely cured epilepsy. But St. Paul's affliction seems to have stayed with him for many years (2 Cor. 12:7).

But my chief argument against epilepsy as St. Paul's illness is not that epileptics are necessarily below par in intellectual ability, but that they cannot stand the strain of constant anxiety, worry, and responsibility, without undergoing frequent attacks. So I have been informed by learned physicians. It is true, St. Paul had a deep religious faith and great confidence in God, but that did not preclude worry and anxiety, arising from frequent threats to his life, from the plots and misrepresentations of his enemies and from the dangers to which the various Christian communities he had established were constantly exposed. Being human, he also had his moments of depression. He alludes to these things on several occasions in his epistles (1 Cor. 2:3; 2 Cor. 11:28; 1 Thes. 3:1-8; 2 Cor. 1:8-11). This constant strain under which St. Paul labored would have brought on constant attacks, and thus he would never have been able to lead the amazingly active, danger-packed life that was his from the time of his conversion at Damascus until his martyrdom at Rome some thirty years later.

JOSEPH L. LILLY, C.M.

BIBLICAL NEWS

Right Reverend Monsignor Henry J. Grimmelsman, S.T.D., Rector of the Pontifical College Josephinum, Worthington, Ohio, an active member of the Catholic Biblical Association of America, and Consultant of the same Association, has been elected by the Holy See to the recently erected diocese of Evansville, Indiana. Bishop Grimmelsman was consecrated in the chapel of the Josephinum on the feast of St. Thomas, Apostle, December 21, 1944.

The next annual meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association of America will be held in New York City, August 22-23, 1945. Mother Benziger, R.S.C.J., has graciously offered the facilities of Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart for the meeting, where complete accommodations will be available. Further details will be announced in due time.

In connection with Biblical Sunday, a series of four lectures is to be given by Rev. Matthew P. Stapleton, S.T.D., S.S.L., and Rev. John J. Murray, S.T.L., both Active Members of our Association, in the

Hotel Statler, Boston, on Jan. 21, 28; Feb. 4, 11. These lectures are being sponsored by His Excellency, Most Reverend Richard Cushing, who shortly after his installation as Archbishop honored our Association by becoming one of its patrons.

Right Reverend William L. Newton, S.S.D., former President and Consultor of the Catholic Biblical Association of America, has been appointed one of the Associate Editors of the new monthly, *THE PRIEST*, published by His Excellency, Bishop Noll of Fort Wayne.

During the month of November, 1944, letters were mailed from the General Headquarters of the Association to the members of the Hierarchy and to the Provincial Superiors of Religious Orders and Congregations in Canada and the United States, announcing the Association's \$2500.00 scholarship for the pursuit of higher studies in Scripture leading to the degree of Doctor of Sacred Scripture. This scholarship is to be awarded to the one winning the highest grade in a competitive examination, both written and oral, to be held at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., June 6-8, 1945. The list of qualifications and conditions for admission to these examinations as well as the subject-matter thereof will be sent on request to interested parties. Application should be made to The General Secretary, Catholic Biblical Association, Catholic University, Washington 17, D.C.

The *Revista Eclesiástica* of Santa Re, Argentina in the issue of July, 1944, carries a very interesting article by Professor Juan Castriello on *American Legends concerning the Deluge*. It gathers together a complete collection of prehistoric American traditions relative to that great cataclysm. The uniformity of these traditions in continents so different and so widely separated, argues the learned author, indicates that the account in Genesis 7-9 is based on a real historical event.

The current issue of *Revista Biblica*, published in Argentina, reports that, in order to put into effect the desires expressed by His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, in the Encyclical, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, the Society of St. Jerome has recently been established in Chile, South America, and that the Archbishop of Santiago has issued a pastoral commending the newly founded society and urging that in every home of the land the New Testament occupy the first place as the greatest book of Christian spirituality. Among other activities the society conducts a weekly radio hour, Sunday 9 P.M., known as *The Gospel Hour*.

The October, 1944, issue of *Scripture*, organ of the Catholic Biblical Association of England, carries a review of our Association's Commentary on the New Testament by Father C. Lattey, S.J. The opening paragraph reads:

The Catholic Biblical Association of America has lost no time in producing valuable results. This sudden bursting into life of a vigorous Biblical activity has been a welcome surprise and a promise of good things in store for the whole Catholic English-speaking world. *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* is a periodical of a kind that could have been started only in the States; it is much to be hoped that it will maintain a big circulation and a high standard of work, and find increasing support in the British Isles. The revision of the Challoner-Rheims New Testament (1941) has topped the million, it is said, in its sales, and is doubtless the best edition of that text yet produced, in language as in all else. It is a commentary on that revision that has now been published by the Catholic Biblical Association through the firm, William H. Sadlier, Inc., under the title: *A Commentary on the New Testament* (1942). The price is about fifteen shillings, which is cheap for a book of 736 pages, admirably printed and produced, with several founts of type in use throughout.

Those interested in taking out membership in the English Biblical Association may address the Honorable Secretary, St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, Ware, Herts., England. The annual dues are five shillings.

The Catholic publishing house of Canada "FIDES" is reprinting for popular use the New Testament in French, translated by Fr. Denis Buzy and first published in France in 1937.

Father Adrien Malo, O.F.M., President of the Canadian Biblical Association, conducts a weekly broadcast on biblical topics. This series began in October, 1944 and runs until April, 1945. It is sponsored by RADIO-COLLEGE and is designed for schools and colleges. The lectures last for fifteen minutes and are followed by answers to questions. The subject of this series is "En ce temps là ... Le monde ou le Christ a vécu," and gives a geographical and historical introduction to the Gospels. This is the first real popular move of the Canadian Biblical Association and has aroused considerable interest. This program is on the air every Thursday from 4:30 to 5:00 P.M.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

OLD TESTAMENT AND RELATED SUBJECTS

REV. JOHN P. WEISENGOFF, S.T.D., S.S.L.

REV. PATRICK W. SKEHAN, S.T.D.

American Ecclesiastical Review, 110, 1944. John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap., "The Printed Bible: a Study in Bibliography" (286-294). A statistical study of the sheer bulk of biblical material from earliest times to our own. Calculations for printed editions are based largely on the section *Bible* in the British Museum's catalogue of printed books.

Ibid., 111, 1944. F. X. Peirce, S.J., "Old Testament Evaluations" (23-29). Some strictures against an article by Daniel Duffy in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of last January. Exceptions are taken with regard to the knowledge of the sacred writers in relation to the full (sometimes typical) implications of their texts; the scope of knowledge among the Hebrews generally concerning God's providential purposes in dealing with mankind; and the place of the future life and its retributions in Jewish teaching in the pre-Christian period.

M. J. Gruenthaner, S.J., "The Name of Moses" (72-73). Recognizes it as of Egyptian origin; the word-play with the Hebrew root *mashah* does not militate against the inerrancy of the Bible since the author of Exodus indicates only a similarity of sound, not an etymological connection.

John L. McKenzie, S.J., "The Imprecations of the Psalter" (81-96). Deals with various explanations of the imprecations contained especially in Pss. 68:23-29; 108:6-19; 136:7-8. Excludes the theory that they proceed "from the less enlightened conscience of the writer" as dangerous to the doctrine of inspiration. Rejects also the solution that the formulas are exaggerated and not meant in their fulness (since the emotion expressed would still be hate). Several other theories are discussed. The conclusion is, "The Psalmist regards his enemies as evil, and wishes them evil—but within the limits of the law of charity." That is, "the Psalmist desires that the sinner turn from his evil ways and live"; but in his poetic composition, apparently from a motive of deterring others from sin, he assumes the impenitence of the wicked, depicts the consequent divine punishment and expresses his desire for its accomplishment. "The assumption that the sinner is obdurate is a literary device."

Thomas Owen Martin, "Peace in the Scriptures" (257-73). A study of the teachings of both the Old and the New Testaments on the nature of true peace, the means to its attainment and the circumstances which surround its absence or impermanence in earthly life.

Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves, 7, 1939-44. E. Bickerman, "Héliodore au Temple de Jérusalem" (5-40). Examines the narrative of 2 Mach. 3 from the stand-points of textual and literary criticism, with the aid of the papyrus evidence for technical terms for public financial administration. Finds two accounts of Heliodorus' expulsion from the temple; one in verses 24-5, 27-8, 30, and the other in 26, 29, 31-36. The first description has the invader of the temple laid prostrate by the horse of a celestial rider. To this it is objected, among other things, that the rearing beast that strikes down a standing foe with its hooves is a well-known artificial product of Greek art, but does not belong in real life. The second description, of the apparition of two youths to Heliodorus, is treated as a vision of the imagination, seen only by him. This narrative is built on the pattern of Hellenistic miracle-stories. Both stories would thus be inventions out of whole cloth. Jason of Cyrene is credited with having placed them together from the rationalistic motive of offering the second description, as more plausible, to Greek readers who (with Jason himself it is implied) would be dissatisfied with the first account.

Wolf Leslau, "Le rapport entre š et h en sémitique" (265-72). Offers lexical material from a group of south-Arabic dialects to show phonetic transformation of an original š sound into h. This affords a new basis for reopening the question whether the elements š and h in the third person pronouns (both independent and suffix forms) and in the causative prefix of different Semitic dialects can be traced back to an original š which in certain Semitic languages has become h.

Bibliotheca Sacra, 101, 1944. Charles Lee Feinberg, "Exegetical Studies in Zechariah" (76-82; 187-92; cont'd and to continue). These two articles cover Zach. 9-11.

John F. Walvoord, "Is the Seventieth Year of Daniel Future?" (30-49). "The 'end' of which Daniel 9:27 speaks can be only the return of Christ to bring righteousness, peace, prosperity and universal knowledge of God to this evil world." Adopts a Christological interpretation for the first sixty-nine weeks; devotes much of the subsequent discussion to Philip Mauro's *The Seventy Weeks and the Great Tribulation*, which puts the fulfilment of the seventieth week in the time of the death of Christ.

Ralph Rogers Hawthorne, "Jobine Theology" (64-74: 173-86). A florilegium, under subject headings, ending here with Grace, Grave, and Guilt.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 94, 1944. S. N. Kramer, "The Death of Gilgamesh" (2-12). Reconstructs another fragmentary Sumerian poem in which the hero Gilgamesh is portrayed apparently as first dying and then carrying out specific

rituals in the nether-world for a retinue who *may* be described as having been buried with him (compare Woolley's discoveries in the royal tombs at Ur).

W. F. Albright, "A Prince of Taanach in the 15th Century B.C." (13-27). Retranslation of the four complete letters to the prince of Taanach Rewašša, originally found by the Austrian excavators at the site. The fifteenth century date is obtained on grounds of orthography.

W. F. Albright, "The 'Natural Force' of Moses in the Light of Ugaritic" (32-35). The *lēh* of Deut. 34:7 is identified as meaning virility in a rather narrow sense, on the basis of two passages in the Ugarit texts.

Ibid., 95, 1944. H. L. Ginsberg, "Baal's Two Messengers" (25-30). The "Gpn wUgr" grouping in the Ugarit texts represents not one god with a hyphenated name, but two deities. This understanding clarifies a number of points in the reading and grammatical analysis of the texts.

W. F. Albright, "An Unrecognized Amarna Letter from Ugarit" (30-33). Letter no. 49 of Knudtzon's collection is shown to contain the name Niqmad, that of a known Ugaritic ruler.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 28, 1944. Edward Robertson, "Samuel and Saul" (175-206). An interpretation of 1 Sam. 1-15 as a systematically-constructed narrative in six sections through which a self-effacing editor has built up from fragmentary sources in a climactic rather than a chronological order a portrayal of conflict between religious and secular authority as represented by the two persons of Samuel and Saul. A bibliography of exegesis of Samuel is appended.

Christus, 9, 1944. Manuel Acévez, S.J., "Los Salmos Mesiánicos" (753-7). Apparently the introduction (existence and fitness of messianic Psalms) to an exegetical study that will be run in future issues. The "literally messianic" Psalms chosen for further analysis are 88; 2; 71; 109; 21; 15; 44.

Harvard Theological Review, 37, 1944. C. C. Torrey, "The Older Book of Esther" (1-40). "The two extant Greek versions of the book are translations from Aramaic originals." (The second is the "so-called 'Lucianic' text" published in certain editions of the Septuagint as Esther *á*.) Taking Josephus into account, we have traces of four distinct forms of the Esther narrative. The second (*á*) Greek recension of Esther represents a separate text only in 2:1-8:21, this corresponding approximately to the first seven chapters of the Hebrew text. It is claimed that this Greek text was constructed originally to tell the story of Esther without the content of the following chapters: these provide, in the Hebrew and in the standard Greek render-

ing, a literary anticlimax. The original "Story... contained no mention of the casting of lots or of a definite date for the proposed massacre." Additions B and E (13:1-7 and 16:1-24) are Greek in origin. Torrey would ascribe them to the translator of the standard Greek text, whom, with B. Jacob, he puts in 114 B.C. Esther 9:29 speaking of the "second letter of Purim" means the Hebrew draft of the book, an abridgment of an Aramaic original.

Hebrew Union College Annual, 18, 1943-44. Julian Morgenstern, "The Ark, the Ephod and the 'Tent of Meeting': II" (1-52: cont'd from vol. 17). Ephod is presented as a generic term meaning "covering" or more specifically, "housing." The ark and the "tent of meeting" were two forms of such a shelter for the presence of the divinity. These cult appurtenances of ancient Israel are used as the basis for a full-scale rewriting of the religious history of the chosen people, on the assumption that Yahweh is not one selfsame God of Israel throughout, but that several contradictory notions of God led to the same designations being applied to quite unrelated objects with essentially different functions. For the original form of these objects, Arab customs in the pre-Islamic "days of ignorance" are drawn on; the comparison is bolstered with illustrative material from Nabatean and from modern Beduin sources.

Heinz A. Fischel, "Die Deuterojesajanischen Gottesknechtlieder in der juedischen Auslegung" (53-76). Examines the trends in Jewish interpretation of the "servant of Yahweh" poems from earliest times to the nineteenth century. Notes that the interpretation of Isaiah 53 occupies a place apart because of the polemics that have grown up around it. Submits his final results in tabular form, in a way that strikingly shows the extremely wide range of opinion among authors and even in the various estimates by individual commentators of the several groups of passages involved.

Robert Gordis, "The Social Background of Wisdom Literature" (77-118). Divides the bulk of the wisdom literature of the Old Testament (excluding the Book of Wisdom as Hellenistic, and some wisdom Psalms as proto-Pharisaic in tendency) into "practical Wisdom" in Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, and "speculative Wisdom" in what are called the "basically heterodox sceptical works" of Job and Ecclesiastes. Both types of wisdom writing were "fundamentally the product of the upper classes in society, who lived principally in the capital, Jerusalem." They reflect a conservatism in every sphere of life. "Greek *sophia* and Hebrew *hokmah* are strikingly parallel in their concern with the education of youth for practical life and in their culmination in philosophical scepticism." Numerous instances of an upper-class viewpoint are offered and discussed.

Abraham Cronbach, "The Social Ideals of the Apocrypha and the

Pseudepigrapha" (119-156). Presents the concepts regarding poverty and wealth, almsgiving and other charitable acts, social justice, world peace and the ideal society contained in the group of Old Testament books classed as "Apocrypha" by non-Catholics, as well as in the non-canonical Pseudepigrapha. The meaning "almsgiving" for צדקה, which the author finds only in Dan. 4:24 in the Hebrew Old Testament (barring Eccles.) is shown to be the normal one for the late books. This collected material can be used very conveniently, as precise references are given in every case, and Ecclesiasticus is, throughout, the principal source.

Leon J. Liebreich, "The Benedictory Formula in the Targum to the Song of Songs" (177-97). This Targum is cast in the form of a homiletical exposition of the Hebrew text. The Targumist places on the lips of Solomon the conventional form of blessing with which an expositor of the sacred text would normally begin his discourse: a blessing of God for having given the twofold Torah in direct revelation at Sinai out of love for Israel. This type of blessing is used to introduce homiletic compositions throughout a long period of subsequent Jewish history.

Jewish Quarterly Review, 35, 1944. S. Krauss, "The Archaeological Background of Some Passages in the Song of Songs" (59-78). Apparently the concluding portion of this serial study. The present article covers Cant. 7:2ff., applying a line of interpretation that yields a thoroughly gross and unseemly result.

Pinchos Wechter, a review of H. Torczyner's recent Hebrew commentary on Job (121-131). "It is greatly to be regretted that a scholar like Professor Torczyner . . . should have produced a commentary which offers so little to the understanding of the Book of Job."

A. S. Yahuda, "The Story of a Forgery and the Meša Inscription" (139-63). After all these years, Prof. Yahuda cannot satisfy himself of the authenticity of the Meša stone. His experience with one of the native Arabs who was involved in the recovery of the fragments of this monument—the one in fact who, before the stone was broken up, actually made the squeeze of it on which our knowledge of the full text is based—prompts doubts which the text of the inscription does little to allay.

Journal of Biblical Literature, 63, 1944. James A. Montgomery, "The Hebrew Divine Name and the Personal Pronoun *Hū*" (161-3). In modern Arabic, *yā huwa* can be an exclamation, "O He!" addressed to God. Accadian parallels are suggested. "The *hū-yahū* has been verbalized . . . The Name then means, 'He is He' . . ."

Book reviews, Old Testament section: 191-205. Most interesting, perhaps, is the study by Frank R. Blake (195-99) in which the *J.B.L.* as it were reviews itself, with respect to the hundred-page article of

A. Sperber published last year, a sort of defiance of all accepted norms of Hebrew grammar.

W. F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam" (207-33). Dates these poems in their earliest written form, on orthographical grounds, to the tenth century B.C.; their time of composition between the middle of the thirteenth century and the end of the twelfth. The bulk of the article is a reconstructed and annotated consonantal text (pp. 211-23) followed by a translation, some comment and the conclusion: "Balaam was really a North-Syrian diviner from the Euphrates Valley . . . the oracles preserved in Num. 23-24 were attributed to him from a date as early as the twelfth century . . ."

James Muilenberg, "The 47th Psalm" (235-56). A textual and exegetical study. Accepts the now widely current view which links this hymn with some act of public worship, similar to the ritual ceremony of a king's enthronement, by which (perhaps on the New Year's Day) the kingship of Yahweh over the nations used to be solemnly proclaimed.

Charles Goodwin, "The Meaning of Judges 5:8b-13" (257-62). These verses are taken as concerned with the preparation for war, verse 12 being made the key to all that goes before. The text remains difficult.

Robert Gordis, "A Wedding Song for Solomon" (263-70). Deals with Canticles 3:6-11. Adopts the general hypothesis that the Cantic of Canticles is a collection of lyrics not allegorical in character. "We have here a song composed on the occasion of one of Solomon's marriages to a foreign princess."

Frank R. Blake, "The Hebrew Waw Conversive" (271-95). A renewed survey, on historical and comparative grounds, of the entire question of Hebrew tense-forms and their use. Very good on the origins of the forms; treats also such particulars as the accent-shifts in the waw-conversives.

Mayer G. Slonim, "Masculine Predicates with Feminine Subjects in the Hebrew Bible" (297-302). "The Scribes deliberately used the irregular gender to attract the reader's attention to an aspect of the scriptural text easily overlooked." The writer does not claim "to offer a final explanation of this irregularity"; what he does make definite is that we have every indication that these anomalies were included of set purpose and are not accidental in most cases.

Henry S. Gehman, "כָּפַר. Inscription, in the Book of Job (303-7). Supposes a meaning "cut" for the root, and proceeds through "incise" to "inscribe," "inscription" for Job 19:23-24. Indicates a similar semantic development of the common words for writing in Indo-European languages: they posit a hard surface to be cut or scratched. The use of "lead" in verse 24 is not accounted for.

Franz Rosenthal, "Māgēn, Māsāk, Mā'ōz" (309-312). Explains the anomalous retention before suffixes, etc., of the long *ā* in these three nouns from *מגן* roots. It would be the result of the accent remaining on the final stem-syllable of such nouns for some time after the accent in other nouns (lacking the doubled consonant at the end of the stem) had shifted to the suffix syllable. These three are actually the only nouns with a *ma-* prefix from this type root in Biblical Hebrew.

Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 3, 1944. Edwin R. Thiele, "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (137-86). Taking 853 for the last year of Ahab as an absolutely fixed date (based on Assyrian correlations), Jeroboam I of Israel is dated as taking the throne in 931 B.C. By working out all the available data, with allowance for various systems of computation at various times in the two kingdoms, and for coregencies at certain points, a detailed chronology is provided for the entire interval 931-561 B.C. Three periods are recognized within this stretch of time, in each of which the problems and the methods of computation are different. A large chart gives the author's results in condensed form.

Joseph P. Free, "Abraham's Camels" (187-193). A defense of the affirmation in Gen. 12:16 that Abraham had camels in Egypt. The evidence for a knowledge of the camel in Egypt before the Hellenistic age is assembled. It forms a convincing chain, reaching back even into pre-dynastic times.

A. S. Yahuda, "The Osiris Cult and the Designation of Osiris Idols in the Bible" (194-97). Hebrew *gillūlim*, occurring some 48 times in the Old Testament, denotes mummy-like gods, with special reference to the mummy-like figures of Osiris.

W. F. Albright, "The End of 'Calneh in Shinar'" (254-55). For this supposed place-name in Gen. 10:10, Prof. Albright would now read *kullānāh*, "all of them."

William A. Irwin, "Eccles. 4:13-16" (255-57). The subject of verse 14 is the king, throughout; in verse 15, read "I saw . . . the youth, who continued in his own station in life (תחתיו)."

W. A. Irwin, "The Tetragrammaton: an Overlooked Interpretation" (257-59). Alleges *היזא* as a participial form of the verb *היה*—passive participle with stative meaning. This is given on the authority of S. I. Feigin, of whose article in modern Hebrew these pages are a translation. If this be so, then *היזא* and *יהיה* are practically synonymous.

Samuel I. Feigin, "The Origin of 'Elōh, God, in Hebrew" (259). 'Elōh is a combination of 'El and 'ah, the latter element being an apocoped first person equivalent to the third person forms *Yah*, *Yahweh*.

Journal of Religion, 24, 1944. Helen Silving, "The State Contract in the Old Testament" (17-32). Explains collective responsibility and other features of Old Testament moral teaching in virtue of the contract of covenant between God and His people as the unifying principle that governs all the individual norms of morality and of criminal law afforded by the Old Testament text.

Journal of Theological Studies, 45, 1944. H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Nature-Miracles of the Old Testament" (1-12). Deals with the terms 'oth, mopheth, niphla'oth. The latter term refers to "extensions of the divine power which is being constantly exercised in more normal occurrences." The theophanies of God are the portrayal of God's majesty through nature. "Our modern analysis of Biblical miracles . . . shows a larger and more complex chain of cause and effect than the Hebrews recognized, yet it still leaves open the equal possibility of faith in a divine Agent. The essential truth for Biblical faith is that nature, like history, is wholly under God's control; the manner of that control . . . is of much interest, but in the long run of secondary importance."

G. R. Driver, "Uncertain Hebrew Words" (13-14). Treats *sār* in Isa. 5:28 as meaning "flash," or even "meteor." Purely tentative meanings are given for doubtful ornaments in Ez. 28:13.

A. Guillaume, "Notes on the Psalms, II:73-150" (14-15). A reply to some of G. R. Driver's suggested emendations in an earlier issue.

J. Leveen, "Psalm X, A Reconstruction" (16-21). Another attempt at restoring the garbled acrostic and the complete sense of this Psalm (the second part of Psalm 9, Vulgate).

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CORRIGENDA

Please note the following corrections, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, VI (October, 1944):

Page 399, between ll. 8 and 9 insert:
him food and clothing, and when hašwa is dead, Wallu will give him burial. If there be a son of Našwa, he shall divide (the estate)

Page 403, l. 14 read:
... usage was not similar but directly opposed to ...

BOOK REVIEWS

The New Testament. Translated by Msgr. Ronald Knox. (N.Y.: Sheed and Ward, 1944), \$3.00.

How do you like your New Testament? Are you attached to the old familiar Douay with its archaisms, its Latin flavor, but with a definite elegance withal? Or do you prefer the much clearer Westminster (done directly from the Greek), in which archaic forms are partially preserved in a rendering that consistently aims at dignity of expression? Or do you favor the Confraternity version, in which the palm was given to clarity of expression? Or will you have, for instance, this new Knox version that endeavors to combine a modern English tone in flowing, forceful style?

Monsignor Knox's version, made directly from the Vulgate, and undertaken at the request of the British hierarchy, is printed in draft form for submission to the English bishops and available through Burns, Oates, to subscribers for their own private use. In the United States, however, it is being handled as a Sheed & Ward publication. There will doubtless be minor modifications made, but this Knox version is presumably a finished product of outstanding merit. We dare say it will reach more people and influence more lives than anything else the zealous and scholarly prelate has yet done. We definitely feel it will be a powerful aid in enabling a fuller understanding of the words of life to be had by all who depend on English translations for their knowledge of Scripture.

The feel of the thing cannot be conveyed by tag-ends of quotation, but it will nonetheless serve some purpose to adduce some samples of the Knox renderings in comparison with the other versions mentioned. We choose for the purpose the opening verses of St. John, the *Quid mihi et tibi, mulier?*, a verse from the Christmas scene, and the *exinanivit*-verse from Philippians.

A. Douay: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was made nothing that was made.

Westm: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made through Him, and without Him was made nothing that was made.

Confrat: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made through him, and without him was made nothing that was made.

Knox: At the beginning of time the Word already was; and God had the Word abiding with Him, and the Word was God. He abode at

the beginning of time with God. It was through him that all things came into being, and without him came nothing that has come to be.

B. The verse of the Christmas story is chosen as one which associations had rendered particularly dear and which, therefore, one would wish changed very little:

Douay: And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him up in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.

Westm: And brought forth her firstborn son; and she swathed him round and laid him in a manger, because there was no place for them in the inn.

Confrat: And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.

Knox: She brought forth a son, her firstborn, whom she wrapped in his swaddling clothes, and laid in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.

C. The troublesome question, John 2:4, is rendered:

Douay: Woman, what is that to me and to thee?

Westm: What have I to do with thee, O woman?

Confrat: What wouldst thou have me do, woman?

Knox: Nay, woman, why dost thou trouble me with that?

D. The *Qui cum in forma Dei esset . . . exinanivit* becomes:

Douay: Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.

Westm: He, though he was by nature God, yet did not set great store on his equality with God; rather he emptied himself by taking the nature of a slave.

Confrat: Who, though he was by nature God, did not consider being equal to God a thing to be clung to, but emptied himself taking the form of a slave.

Knox: His nature is, from the first, divine, and yet he did not see, the rank of Godhead, a prize to be coveted; he dispossessed himself, and took the nature of a slave.

A publisher's 'blurb' is not the securest place to look for the 'Gospel truth' about a book, but in the light of the foregoing samples, I venture to underscore the claim made by the American publishers of the Knox New Testament, "The art of the translator gives a fresh insight into a familiar thought or suddenly reveals to us a meaning always present but obscured in the old [Douay] phrasing."

GERALD ELLARD, S.J.

HOLZNER, JOSEPH, *Paul of Tarsus*, translated by Rev. Frederic C. Eckhoff (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1944). Pp. vi, 502. \$5.00.

This is a book with a purpose well achieved. It has no introduc-

tion to explain why it was written; it needs none. It is itself an introduction—to a great man and his work—the beginning of a lasting friendship with the world's greatest missionary, a warm hand-clasp with a saint. Its purpose is to acquaint the reader with St. Paul as he really was.

The book follows Paul's life chronologically, and paints him against an accurate historical and archaeological background. The author knows the times of which he writes: the pagan cults in various lands and amidst differing peoples, the philosophies which prevailed in Asia Minor and Greece, the Jewish mind of the various sects, the topography and customs of the places where his hero really lives.

He knows more, namely Pauline psychology and character. Paul lives and thinks in this book as a Jewish boy of the Diaspora; he studies formalism in his adolescence and hates it; he succumbs to formalism on principle in his later youth, for Paul was always a strong, restless, energetic person of principle. He kills to defend formalism until by a supernatural revelation and numberless other graces he seems to make a psychological about-face, and then he spends his life killing formalism with the gentle, suffering Christ as his captain in the campaign. Devotion to principle, the consistent interior character of Paul, is magnificently developed in the book as the basis of all the apparent inconsistencies of the Apostle's exterior career.

But from the time of his conversion the psychology of Paul is supernaturally affected and continues to grow in a supernatural atmosphere until his death. New theological ideas are developed—some derived from Christ by direct revelation, others reasoned out by Paul under divine inspiration and guidance. Here Msgr. Holzner excels. He develops Pauline theology at once logically and chronologically, for he analyzes the Epistles in the order in which they were probably written and under the circumstances which called them forth. Consequently Paul's growth is revealed. The underlying theme is always Christ's complete redemption of the whole human race. It is portrayed first in the Parousia, the consummation in Christ; then in the Mystical Body, the working out of Christ in the human race as it tends to the consummation in Christ; then in the detailed functionings of Christ within the Mystical Body through sacraments, charismata, grace and virtues—differing in their adaptation to the needs of Jews and Gentiles, to the needs of time, place and prevailing circumstances.

The theology so portrayed is, consequently, not an exhibition of dogmas in a theoretical scheme but an inspiring manifesto for a practical spiritual life. Because it is truly Pauline, Christly and Catholic, the book positively builds up the reader in Christ, extricat-

ing him from negative pessimism. As a book for spiritual reading, *Paul of Tarsus* is vigorous, for it emphasizes on every occasion what Paul himself emphasized, namely the fact that progress in holiness issues from an affective appreciation of the strength of the redeeming Christ rather than from a formalistic and discouraging analysis of the weakness of men.

The book does more. It refutes, by this positive method and without ever mentioning Modernism, the vicious de-Christianization which a modern novel based on the life of St. Paul would seek to effect. Msgr. Holzner does not fabricate a story; he tells the facts and they speak for themselves.

Paul of Tarsus fits well, for its content, in many sections of a good library. It is history or biography; theology and spiritual reading. And, judged by its style, it is literature. Though a translation it is devoid of foreign idiom. It flows; in fact it lives. The work is profound without being heavy; scholarly but not pedantic; often it is strikingly terse and meaty; for example, "The Epistle to Philemon is an immortal memorial to Paul's goodness of heart" (p. 447).

Is this a perfect book? No, it has its human defects. Probabilities in minor matters are sometimes asserted as facts: "when Peter went beyond the boundaries of his own land he needed an interpreter" (p. 3); "Paul—a member of the Sanhedrin" (p. 27). Some few interpretations seem a bit weak and watered-down: "as he prayed the scales of pride fell from his eyes" (p. 47); "his old methods of thought seemed to fall away like scales" (p. 49). This seems to be inadequate for "And straightway there fell from his eyes something like scales, and he recovered his sight" (Acts 9:18). God's visit to Abraham seems to be classed with legends and myths (p. 132). It may be an overstatement to say that Paul's "nature was not tender like John's" (p. 134); the explanation of baptism for the dead (p. 325) is disappointing. The impression is left (p. 164) that the Letter to the Hebrews is really Barnabas—"the Epistle to the Hebrews reflects the spirit and character of Barnabas" and the fact that it is not analyzed or synopsized as Paul's other letters are confirms that impression. There is a good fourteen page general index at the end of the book; but one regrets that the cited texts of Scripture and especially of Paul's letters are not included.

Priests, scripture scholars and laymen, Catholic and non-Catholic, who have read the works of Franz Werfel or Sholem Asch should read this book, at least as an agreeable complement to the former and an antidote against the latter.

EDWARD J. HODOUS, S.J.

DOM JOHN CHAPMAN, *The Four Gospels*. (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1944) Pp. vi. 85. \$1.25.

In 1927 Dom John Chapman gave four lectures to the Catholic undergraduates of Cambridge on the authorship and interrelation of the Four Gospels. These lectures, now posthumously edited, will serve as an excellent popular introduction to these topics for the general reader. The editor has added an appendix which presents several of the more important patristic texts and all of the responses of the Biblical Commission bearing upon the same subjects.

This little book is a miracle of conciseness and clarity. Despite its condensation it is adequate to its purpose. Everywhere one feels the intimate contact of a distinguished scholar with his sources. Those who are acquainted with Dom Chapman's extraordinarily fresh and personal approach to the Gospels in his other writings will find the same qualities here. The piquant references to adverse opinions and the interesting little bits of information which enlivened the lectures have now fortunately been preserved for a larger audience.

Considering the special needs of his hearers the author orients his talks largely toward the Synoptic Problem. The Two Source Theory is exposed and briefly refuted, and the author anticipates his own solution which he published ten years later in *Matthew, Mark and Luke*. On this point the editor has brought the book up to date by inserting a footnote summary of Chapman's theory about the Second Gospel: that St. Mark transcribed accurately St. Peter's preaching, which was based directly on the Greek Matthew. The vivid little flashes of this Gospel and the homeliness of style are St. Peter's own. The omission of the long discourses of our Lord and of several of the events of St. Matthew's account is explained by St. Peter's preference to preach only what he himself remembered exactly. The chapter on Luke states the conclusion that this Gospel is based directly and primarily upon Mark, with which St. Luke combined large pieces of data taken from his own sources of information. Only later, before finishing his Gospel, was he able to avail himself of the Greek Matthew, and he used it to supplement and also to revise his own non-Markan material, notably in snatches of dialogue. The interested reader should feel prompted to examine this intriguing theory more fully in Dom Chapman's larger work. He will then be able to evaluate for himself the editor's remark that it is not only "highly probable in itself" but "the only explanation that harmonizes with all the data."

JOHN J. HEENAN, S.J.

LAURENCE J. MCGINLEY, S.J., *Form-Criticism of the Synoptic Healing Narratives. A Study in the Theories of Martin Dibelius and Rudolf Bultmann* (Woodstock, Md.: Woodstock College Press), Pp. viii, 165. \$2.75.

Within recent years Form-Criticism, the latest phase of biblical rationalism, has been partially examined and appraised in English by

some Catholic scholars. A few worthy of mention are: F. Peirce in the *Ecclesiastical Review* (1935), J. McEvoy and S. E. Donlon in the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (1943-1944).

Between 1941 and 1943 a series of important articles, entitled "Form-Criticism of the Synoptic Healing Narratives" appeared in *Theological Studies* by L. J. McGinley. These articles have now been published in book form and represent a solid and scholarly study on the theories of M. Dibelius and R. Bultmann, the principal leaders of this new movement.

In an introductory chapter of the book (pp. 1-27) Father McGinley carefully analyzes the five fundamental principles of Form-Criticism and points out their false application to the Synoptic Gospels. These principles of the critics are: (1) *Kleinliteratur*, i.e., popular sub-literary compositions; (2) *Community Production*, i.e., the primitive community creation of the Gospels, which depict the faith of the early Christians but not the historical Jesus; (3) *Isolated Units*, i.e., many small and independent units of tradition, which were artificially linked together and compiled by the Evangelists; (4) *Form*, i.e., a fixed literary category or sub-category which Form-Criticism seeks to establish for brief units in the Gospels by means of various laws, as for instance, analogy; and (5) *Sitz im Leben* (lit. life setting), i.e., a historico-social condition, which, in the life of the community, creates a definite form to satisfy a definite need or practical interest.

In chapters two and three (pp. 28-71) Father McGinley, restricting his investigation to the healing narratives, carefully examines and critically appraises the application of Form-Criticism to the narrative portions of the Synoptic Gospels in the so-called paradigms (of Dibelius) and apothegms (of Bultmann), in the *novelles* (of Dibelius) and the miracle-stories (of Bultmann). A brief summary of the negative results of these two critics in regard to paradigms or apothegms may be found in the words of the author: "Having agreed on the material, disagreed on the terminology and growth, agreed on style and differed completely regarding *Sitz im Leben*, the two critics conclude by a united denial of the strictly historical value of their respective categories" (p. 45). According to these same critics the *novelles* (which are considered as stories molded by Christian narrators for propaganda purposes to proclaim the epiphany of Jesus) or the miracle-stories (the origin of which are regarded to be predominantly Hellenistic) have little or no historical value.

In chapters four to seven (pp. 72-154) Father McGinley discusses the argument from analogy said to be derived from Jewish and Greek sources. Having given a detailed analysis of the form (i.e., the content, style and miracle-topic) of those Synoptic passages which refer to healing (pp. 72-95), the author then discusses at length the form

of the rabbinic healing narratives (pp. 96-118) and of those from Hellenic literature, in particular the cult records from Epidauros (pp. 119-143). These two analogies are extensively used by the critics in their attempt to confirm their conclusions about the Gospel traditions. Finally, having presented the reader with a careful and minute survey of the three healing traditions (i.e., Synoptic, rabbinic and Hellenic), the author gives the results of his researches (pp. 144-154); his conclusions may be epitomized in his own words: "The Synoptic narratives so differ from the analogies adduced, that their very form indicates a different origin and development" (p. 153). The book is also supplied with a large and relevant bibliography (pp. 155-162) and a scriptural index (pp. 163-165).

The reviewer is impressed by the clear and logical presentation of the arguments of the critics as well as by the author's objective and forceful refutation of them. The book represents a substantial contribution to the correct evaluation of Form-Criticism and of comparative religion. It may be regarded as an indispensable book for Catholic biblical scholars and apologists.

JOHN E. STEINMUELLER

KRONER, RICHARD, *The Primacy of Faith* (New York: Macmillan, 1943). Pp. ix, 226. \$2.50.

The purpose of this book is to show the relation between reason and revealed religion. It deals, in other words, with the problem of man's knowledge of God and other religious truths. The author develops his theme as follows: God, even in revealed religion, is hidden in mystery, and so He reveals Himself through imaginative ideas and not through philosophical concepts. Reason cannot reach God. The Church and Scholasticism erred in their attempt to reconcile reason and faith. Kant, too, since he severely criticized natural theology, is put on trial and found wanting. Then Mr. Kroner tries to prove his own thesis: faith alone can bridge the chasm between reason and revealed religion. He tries to show that faith is needed for understanding evil in a world supposedly created by a good God, for understanding man who as a rational being can confront the super-rational realm, for understanding sin which is a turning of the will against itself, for knowing that God exists and that He is Creator, for grasping the idea of original sin. He concludes the book with more thoughts on the primacy of faith and on the importance of reading the Bible as a religious book.

Except for the fact that author stresses the freedom of the will and insists that sin is a transgression and a rebellion against God, I find nothing to recommend in the book. In fact, the errors—historical, theological, scriptural—are so numerous that it would take books to refute them. We shall discuss briefly the errors of his main con-

tention that faith is the bridge between reason and revealed religion.

He insists that reason cannot attain to a knowledge of God or of other religious truths which cannot be expressed in the literal words of reason. And so religious knowledge is not objective. Reason can do no more than lead to antinomies. It cannot offer a solution for them; faith alone can do that. And what does he understand by faith? Faith is belief in what God reveals in imaginative language. Since man's reason cannot reach religious truths literally, God reveals Himself in figurative ideas. And for that reason imagination is an indispensable and integral element in faith; faith is based on revealing imagination.

Amid the many assertions that the author makes it is hard to place one's finger on definite proofs. Evidently he is trying to prove his thesis from Scripture when he writes that the Bible does not use philosophical concepts, but figurative language to tell us about God (p. 136). Now that is certainly no proof that man cannot know God by reason, but only by imaginative faith. It merely proves that man, sentient as he is, can more easily grasp intellectual truths if presented in picturesque speech. How often does not the great intellectual genius St. Thomas—who gets many raps in this book—use figures to illustrate his abstract truths? And what happened to those parts of Mr. Kroner's Bible in which religious truths are given in literal style? It is false to say that all religious truths in the Bible are given in figurative style. To be sure, man's language will always be inadequate to express truths about the infinite God; but that does not prove that man cannot have a positive intellectual knowledge about God. There is a vast difference between pure symbolism, or figurative language, and analogical ideas. Moreover, the Bible itself tells us explicitly that man can know God by reason alone.

Perhaps the author intended the following as a proof: "The content of our intrinsically personal life, of our heart and destiny, our guilt and our longing, our love and our fear, our hope and our despair—the content of our real self—cannot be perceived or comprehended by reason alone. Whatever is personal stirs our imagination; it is imaginative in itself" (p. 138 f.). But here he confuses internal states of the soul with truths about the soul and its destiny. The former are known to us through psychological consciousness, not through imagination; the latter through reason and revelation—imagination, apart from reason and revelation, can tell us nothing about them.

If reason cannot grasp religious truths, and if faith can get only a figurative, symbolic, grasp of them, there is nothing intellectual about such knowledge of religious truths. It is intellectual agnosticism in both the natural and supernatural spheres. What the author wrote about Kant is equally true of himself: "To be sure, Kant

qualifies the nature of this religion in a way which excludes almost all knowledge from it" (p. 46). His faith is not much of a bridge between reason and revealed theology; and if it is a bridge, it is almost hanging in mid-air on the side of natural theology.

Besides the poor method of arguing from Scripture noted above, the author has other errors in regard to Scripture. The story of paradise and of the fall he classifies more than once as a myth and legend (cf. pp. 81, 178, 183, 216). In fact, the whole Bible should be read not as an historical document but as a religious book with faith (p. 219). The author could hardly view Scripture in any other way, since it is the Bible, not because of some objective inspiration, but because of subjective attitudes of the reader believing "that the spirit which reveals itself in this book is really holy and divine" (p. 203). We agree that the Bible should be read with faith and piety; nevertheless it is for the most part an historic document and must be read as such.

Rarely does he attempt to interpret a passage and when he does it is in a puerile manner, as in the following: "It is the Word that creates the world: 'And God *said*, Let there be light: and there was light.' It is this *word* and not reason or the *logical logos* that made all things in the beginning. It is the creative word of imagination, not the Platonic Idea or Form that was in the beginning with God and that was God" (p. 167). No comment is necessary on such exegesis.

The author was no doubt sincere in what he wrote; but he used his imagination too much and his reasoning powers too little. He deserves our prayerful pity for still groping in the dark trying to find the answer of a problem that has been under a bright light for centuries. St. Thomas, the Fathers, even Scripture, have the answer to the relation between reason and theology: Man can know God and religious truths literally by the light of reason; and when aided by supernatural faith he can know God and religious truths that God reveals. This faith presupposes reason as a condition, but is motivated by the authority of God who reveals. It is an intellectual assent by which we acquire a literal, objective knowledge of God. No bridge is needed between reason and revealed religion; no bridge is possible. It is like riding on a train and on an airplane.

DOMINIC UNGER, O.F.M.CAP.

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY

REV. DONAT POULET, O.M.I., S.S.L.*

In spite of the vicissitudes of the times, the members of *The Catholic Biblical Association of America* have the good fortune to be reunited again in this most colorful general meeting. It is my duty, as president of the Association, to thank all those who have come to this meeting. We all know that this could not be done without great fatigue and heavy financial sacrifices. And the expression of our gratitude, it goes without saying, is extended most heartily to those members who, though overwhelmed by the accelerated seminary courses or other extra duties, have contributed to the discussions of this group of biblical scholars, papers of a high scientific standard. With the expression of our sincere gratitude, we offer them also our warmest congratulations.

We must also extend to the Reverend Mother Madeleva, worthy and beloved President of St. Mary's College, and to the other authorities of this venerable institution, within whose walls we have received such gracious and cordial hospitality, the expression of our most sincere and profound gratitude. And since Divine Providence has permitted that we should have our general meeting in St. Mary's College in the very year of the centenary of its foundation, we gladly take advantage of this most exceptional and most happy circumstance to offer it the tribute of our sincere admiration for the glorious deeds it has achieved during the first hundred years of its existence, and we offer it also our best wishes for a happy prosperity in the years to come.

Before touching on the subject of this presidential address, I have a most important duty to fulfill. Two years ago, in Cleveland, where we had our last general meeting, I was greatly honored by being named president of the Catholic Biblical Association of America. If one considers, on the one hand, that our Association is ninety-five per cent American in membership, and, on the other hand, that I am a Canadian, and a French-Canadian, and, what is even worse, a French-Canadian of very moderate attainments, then one must acknowledge that such an act of condescension was hardly to be expected. I was so profoundly

* Presidential Address, delivered August 23, 1944, at the annual meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association.

moved by this unexpected and incredible choice that I could not then find appropriate words to express adequately my heartfelt gratitude. I had firmly hoped that with time and reflection I could later on discover these appropriate words, but I must confess today that I am still in the same dilemma. Proper expressions do not come to my lips wherewith to express my sincere gratitude, and the equally deep-rooted sentiments of gratitude in the hearts of my fellow-citizens and confrères in the religious life, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. May we one day have the honor of welcoming all the members of the Association in a general meeting, in our beloved University Seminary of Ottawa. We extend to you the invitation accorded two years ago by the Seminary authorities. In fact, it remains a standing invitation, until circumstances will allow us to reunite there.

The Catholic Biblical Association of America, regardless of the difficulties of present times, and in spite of its handicap in the person of the outgoing president, is constantly progressing and looking ahead for further activities. It has succeeded in enlisting up to date more than 600 members, of whom 9 are patrons, 15, life members, 394, associate members, and 185, active members. Its periodical, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, continues to promote scientific work on Sacred Scripture. Among the periodicals of this character it can, without exaggeration or over-confidence, be listed with the best. Students of Holy Scripture are deeply pleased by the scholarly nature of the articles, while its enemies and detractors find it necessary to be more prudent and respectful in their criticisms. They will not be permitted, at any rate, to publish, with impunity, gross and insulting errors and inaccuracies on the origin of the Catholic faith.

This last remark leads me to draw the attention of all the members of the Association to a campaign launched lately by a group of biblical scholars—many of whom are certainly men of good faith—against Christianity, and against its Founder in particular. This campaign is developing so rapidly and to such an extent that it is our duty, as members of a Catholic Biblical Association, to oppose this erroneous propaganda with the greatest energy and scholarship possible.

One of these scholars, Mr. A. T. Olmstead, in a book entitled, *Jesus in the Light of History*, attempts to meet the great prophet face to face under the blazing light of pure and cold historical facts. From the beginning, Mr. Olmstead does not recognize our

canonical Gospels as authentic documents. They do not give exact accounts of the words and work of Jesus, since these accounts are always, as he thinks, more or less "colored by the faith of the infant church." The theological concepts of the primitive generation of Christian must therefore be carefully removed from the history of the Apostolic Age. Miracles performed by our Lord are not objective or are reduced to mere mental healings. What the author thinks of the Resurrection of Christ is not perfectly clear. The virgin birth and the perpetual virginity of our Blessed Mother are but a myth, since Mary had a goodly number of children, Jesus being "the first born among many brethren." The Magnificat was written a generation or two earlier and was "inserted piecemeal throughout the story of John's birth." Of course Mary had nothing to do with the composition of this canticle!

Jesus' failure to marry cannot be explained by "consciousness of a future mission, for this consciousness did not come to Jesus until decades after he had reached the normal age of marriage." At the moment of Baptism, and also in the days of the temptations, "Jesus felt in himself no messianic consciousness." He never proclaimed himself the Messiah and never accepted such claims from others. The many passages of our Gospels proclaiming Jesus to be the true Messiah are not genuine. They are evidently theological concepts of a later age and of the infant church.

Our Lord, according to Mr. Olmstead, never conceived of any but a purely spiritual kingdom, the kingdom of God, the love of God, and charity towards all men. "Far indeed," declares the author, "was the Christ of orthodox theology from the Carpenter of Nazareth." This historical Jesus "was always on good terms with the Pharisees, who recognized their mutual kinship of thoughts." The passages of the Gospels in which the Pharisees are embodied with Scribes, Highpriests, and Herodians as opponents of Jesus are interpolations!

The Apostles would have been the last men on earth to believe that they were founding a new religion. This thought never occurred to their mind. In the beginning the Church was but a Jewish sect. James, not the Apostle, but the oldest surviving brother of Jesus, was the head of this body, which flickered out later on.

In a word, Jesus was neither the Messiah, nor the Son of God.

In the face of cold historical facts Christ is antipodal, diametrically opposite to the theological Man-God created by the infant Church. Mr. Olmstead, though not himself a Jew, endorses therefore many of the Jewish misrepresentations of Christ's nature and mission. We are sorry to see a scholar of such outstanding ability a victim of these gross blunders.

Another scholar of this school, Mr. Solomon Zeitlin, in his book, *Who Crucified Jesus?*, makes an equally sensational discovery. According to his best sources of information, the Jews would have had absolutely no part in the condemnation of Christ to death. Even the Pharisees and the Sadducees would have been altogether innocent of the blood of this just man! By what clever feat does Mr. Zeitlin prove this most strange assertion? Let us examine his argument. In the days of our Lord there were two Sanhedrins in Palestine, one *religious*, composed of seventy-one members, whose task it was to interpret the Mosaic Law and institutions, the other, *political*, in the evil sense, and made up of twenty-three members, most of them chief priests, the Quislings of those days, whose devotion and religion were the Roman interests. The latter Sanhedrin is the body that condemned Jesus to death. And this condemnation was imposed on Him for mere political motives. The chief priests, the Quislings, discovering in the people a strong inclination to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah, out of subserviency to the Roman authorities, arrested Him, tried Him and delivered Him to the Romans. And the Romans crucified Him as "a political offender of the state." Therefore it is unfair, unjust and dishonest to lay an accusation of deicide on the innocent Jewish people as a whole, and, particularly, on the religious sects of those days, the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

Since the Gospels emphatically contradict his thesis, Mr. Zeitlin despises them altogether, relegating them to a class of writings, utterly unreliable from a scientific, historical viewpoint. In his opinion their authors were theologians, not true historians. Theological concepts constantly cover, as rich garments, the narrative skeleton of facts. The task of the critic, therefore, is precisely to unclothe this nucleus of fact, to remove from it all subsequent superfluous additions. Moreover, the Gospels flatly disagree among themselves in essential matters, such as the date of the crucifixion, the genealogy of Christ, etc. This fact shows beyond all doubt that the authors of these books were not technical-

ly trained for the job of writing an impassively objective history. And finally, since the first Gospels were not written until the year 70, forty years after the death of Christ, it goes without saying that the christian concepts had ample time to develop, to grow, to mature, and to bear fruit in a transfigured, glorified, and even deified Jesus of Nazareth. Consequently, the testimony of the Gospels, in the perplexing question of Christ's crucifixion, must be cancelled. It has no historical value whatsoever.

The only true document on which we have any right to rely, according to Mr. Zeitlin, is the rabbinic literature, and in particular, the *Tannaitic sources*. These documents, in spite of their later age, clearly distinguish, in Mr. Zeitlin's opinion, the two Sanhedrins, the religious and the political, their personnel and their jurisdiction! And since in the time of the Tannaitic sources there existed a double court, one for religious matters, and one for political, this distinction therefore must also have existed at the time of Christ. To the political Sanhedrin, therefore, not to the religious, the case of Jesus of Nazareth was referred; on merely political grounds it was examined and judged. Jesus was condemned as a political usurper-king, for an offense against the state. Regardless of the weakness of his argument, the author pronounces with absolute certainty a verdict of not guilty on the Jewish people in the case of Christ's crucifixion and rejects any responsibility in this atrocious death decreed by the Romans and their puppet Quisling-Sanhedrin. Christians must, therefore, change their mind on this subject and apologize for their unjust statements.

But we are not at the end of the incredible discoveries. Mr. Joseph Klausner in his book, *From Jesus to Paul*, seeks to persuade us that the founder of Christianity was not Jesus Christ but Saul of Tarsus.

In Mr. Klausner's opinion, Jesus was a pure and simple Jew. He was neither God, nor the Messiah, nor a Redeemer, nor a priest, nor a king. He never arose from the dead; His Resurrection existed only in the hysterical imagination of Mary Magdalene and certain pious women, in the imaginary visions of His too enthusiastic Apostles. He never founded a church and, like every false Messiah of that time, He would have been forever forgotten if He had not had the good fortune of being glorified by Saul of Tarsus.

Saul of Tarsus! A Jew of the diaspora, consequently filled

with the religious and philosophical ideas of the pagan Greek world. Mr. Klausner devotes two hundred pages of his book to the examination and synthesis of all the religious tendencies of the period in order to show us how Paul's Christianity was the culmination of all these tendencies. The reader is constantly aware of the author's eagerness to establish the groundwork of a thesis which he will try to defend in the second part of his work.

But what about the conversion of Saul of Tarsus on the road to Damascus? Merely an acute attack of epilepsy! Yes, though Saul was a genius at adaptation, practical by temperament, a realist as were few men before or after him, he was, unfortunately, an epileptic as well as a visionary, a victim of hallucination. In this acute attack of epilepsy on the road to Damascus, *Saul believed* that he had seen Jesus in glory, seated at the right hand of the Father. . . This supposedly glorified Christ convinced him, in this and in subsequent visions of the same kind, that a new religion, a religion of mysteries, a religion purely spiritual, wholly disengaged from the precepts of the Mosaic Law had to be established. Converted to *his* glorified Christ, Paul undertakes to preach this so-called Christian doctrine. He preaches it, not only against the Jews, but also against the Twelve, against Peter and James in particular. He wins a decisive victory over them all, and masters the pagan world by offering it exactly what it demands. Thus Saul is credited, and small credit it is, with founding Christianity.

Now if someone asks how Mr. Klausner can extract from the scriptural documents his theory of Saul of Tarsus as founder of the Christian religion, the answer is very simple: the author does not worry much about the scriptural documents: he divests them of practically all historical value. They were written too late after the facts, by prejudiced theologians, whose only ambition was to accomodate things to their religious concepts and feelings. Very often the books of the New Testament betray evident traces of a more or less unhappy combination of different and conflicting sources. For these motives they cannot be used as absolutely reliable historical documents.

In conclusion, we Christians are cordially invited to deny Jesus Christ and go back to the purer and more spiritual doctrine of Judaism!

We could enlarge the list of scholars who, though with good faith, nevertheless methodically and systematically pervert and

distort the life of Jesus and that of the Apostles. We could, for instance, check off many of the articles in the Jewish *Encyclopedia* concerning the origins of Christianity. We have read many of them, and we have come to the conclusion that nothing more rationalistic and sometimes even more insulting for Christians could ever have been written.

But the labors and writings of this rationalistic school, because of these gross blunders, would have been condemned to oblivion had they not the good fortune of being glorified by a novelist of talent, Mr. Sholem Asch. Beyond doubt the two novels written by this author are spectacular. No wonder they are the best sellers today. Speaking of the first novel, *The Nazarene*, Mr. May Lamberton Becker, in *The New York Herald Tribune*, declares that "it is not only the best novel of the year, but one of the great novels of our time." Mr. Clifton Fadiman calls it "a universal work of art." *The Christian Century* emphatically proclaims that this novel "will make a place for itself among the immortal stories of mankind for it is a great novel by a great author on a great theme." And the enthusiastic Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver wrote these words of optimism: "I was both moved and exalted by it. I am sure both the Christian and Jewish world will be grateful to Sholem Asch for *The Nazarene*."

These words of praise will certainly be extended to *The Apostle*, the second volume to be published by Sholem Asch. Copies are sold by the thousands in America and Canada. Many are bought by hundreds of public and private libraries and yet it is almost impossible to get a copy in a library; they are always out! The waiting list for these novels is always several pages long. *The Apostle* is written in an easy flowing style. So great is the elegance of the literary form, so strangely attractive, so real and moving are the biblical facts narrated by the author that one fails sometimes to see the gross errors and inaccuracies quietly inserted under the brilliant camouflage.

Errors so abound in *The Nazarene* and in *The Apostle* that their simple enumeration would be extremely tiring. The divinity of the Messiah is doubtful in the extreme in the pages of these two novels. Miracles are diluted to a debilitating degree and lose all their supernatural power. Facts are distorted, deprived of their historical truth. The Romans, not the Jews, crucified the Messiah! The Holy Eucharist appears to be a mere commemorative meal! Saint Paul's visions are so described that

they are equivalent to epileptic fits! And, of course, Paul and Peter do not agree about the person of Christ and His doctrine. We have the primitive dual Christianity, Paulinism and Petrinism, conjured up by hypercritics of the rationalist schools. Mr. Sholem Asch, we readily acknowledge, is moved by motives of deep friendship towards Christ and Christians. He speaks of our Master, with a love and reverence we seldom remark in Jewish literature. These noble feelings greatly honor his talented pen. But one must say, nevertheless, that the Lord he presents is not our Lord, the Incarnate Son of God. Jesus-Christ in *The Nazarene* and in *The Apostle* is not the Man-God of our theology and of our Faith. In a word, Mr. Sholem Asch has no insight into the real meaning of the Gospels, of St. Paul's life, of the primitive Church. He hears the music, but fails to catch the melody, the harmony of the divine inspiration incarnate in it. With the best of intentions, he is picturing to humanity a powerful, but distorted figure of Jesus-Christ.

The humiliating conclusions to be drawn by Christians from these writings are too evident to remain unseen. They cannot but strike our minds and feelings. We Christians, and we Catholics especially, are unjust when we place full responsibility for the death of Christ on the Pharisees and on the Jewish people. We Christians are the least among men, doomed to death, made a spectacle to the world, to the angels and to humanity, since we were unwise to the point of following a cursed, a false Messias. We Christians were fooled by the epileptic Saul of Tarsus, who imposed on the primitive Church his hysterical visions of an imaginary, glorified Christ. We Christians are walking in the wrong way, the way that leads to error, falsehood, and damnation. We can yet be saved, but on one condition only, namely that we deny Jesus Christ! These are the natural conclusions to be drawn from the words of these scholars. They evidently hope to win us over to their way of thinking.

But there is in this campaign against Christianity much ignorance and misunderstanding. These biblical scholars and novelists have not the respect they should have for the testimony of the only true history of Christ, the one written by God himself in the Gospels and in the other inspired books of the New Testament. They silence it because it bears witness against their thesis. Their attitude towards the inspired word of God recalls to mind a very sad and revolting act of banditry that occurred

some years ago in one of our peaceful Canadian cities. A group of gangsters stopped an armored car carrying a large sum of money to the bank. They forced the driver to leave the city. When they were far enough in the country, the driver was shown a side road, compelled to continue until deserted bush country closed around them. They pulled up to a stop. The driver, a young man of twenty, was pushed from the car, his eyes were blind-folded, and he was led into the bush. The gang-leader put his revolver to the mouth of the poor boy, coldly shot him to death, and said to his partners: "In our gang we silence witnesses of this kind." It would seem that, in the rationalistic school we now have to deal with, scholars silence in the same manner witnesses that know too much. They silence them by distorting their testimony, and when distortion is not enough, they simply lock the witnesses up in a padded cell, by declaring them crazy, epileptical, hysterical, victims of hallucination.

But the authors of the Gospels and of the other writings of the New Testament were not epileptic, hysterical or hallucinated. They knew what they were talking about and shed their blood to prove the absolute historical value of their testimony. There are today well over 700,000,000 Christians in the world, all believing in Christ's divinity, believing Him to be the true Messias and the true founder of Christianity. We all believe in Christ's Resurrection, and we believe this dogma because, of course, of the numerous, real, objective, historical manifestations and apparitions of Christ, in soul and body, to His disciples who numbered more than 500 according to Saint Paul, but we also believe in this dogma because the Jews themselves, namely the High-priests and the Pharisees, His worst enemies, were compelled to believe, so evident was the fact of the Resurrection on that Easter Sunday. There is no doubt that on the morning of that glorious day the news of the Resurrection of the Master spread like a train of gunpowder. The High-priests, the Pharisees, and the Elders then had a unique opportunity to kill the bird in the egg; they had only to exhibit the dead body. They failed to do it, and their failure is humanly inconceivable, since they had the upper hand; they had taken all measures to prevent any imposture. They had made the sepulchre secure, having sealed the stone and set a guard to defend it against possible violation. But they failed to exhibit the body, because there was no body to exhibit. Jesus had risen from the dead. And the guards were the very men

charged by Divine Providence to report to the Sanhedrin all that had happened. No member of the Sanhedrin had the least doubt about the fact of the Resurrection. No one went to the sepulchre to see if the report was objective. They did not investigate, they made no inquiry, arrested and tried no one. All they could do, after they had consulted together, was to give large sums of money to the soldiers telling them: "Say, His disciples came by night and stole him while we were sleeping. And if the Procurator hears of this, we will persuade him and keep you out of trouble." Ridiculous hypothesis, too ridiculous to merit even a refutation, conduct so dishonest, so revolting that the voice of common sense has no words to express its disgust. In the Sanhedrin of that time, as in many rationalistic schools of today, it was a rule to silence the witnesses who knew too much. The Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles and the profane documents have all testified that Christ rose from the dead. They have the only true, scientific, technical, historical explanation of the disappearance of the body of Christ on Easter morning.

Jesus is truly risen! And it is this risen historical Christ that Saul of Tarsus met on the road to Damascus. Saul was not an epileptic, nor hysterical, nor a victim of hallucinations. The Twelve were not credulous, simple, artless, or crazy. When scholars are compelled to silence witnesses, to declare them epileptic, hysterical, hallucinated, simple, artless, credulous, prejudiced, it is then only natural to question the worth of such scholarship.

Now, regarding the crucifixion of Christ, objective history has for a long time known who was to be held responsible for this atrocious death. The scholars above mentioned have endeavored to prove that the Pharisees and the Jewish generation of that time were fully innocent of the blood of this just man. But they forget that there is soot in the mixture they use to whitewash their patient. The more they wash, the blacker his skin becomes! I mean this: there exists in history a definite answer to the problem they are constantly proposing. As long as Israel was faithful to Yahweh, the Jews were blessed and their enemies could not harm them. But whenever they were unfaithful they were very severely chastised, the gravity of the punishment being proportioned to the gravity of the sin. Now in the year 70 of this era something strange happened in the history of Israel. Flavius Josephus and the profane documents of that epoch give

us a full account of the facts. Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans. The city was then overcrowded on account of Easter. Famine soon became unbearable. Mothers ate even their children. Two hundred thousand, through famine, died during the siege. Through a single gate of the city 116,000 dead bodies were carried out and buried outside the walls. One million one hundred thousand Jews were killed in action, in the city itself, and close to 250,000 others were slain in the rest of Palestine. A forest of crosses was raised in the country round about, to which were nailed innumerable rebels. Close to 100,000 Jews were reduced to slavery. Now if the scholars of this rationalistic school fail to find the cause of such a calamity—the sin that made God punish the Jewish generation of that time so severely—it shows that their scholarship is somewhat lacking in technique and solidity. It certainly leaves their other supposedly scientific conclusions open to question.

But if it is true that the question, who crucified Jesus, is of considerable importance, it must be remembered that its solution has absolutely nothing to do with the persecutions the Jews have to sustain now. The claim that the present-day Jews are persecuted because their forefathers put our Lord to death is a myth. The Jews should realize once and for all that a true Christian cannot persecute them, even if he believes they put Christ to death. They should also realize that unbelievers and pagans will continue to persecute the Jews, even if we could convince them that the Jews did not put Jesus to death. The Catholic Church, following Saint Paul, has never accepted the theory of a sort of theological curse laid eternally on the whole nation in consequence of its historic act. On the other hand, we Christians have been taught from our infancy that any one committing a mortal sin is morally guilty of the death of Christ. Therefore the question as to who crucified Jesus 1900 years ago is of purely speculative interest now, and has no practical influence in the social life of today.

Some will perhaps think that we nourish in our hearts anti-semitic feelings. This belief would be altogether erroneous. We have nothing against the Jewish people. On the contrary, we love them sincerely and we roundly condemn the sadistic persecutions of which they are the unfortunate victims in Nazi-dominated countries. Nor have we any personal feelings against the scholars and novelists who are the authors of the books we are

reviewing. It is their thesis, not their persons, we are condemning. Scholars, and those of Jewish stock especially, should understand our reaction to such erroneous statements as those printed of late about Christ and the origin of Christianity. What would these Jewish scholars feel and say if one day some of the members of our Catholic Biblical Association were to publish insanities like these: "Moses was epileptical and hallucinated. The Lord he saw in Egypt, on Mount Sinai, and in the wilderness was but an imaginary vision, the creation of his hysterical mind. His works have no historical value since he was not technically trained for the job of writing cold historical facts. He was a theologian, not a historian. He covers the facts with the theological garments of his age, and the religion he imposed on the Jewish people was not the religion of the true God, but his own. All the miracles mentioned in his books must be removed from the narrative: they are legends, myths, mere mental healings, etc. On the other hand, all the writers of the Old Testament were too prejudiced to give us the exact accounts of what took place in their times. The Prophets were but rebels against the legitimate authority, they were ambitious, proud, and fatuous, hurling anathemas on all who dared to oppose their moral tyranny; their visions were not objective, but mere creations of their epileptic imagination. In a word, the whole Jewish literature of the Old Testament is legendary, mythical, theological, at the antipodes of true history." Would not Jewish scholars, and the Jewish people as a whole, strongly object to and condemn such preposterous statements? Who among them would call the authors of such writings true scientists and trained scholars? Who among them would attach any scientific value to works of that kind? Any reasonable man would perfectly understand the reaction of the Jews to the publication of such gross and insulting errors. And we Christians would be the first to protest against such prostituted talents. It follows then that what these Jewish scholars would not like done to themselves and their Jewish people, they should not do to others.

It seems, when we read between the lines of the books we are reviewing, that the scholars and novelists of this school yearn for the day when Jews and Christians will unite and collaborate in the establishment of a true religion for the whole world. But the collaboration that is asked of us is in fact the very destruction of our Christianity; it is the denial of Jesus Christ and of

the only true religion existing now and forever. And the religion they wish to see established is their own, pure and simple. They simply forget that Judaism was but the preparation for Christ and Christianity. They do not realize that Judaism is no more, that it was done away with, as Mr. David Goldstein, a Jewish convert, proved in his book *Jewish Panorama*. The Jews of to-day have no Temple and no Sacrifice; they have lost their priesthood. Even if the Messias some of them are still hoping for should come, they would not have the means to prove his messianic character since they have lost most of their genealogies, etc. Judaism has given place to another religion, with the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, true God and true Man, true Jew, but also true Messias, true Master and Redeemer of the World. The only collaboration possible, then, between Jews and Christians—and we yearn for it with all our hearts—is within the limits of Christianity. Happy the day, when all the Jews, converted to Christ, will be our beloved brethren and will adore with us their merciful compatriot, who gave His life and shed His blood for the redemption of the human race. This day will be a day of resurrection in Israel.

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THE SHROUD OF TURIN

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Unlike most relics, spurious or genuine, the Turin Shroud has come into the focus of world interest only within the last half century. Before 1898 it was seriously studied by comparatively few scholars, and was rather an object of local devotion than of scientific research. Then almost overnight it provoked squalls of dispute in learned circles, the curious fact being that many eminent Catholic students proved vigorous adversaries, while equally eminent non-believers upheld its genuinity.¹ For four or five years the controversy was very lively; then followed a period of quiet, with only occasional articles or brochures appearing. In 1931 the Shroud was re-examined, this time by a commission of scientists, and rephotographed. It is because of the recent work on the Shroud that very little of the literature previous to 1931 can be considered to be of value.

A photograph started the whole discussion. At the exposition of the Holy Shroud in 1898 an Italian photographer named Pia photographed the venerable object for the first time in its history. Scaffolding was erected, and despite a number of lighting obstacles, Pia made his exposure and retired with his colleagues to the dark room. There they were astounded, almost to the point of collapse as the negative came into view. Instead of an ordinary negative, as had been expected, there came into view a realistic, vivid, almost frightening face of a bearded man, not altogether unlike the popular representation of Christ.²

When Pia's negative was brought to the attention of the learned world, there began to appear a great volume of literature, some of it acrimonious in the extreme, much of it quite incompetent. Pia was blatantly accused of perpetrating a monstrous fraud. Controversialists proposed the most puerile and mutually contradictory explanations of the negative. Publications subsequent to the re-examination of the Shroud in 1931, however,

¹ See Gaston Salet, "Le Saint-Suaire de Turin" in *Etudes*, vol. 237, p. 376. Foremost among agnostic supporters of the Shroud was Dr. Yves Delage, physiology professor at the Sorbonne.

² The account of this first photography of the Shroud is graphically given in Giuseppe Enrie's volume, *Le Suaire de Turin révélé par la photographie* (Paris: Procure du Carmel, 1936), pp. 17-23. This work is very hard to secure in this country; yet it is almost indispensable for work on the Shroud problem.

have been done in a somewhat more detached manner. The present photographs (by Enrie) are unquestioned by scholars and are used as a recognized basis for study.³

No one can presume even to number the vast bulk of articles and books that have been printed on the subject; forty years ago more than three thousand had been published.⁴ By way of apology for yet one more article on the Holy Shroud let me propose the regrettable fact that very little of this literature has appeared in English. Some, too, of the popular writing on this subject has been partisan and plainly propagandist, and has naturally aroused the suspicions of critical thinkers who have not had the opportunity to examine more scholarly studies. Thus there would seem room for a summary treatment of the present *status quaestionis* as it appears to one who has read and attempted to appraise most of the significant books and articles since 1931, as well as the principal earlier treatments.

This article can obviously not deal with the complex question of the Shroud's history. Rather I shall consider the case on the common ground accepted by all students, even those opposed to the genuinity. It is this: the object known as the Holy Shroud of Turin (preserved in that city in a chapel attached to the cathedral, and the private property of the Royal House of Savoy⁵) has an undisputed history going back to the middle of the fourteenth century. Before that time its history is relatively obscure; hence we shall consider the present Shroud as we know it to have been in the fourteenth century.⁶

³ Enrie's account (see previous note) of the 1931 exposition and the photography under ideal conditions of lighting and proximity have placed the entire case above suspicion. He also reprints affidavits and signatures of civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

⁴ In *Historisches Jahrbuch* (Munich: 1903), Baumgarten speaks of more than 3500. Cf. Thurston, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 13, p. 763. For the more important recent literature see various notes to this article and Ermanno Dervieux, *Bibliografia della S.S. Sindone di N. S. G. C. venerata in Torino* (Chieri: Ghirardi, 1929, suppl. 1936). In my own study I have been much indebted to R. P. Léandre Plante, S.J., (Montreal) for important bibliographical suggestions.

⁵ Our newspapers have reported that the Shroud was twice moved for safekeeping since the war started, and that its present whereabouts is known only to the King, its owner, and to the Holy Father, and to their representatives.

⁶ For a synopsis of the historical question in English, see Edward A. Wuenschel, C.S.S.R., S.T.D., articles in *American Ecclesiastical Review*,

First let us propose the possibilities. This Turin Shroud is either the Shroud of Christ (his burial shroud) or not; if not, then admittedly it is either an accidental resemblance of what Christ's corpse presumably looked like, or it is a forgery.⁷ There are no other possibilities. Hence, if the Shroud (with its images) can be shown not to be a forgery, nor an accidental resemblance, we are forced to admit its genuinity as Christ's Shroud (whether the images be naturally or miraculously produced). This trilemma must be kept in mind throughout our discussion.

1. ACCIDENTAL RESEMBLANCE HYPOTHESIS

The possibility of the Shroud (with its images) being the burial shroud of some person other than Christ has not been seriously proposed by any leading opponent of its genuinity. In 1903, Father Herbert Thurston, S. J., the main English opponent, wrote as follows:

As to the identity of the body, whose image is seen upon the shroud, no question is possible. The five wounds, the marks of a cruel flagellation, the punctures encircling the head can still be clearly distinguished. . . . If this is not the impression of the Body of Christ, it was designed as a counterfeit of that impression. In no other personage since the world began could these details be verified.⁸

Nevertheless, for reasons of logic we shall discuss this hypothesis briefly.

Is it physically possible that the image on the Turin Shroud should be the image of some man other than Christ? Strictly the answer must be yes. But what are the probabilities? First, there is on record no other burial shroud that shows images

vol: 93, pp. 441-472, and vol. 102, pp. 465-486. These articles remain the principal American contribution to the question.

⁷ Evidently some knowledge of the Shroud's condition, with its images, must be presumed here.

⁸ See *The Month* for 1903, vol. 101, p. 19. One inaccuracy (the relevance of which will be clear later in this article) must be noted: not all of the five wounds are discernible on the Shroud. Father Thurston's two articles in vol. 101 of *The Month* (pp. 17-29 and 162-178) and his article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 13 (reprinted with a few retouches in *The Month*, vol. 256, pp. 51-63) and his article, "What in Truth was the 'Holy Shroud,'" *The Month*, vol. 155, pp. 160-164, are the most forceful English articles against the genuinity. All antedate the recent research (following the 1931 photography), and it is unfortunate that Father Thurston apparently never reconsidered the problem in his last years. I have other references to the Shroud in his works, but they are unimportant.

which, when examined in a negative photograph, appear as a detailed, life-like portrait of a man. How such an image could have been produced accidentally remains a riddle. The several theories advanced to explain the images (frontal and dorsal) on the Shroud require that extraordinary coincidence of burial circumstances narrated in the Gospels.

Moreover, the man (as Father Thurston indicated) would have to have been crucified with nails, scourged, crowned with thorns or their equivalent, stabbed in the side, yet wrapped in an expensive grave cloth; and his body for some mysterious reason must have been removed from its grave cloth before putrefaction could take its toll. Since crucifixion was abolished in the fourth century,⁹ it would have to date from a period when crucifixion was a servile form of capital punishment; yet the cloth would have been preserved. Difficulties may be multiplied against this hypothesis. For instance, the likelihood of one presumably a criminal slave, who appears to have died of asphyxiation (physicians conclude this from the position of the chest¹⁰) after brutal mistreatment (the swelling of one eye, a dislocated nose cartilage, and other indications), the likelihood of his retaining at the moment of death the facial expression of utter serenity and majesty.¹¹ It should be plain why no student of the Shroud makes much of the abstract possibility of an accidental resemblance. Further, one must realize that the improbabilities mentioned in this and the preceding paragraphs have to be faced

⁹ See Dom H. Leclercq, O.S.B., "Croix et Crucifixion" in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, tome 3, col. 3064-3065, also col. 3045-3047.

¹⁰ Dr. Pierre Barbet, M.D., (Paris) has carried out a number of laboratory experiments. His conclusions, given in *Les cinq plaies du Christ* (Paris: Dillen, 1937, 2nd ed.), and more popularly in *La Vie Spirituelle*, February, 1940, no. 244, pp. 113-133, are in favor of the Shroud's genuinity. He indicates asphyxiation as the immediate cause of Christ's death; this he concludes from the Shroud and from anatomical studies on corpses (he has performed on corpses more than ten crucifixions!).

¹¹ Dr. Yves Delage, speaking at the Academy of Sciences, asked: "If it be not Christ, who should it be? A condemned man, tortured in the same manner as Christ? But then, how explain the expression of majesty on this face?" Quoted by Dr. R. W. Hynek, M.D., in *Science and the Holy Shroud* (translated from the Czech, Chicago: Benedictine Press, 1936), p. 129. Dr. Delage, it must be recalled, was a professed agnostic. The volume by Dr. Hynek concludes in favor of the Shroud's genuinity; it is rather popular in treatment, and very vigorous in style.

simultaneously, and not only successively, thus magnifying the improbability many times.

2. FORGERY HYPOTHESES

Painting

Of the several forgery hypotheses, by far the most generally proposed is that the image on the Turin Shroud is a painting. In favor of this painting hypothesis there is a set of documents collated by Canon Ulysse Chevalier toward the turn of the century.¹² Canon Chevalier's arguments were accepted by a number of historians, among them Father Thurston who presented the historical case against the Shroud in his article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (see footnote 8).

This historical argument in favor of the painting hypothesis may be stated as follows. In 1389 the Canons of Lirey received permission to expose the Shroud (then in Lirey, France) for public veneration. Pierre d'Arcis, bishop of Troyes, protested so vehemently to Clement VII, Antipope at Avignon, that the Antipope decreed that though the canons might continue exposing the Shroud, they must eliminate the elaborate ritual and announce each time that it was not the true shroud of Christ. In his memorial to Clement VII, Bishop d'Arcis asserted that Henry of Poitiers, one of his predecessors in the episcopal see, had "discovered the fraud and how the said cloth had been cunningly painted, the truth being attested by the artist who had painted it, to wit, that it was the work of human skill and not miraculously wrought or bestowed."¹³

Indeed, if we had no more than this single document (and not several contradictory documents of the same period and provenance), and if we did not actually possess the Shroud itself, with all its internal evidence against its being painted, we should

¹² In *Etude critique sur l'origine du Saint-Suaire de Lirey-Chambéry-Turin* (Paris: 1900. pp. LX, 59). See also his article, "Le Saint-Suaire de Turin et le Nouveau Testament" in *Revue Biblique*, 1902, vol. 11, pp. 564-573.

¹³ Chifflet, in *De Linteis Sepulchralibus Christi Servatoris*, cap. 23, col. 900 (in Ugolino, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*), considers d'Arcis's memorial and Clement's consequent decree as historically worth less than "piperis cucullo." I know this work only from quotation. As to Clement's compromising, liberal character, see Salembier, *The Great Schism of the West*, pp. 135-139, and Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, p. 133.

be justified to conclude, with satisfactory probability, that the cloth exposed by these monks of Lirey was a painted forgery.

On the other hand, d'Arcis's very memorial arouses one's suspicions when examined cautiously. Its tone is bitter and controversial; the Bishop had quarreled with his canons over this shroud, and he resented their using it as a means of making money; he rightly objected, too, to their allowing it to be shown more reverence than the Blessed Sacrament. Further, he gives no confirmation of his statements; he does not even name the forger. Chevalier's book contains, also, every other document referring to the Shroud at Troyes; they either do not mention the Shroud, or they are plainly derivative of d'Arcis's document, or they are opposed to his document. In each case they provide none of the necessary corroboration for strict historical argument. It is interesting to note that Chevalier did little more than reprint documents known to Jean Jacques Chifflet as long ago as 1624. D'Arcis's memorial has been known all along, and in spite of it his successor, Bishop Louis Raguier, maintained the Shroud's genuinity in three official documents.¹³

Moreover, the prudent historian who presumes to offer hypothetical explanations of the origin of an object, should thoroughly examine the nature of that object, as a check to his hypothesis. Especially is this the case in an object so rich in clues and suggestions (as to its origin) as is the Turin Shroud. Yet Chevalier seems completely to have disregarded the nature of the Shroud and its internal evidence in his discussion of its origin. His knowledge of the photograph was second-hand; and it has been pointed out that, unwilling to examine the 1898 photograph, he was unable to see those made in 1931.¹⁴ Thurston, it is true, did know the 1898 photograph; yet the marked imperfections and inadequacy of this early photograph (especially when it was enlarged to life size for detailed study) will show some reason for Thurston's hesitancy in arguing from it. This, however, is no longer the case, now that many large, detailed photographs are available—instead of one rather small photograph that had to be used in the early discussions of the question.

Since, as we have emphasized, the history of the Shroud from the fourteenth century is unquestioned, the proper enunciation of

¹⁴ Georges Porché, in his preface to the French edition of Enrie's work, pp. xix, xx. Porché himself is a respected physicist and was closely affiliated with Enrie during the studies made in 1931.

the historical problem would seem to be this: How did this Shroud happen to appear about the year 1353? Thus, if we are to sustain the painting hypothesis, we must admit that this Shroud was painted in the first half of the fourteenth century (as d'Arcis claimed) or in some earlier century. What are the probabilities here? First we must not overlook the capital fact that this Shroud is equivalently a photographic negative, and that it is only when photographed and shown in negative that it resembles the positive portrait known to my readers. This point is fundamental for any discussion of the Shroud, and should be kept in mind. Yet I have been surprised to discover from personal discussion with persons apparently familiar with the problem that this basic fact is frequently not grasped, or not recalled.

Let us place ourselves in the middle of the fourteenth century. Is it possible that a fourteenth century (or earlier) painter could paint an image that when reversed into a photographic negative would appear remarkably realistic and vivid? We need hardly recall that photographic negatives (by this I mean real negatives, with complete reversal and chiaroscuro; not any sort of reversal) were to be unknown for some five centuries. Even in the twentieth century, with advanced knowledge of photography and highly developed painting techniques, it is impossible to paint a person in such a way that the negative of the painting will prove to be a lifelike portrait. Further, competent artists have been commissioned to attempt to reproduce the Shroud as it appears to the eye; and though they used modern equipment to achieve their purpose, and knew that they were expected to produce a negative like the Shroud, and though the results appear satisfactory to the eye, when the paints are reversed by photography they prove entirely unconvincing. There remains none of the lifelikeness or realism of the negatives taken directly from the Shroud. I regret that I am unable to illustrate this point by reproducing the results.¹⁵

It is well known, too, that painting in the early fourteenth and previous centuries was so far from the development to which we are accustomed, that even the masterpieces of a Giotto (early fourteenth century), while exhibiting high aesthetic values of form and coloration, are in no sense realistic or calculated to

¹⁵ See reports on experiments by Reffo and Cussetti, given by Enrie (*op. cit.*, pp. 11-54), who has a complete treatment of his photographic work. Reffo's and Cussetti's results are given on pp. 130-133.

produce an illusion of reality. De Meurville, an opponent of the Shroud's genuinity, and others grant this point:

Il est juste de dire avec ceux qui connaissent l'histoire de l'art, que cette physionomie du saint suaire n'est pas dans la note artistique du quatorzième siècle, ni des siècles précédents.¹⁶

The anatomy, to mention one trait of this medieval art, is easily recognizable as primitive. On the other hand, even under magnifying glasses and especially in photographs of all sizes, the Turin Shroud shows absolutely no indication of anatomical error. Still less is there any trace of the application of paint, by brush or other instrument. Moreover, the delicate, almost imperceptible manner in which the contours fade in and out of view is something unheard of in painting until the impressionist style of the last century (even "impressionism" cannot stand up under examination from close, still less under photography). This fact alone seems fatal to the painting hypothesis, and has not, to my knowledge, been answered by those who favor this hypothesis.

In this connection it may be well to speak of the work of Dr. Paul Vignon (author of several works on physiology and professor at the Institut Catholique of Paris). Since the turn of the century he has been perhaps the foremost proponent of research on the Shroud. His latest book¹⁷ is in part a minute analysis of the anatomy of the figure impressed on the Shroud. Dr. Vignon and his medical collaborators (whose integrity has not been questioned) have shown that at no point, even under the exacting scrutiny of photographic enlargement, does this figure betray the hand of a forger, painter or otherwise. For one thing, the knowledge of anatomy on the part of such a forger would have to

¹⁶ Cf. *Correspondant*, May 10, 1902, p. 553 (quoted by J. Renié in *Revue Apologétique*, 1937, p. 154). Also in *Revue Apologétique* is a series of significant articles by several experts (in the 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, and 1939 volumes). It should be noted that a number of authorities on the history of art have pronounced in favor of the Shroud's genuinity and are members of the two commissions devoted to its further study. To name a few: Maroger, of the Louvre; Drioton, of the Louvre; De Pace, of Naples; Parbeni, of Rome; Rubino and Ferro, of Turin. See Dr. Viale's report at the National Congress of Shroud Studies, 1939 (in *Civiltà Cattolica*, vol. 2, p. 531).

¹⁷ *Le Saint-Suaire de Turin devant la Science, l'Archéologie, l'Histoire, l'Iconographie, la Logique* (Paris: Masson, 1939, 2nd. ed.). This volume contains Dr. Vignon's principal work and is indispensable reading for anyone interested in the Turin Shroud. At present it is being prepared for publication in English and should appear within the next year.

be several centuries in advance of his time, and would have to include (in anticipation) the circulation of blood.

Dr. Vignon's conclusions have been corroborated by the research of two commissions of physiologists, doctors, chemists, and artists: one French, the other Italian.¹⁸ These and independent workers have concluded to the genuinity of the imprints: that they are not paintings or other artificially induced impressions. Such a deception as is postulated by the painting or similar hypothesis would have been perpetrated by a forger of the middle ages, working at a period when knowledge of anatomy was comparatively slight and painting in a primitive state—yet working so skillfully as to deceive groups of twentieth-century scholars, some of them men of no religion or religious interests. It should be insisted that this difficulty has to be faced in any forgery hypothesis, not only that of painting.

Accordingly, recent opponents of the Shroud's genuinity proceed somewhat hesitantly when suggesting the painting hypothesis. Perhaps the most frequently quoted adversary of the Shroud in recent years is Father G. de Jerphanion, S.J., of the Pontifical Oriental Institute.¹⁹ Reviewing Dr. Vignon's new volume, Father de Jerphanion denied its main thesis with such incisiveness that his article has become a mainstay of those who today write against the Shroud.²⁰ When I first read this study, before examining Dr. Vignon's work, I felt that Father de Jerphanion had invalidated (or at least considerably weakened) the case for the Shroud. But rereading it with the book in hand I could not but judge that the renowned orientalist was jeopardizing his argument by a somewhat casual, almost haphazard treatment of a serious scientific work. Were there space here it would

¹⁸ The personnel of these commissions includes some ten French academicians, numbers of professors of medicine, physiology, archeology, photography, chemistry, history, art, scripture, and theology. Among them are Vaccari, Gemelli, Filograssi, d'Alès, Baudrillart, Gaetani, and many others, including those given in footnote 16.

¹⁹ In *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* (March, 1938, vol. 65, no. 3) he questions the Shroud's genuinity because of the obscurity in its history previous to the fourteenth century. The matter is discussed in another connection. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (1938, pp. 563-570) contains the review in question.

²⁰ An instance: Filippo Ricchielli, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Jan.—Jun., 1939, pp. 250-253, makes much of Fathers de Jerphanion and Braun (see below for Braun).

be easy to point out several indications that the review is scarcely what one would have expected of its reviewer. Father de Jerphanion, for instance, quotes half a sentence of Dr. Vignon as though it were complete, whereas the other half would have so modified the meaning as to forestall the jest which Father de Jerphanion wished to make.²¹

The clearest instance of insouciance in this review is where Father de Jerphanion urges the painting hypothesis. His argument must be quoted:

Un ami me faisait récemment observer, avec beaucoup de pénétration, que, dans l'hypothèse d'une peinture, cette plus grande longueur d'un bras s'expliquerait par le naïf souci de laisser voir la plaie du clou, qui, si les deux bras eussent été égaux, aurait été couverte par l'autre main.²²

On quick reading, the argument appears rather impressive. Yet it contains two palpable errors of fact, which may be verified by anyone who merely looks at the photographs of the Shroud (any negative or positive, large or small). In the first place, Father de Jerphanion fails to note that only one hand wound appears. Secondly, it is precisely the unsymmetrical crossing of the hands (by reason of which one arm appears longer than the other²³) that causes the wound in the "longer" arm not to be visible; it is covered by the other hand. Had Father de Jerphanion carefully read the book he was reviewing, he could easily have avoided these rather telling errors; had he even taken the pains to check his argument by looking at one of the photographs in the book, he would scarcely have incorporated his friend's remark. Finally, Father de Jerphanion's deplorable use of ridicule throughout his review makes his position suspect, and suggests that perhaps he, rather than Dr. Vignon, has an "esprit dont les convictions sont définitivement arêtées," to use his words. Rather Dr. Vignon's concessions, his admissions of changes of opinion, his perfect candor in granting objections

²¹ The sentence quoted on p. 570 of his review should add this telling clause: "et qu'il le connaissait seulement d'après des reproductions datées de quelque trente-six ans aujourd'hui, qui ne détaillent pas le masque imprimé sur le Drap." (cf. Vignon, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n.) I urge the reader to check my criticisms by comparing book and review.

²² *Loc cit.*, p. 566, note 3.

²³ Dr. Vignon explains this fully, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

against his personal theory on how the images were produced—have impressed other adversaries quite differently.²⁴

It may be because Father de Jerphanion agrees on one important point concerning the painting hypothesis that he is so eager to find an error in the image. He states (quite justly, it would seem) that it is inevitable that if the image is a painting it should contain an error in draftsmanship (“une faute de dessin”). The history of art, and particularly pre-renaissance art, shows that even the most gifted draftsmen do not draw so flawlessly that physiologists and critics cannot detect the human touch, at least by using photographic enlargements or magnifying glasses. This may be why he invokes the lack of symmetry, in default of anatomical error on the image.

Painting Reversal

Father de Jerphanion suggests, in a footnote, a variant of the painting hypothesis: that the image may be a painting that has reversed into a negative through age or some other physical cause.²⁵ As illustration of this phenomenon he somewhat cryptically refers to certain Cappadocian churches which he has examined and found to contain paints that have blackened and produced the “aspect of negatives.” He seems unaware that this problem had been rather painstakingly studied by Giuseppe Enrie, who went to the trouble of photographing a well known instance of such reversal in the basilica at Assisi. Since the arguments against any painting hypothesis (except that based on the impossibility of painting “in negative”) are decisive against this subsidiary hypothesis, a detailed reply is not necessary. However, we may resume Enrie’s discussion very briefly.²⁶

Why is it that not the whole Shroud, but only the brownish stains are in negative? The direct blood stains are in positive, so that in a negative they look like parts of an ordinary negative. Centuries ago Vasari pointed out that frescoes occasionally deteriorate with time and produce “blackenings.” These blackenings can be called negatives only in the loosest sense of the term. Certain bright colors darken and darker ones fade, producing

²⁴ Among them, Father Thurston (referring to Vignon’s early work) praises “his good faith, which is indeed proved by the frankness of his own avowals.” *The Month*, vol. 101, p. 170.

²⁵ Page 265, n. 2.

²⁶ See Enrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-152.

roughly the impression of an inversion. Enrie further proves his point by reproducing a negative of the Assisi painting, and his negative shows that the painting reversal is by no means the equivalent of a true photographic negative. For one thing the blackening is quite irregular, varying from place to place; the chiaroscuro is lacking; certain paints do not reverse. Above all, the painting remains plainly a painting in negative or positive.

Statue Impression

Perhaps the other leading present-day opponent of the Shroud's genuinity, on whom also lesser opponents rely, is Father F. M. Braun, O.P., professor in Fribourg, Switzerland. Father Braun published in 1937 a scholarly brochure on the burial of Christ, refuting Baldensperger, Goguel, Guignebert, and Loisy, who (to dispose of the fact of the empty tomb) had maintained that Christ had not been really buried. Against this rationalistic hypothesis Father Braun upheld the exact opposite, namely that our Lord's burial was not only real, but definitive and in no way provisional. Thus, implicitly at least, he became an opponent of the Shroud; for it seems impossible to explain the Shroud naturally if our Lord's body were completely and ritually washed and prepared for the final burial. Apparently in an effort to save his burial theory, Father Braun wrote two articles against the Turin Shroud, later publishing them in brochure form.²⁷

His line of argument against the Shroud is, briefly, that it is in open contradiction with St. John's Gospel, and cannot therefore be the Shroud of Christ. His procedure is: first to dispose of the textual problem (all too readily, according to Father Vaccari²⁸), and then to show, by a lengthy study of the principal Greek words in question, that St. John's text cannot allow for a shroud such as that of Turin. It is obviously impossible, in an article of this length, to take up each point in so complex an argument as Father Braun's. The study has been made, however, by

²⁷ In *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* (1939, No. 8, pp. 900-935; 1939, No. 9-10, pp. 1025-1046). The brochure was published by Casterman, Tournai-Paris, 1939 (76 pp.).

²⁸ Vaccari's review in *Biblica*, 1940, pp. 211-212. See also synopsis given in *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1939, vol. 2, pp. 527-528. See also the work of Father Renié and Lévesque in *Revue Apologétique* (articles mentioned in footnote 16), whose conclusions also contradict Father Braun's.

Father Edward A. Wuenschel, C.S.S.R., and will appear in the next issue of *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*.

Several observations should be made here, however. One is that other Scripture scholars have derived opposite conclusions from St. John's text. Father Vaccari, at the National Congress of Shroud Studies in 1939, presented a paper on his investigations as to whether the Shroud contradicted the data of Scripture and sacred archeology; his conclusions were negative.²⁸ Next, it should be noted that Father Braun so stresses the incompatibility of the Shroud and St. John that he comes perilously close to placing St. John in contradiction with the synoptics. Brucker, an opponent of the Shroud, long ago called attention to this danger; admitting that the Shroud fitted perfectly the data of the Synoptics, he warned that "si l'on prétend la mettre en opposition irréductible avec saint Jean, on risque de compromettre l'accord des quatre auteurs inspirés."²⁹

Furthermore, Father Braun gives indications of being not quite at home in his new field of study. For one thing, he quotes and refers approvingly to Father de Jerphanion's article against Dr. Vignon, hardly realizing how doubtful are de Jerphanion's own qualifications here. And he does not seem aware that de Jerphanion is as much an adversary of his theory as he is of the Shroud. True, de Jerphanion agrees with Braun that the Shroud is not genuine, but it is for entirely different reasons. De Jerphanion admits that the Shroud conforms to the Gospel accounts, because they tell us so little about Christ's burial that it would be easy for it to conform; but Braun's entire argument is that we know so much about Christ's burial from the Gospel accounts that we cannot accept the Shroud as genuine because it does not conform to what we know. We observe here a situation somewhat analogous to what Father Thurston admitted about some of his fellow opponents of the Shroud:

Some have been rather seriously discourteous, and others have eagerly welcomed every successive hypothesis opposed to his conclusions [Dr. Vignon's], forgetting that many of them are inconsistent and mutually destructive.³⁰

One more note on Father Braun's method. I was surprised to find that when he was attempting to gather medical opposition

²⁸ *Etudes*, August 20, 1902, p. 459.

³⁰ *The Month*, vol. 101, pp. 162-163.

to work done on the Shroud problem, Father Braun was apparently able to adduce only Dr. Moise Eskenazy. Seemingly, he would have us believe Dr. Eskenazy a competent student. Yet he fails to tell us that Dr. Eskenazy devotes some sixty pages of his critique to proving that the Jesus of the Gospels is a myth—perhaps, indeed, the Jesus myth is born of the Shroud and the Gospels written to agree with the Shroud. Nonetheless Father Braun has recourse to this book, probably unaware of its true quality and contents, certainly not aware that its thesis is diametrically opposed to his. The error could have been obviated by reading Dr. Vignon's book, on this precise point.³¹ Other methodological faults, such as the use of misquotation, could be easily indicated were there space here. Subsequently Father Braun has retracted one of his principal arguments (on the matter of the use of aloes in Christ's burial); and the editors of *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* had accepted a general reply by Dr. Vignon, which would have been published except for the destruction of Louvain in 1940.³²

Appreciating the need of proposing some explanation of the Shroud (if it was not to be that of Christ), Father Braun contributed a note to the March, 1940, issue of *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*. He grants that there exist reasons for thinking that the Shroud is not a painting. But, he proposes, might it not be some other form of imprint? Might it not be a *teinture* instead of a *peinture*, made from a statue carved in the thirteenth or fourteenth century? This hypothesis he attributes to one M. Clément, recently deceased, who proposed it to him in a letter. M. Clément had succeeded in achieving something that resembled a negative by applying a properly treated cloth to a bust by Géricault. Father Braun reprints the *clichés* with his article, but it is difficult to understand what force they are expected to lend his argument. They are too small for a careful comparison; even so, only in a very loose sense can we call M. Clément's results a negative. Moreover, they show none of the delicacy and force of the Shroud negatives. The many arguments used against the painting hypothesis (except the question of obvious use of brushes) would be

³¹ *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* (1939, p. 1044) note 62. Father Braun may have found his reference in Dr. Vignon's work, p. 234, where Dr. Eskenazy's thesis is treated.

³² This information comes from Dr. Vignon in a private letter to Father Wuenschel.

equally valid against M. Clément's hypothesis. And it is interesting to note that Dr. Vignon had already suggested the possibility proposed by M. Clément and had shown its inadequacy.³³ Father Braun does not inform us of this fact.

A word should be said here on the forty or more shrouds sometimes proposed as rivals of that of Turin. F. de Mély numbered some forty-two, and the fact is often made much of in articles against the Shroud. Yet the facts are that some of these shrouds are known only from records, others are completely blank, others possess some form of obvious painting on them.³⁴ None of them resembles the Turin Shroud; there is never question of a negative, or of realism. All are plainly, almost grossly naïve paintings, and show the type of forgery (serious or not) actually practiced in the Middle Ages. One is reminded of the difference between the real and apocryphal gospels. Today no one advances these shrouds as arguments against the Turin Shroud.³⁵

Corpse Impression

The final forgery hypothesis occasionally proposed is, like the accidental resemblance hypothesis, rather elusive to handle. According to it, a forger at some time previous to 1353 made the impressions on the Shroud by using a corpse which had been punctured and otherwise treated to resemble Christ's body as described in the gospel narratives of the passion. Such a forgery is physically possible. Again, however, we meet countless difficulties as soon as we weigh the probabilities.

The first thing to recall when weighing this, or any forgery hypothesis, is that forgery, being a business, follows the laws of supply and demand. A forger must forge in accord with the needs or wishes or expectations of his clientele; otherwise his business will not be lucrative. In the case of the Shroud, why should a medieval (or earlier) forger so astute and gifted as to be able to deceive modern doctors working with scientific photo-

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 199, note 3.

³⁴ Chevalier and others refer to de Mély's work, which I have not been able to secure: *Le Saint-Suaire de Turin est-il authentique? les représentations du Christ à travers les âges* (Paris: 1902).

³⁵ See J. Francez, S.J., *Un pseudo-linceul du Christ* (Desclée de Brouwer, 1935), a careful study of one of these rival shrouds. Father Francez has done important work on the Turin Shroud too; see his article in *Revue Apologétique*, 1938, vol. 67, pp. 240-255. Enrie has reproduced several photographs of other shrouds, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-128.

graphic enlargements (positive and negative), why should he go to all the trouble of making a Shroud such that it could not prove fully impressive for the next five centuries? For it is only since 1898 that the Turlin Shroud has caught the attention of the learned world; before that time, a Shroud more impressive to the eye (that is, not "in negative") would have been far more popular. Why should this forger waste his talents by producing a fraud that needed the discovery of photography to be fully appreciated? A less subtle forgery would have been far easier to produce and would have better satisfied his patrons.

This anonymous forger (painter or not), working in the Middle Ages and presumably for a medieval audience, violated the first canon of all successful forgery by not giving his customers what they wanted. For instance, he should have seen to it that all five wounds be visible for the devotional requirements of his buyers. Instead, he carelessly let one hand cover the wound in the other. Again, he should have placed the hand wounds in the palm, following pious medieval tradition (unless we either attribute accurate medical knowledge to him, or place him before the fifth century—no adversary of the Shroud is willing to do this). Even if he did anticipate Dr. Barbet's experiments, which were to show that the nailing could not have been done in the palm but rather where the Shroud shows it (Destot's region in the wrist), he ought surely rather to have satisfied his pious clients. And why did he show the cross wound on the back, instead of on the shoulder according to the popular medieval devotion? Finally, to omit many other questions, why did he so clumsily fail to show the nail prints in the feet on the front of the Shroud, instead of showing only one clearly, and that on the dorsal image, while the other imprint is so obscure that it can be ascertained only by very accurate investigation.

Then, too, he selected an unfortunate arrangement for the Shroud: the two full body lengths make exposition quite inconvenient, indeed, never to advantage. Nor did the forger object to certain repulsive features, unpleasant for Christian devotion. For instance, our Lord's body is shown as entirely nude. There are marks of scourging in regions that would offend pious sensibilities. And Dr. Vignon and other physiologists who have studied the details of markings on the Shroud have pointed out (quite convincingly, it would seem) that there are evidences of oozings (especially from the back wounds) which show that the

process preliminary to decomposition had already begun.³⁶ This certainly would shock Christian taste. In a word, the forgery is quite brutally realistic.

Finally, at the period in question, could a forger have succeeded in creating this Shroud? To obtain such results he should have had to choose the corpse of a man just dead (easy to manipulate), with distinctly Semitic features, with a face majestic enough to evoke the admiration even of those who deny the Shroud's genuinity.³⁷ He would have had to choose the body of a man who had actually been crucified, with all the convergence of torture narrated in the Gospel, or one on which he could work until he produced a likeness that satisfies present day scholars (this at a period when crucifixion was no longer used; unless we place it before the fifth century). His task would have to be done with such minute perfection as to deceive modern physiologists, though the forger worked at a period when physiology was not well known. And how could he have produced the images actually on the cloth? Even in our modern laboratories it has proved quite difficult to approximate them with all our resources. Lavater's term, the "uninventibility" of the Shroud seems its best credential: the spontaneous yet accurate character of the impressions, noted by all who have given it close examination.

Before concluding this section on the forgery hypotheses, let me insist that there is considerable overlapping of arguments against the various hypotheses. Almost all the objections against any one of them may be adduced, with equal cogency, against any of the others. It is only to prevent incessant repetition that I have allowed this overlapping. It will be apparent, too, that the arguments against this last hypothesis will apply *a fortiori* against the others.

CONCLUSIONS

I have attempted to summarize and evaluate the several possibilities proposed against the genuinity of the Turin Shroud. If the Shroud is not an accidental resemblance of Christ's burial

³⁶ Our Lord's human body would continue to react like a human body after death (as in life) until the moment appointed for its resurrection and glorification. See articles on this subject in *Biblica*, XIV, 1933, pp. 408-434, and in *Verbum Domini*, XIII, 1933, pp. 321-332. Cf also Vignon, *op. cit.*, p. 92, with illustrative photographs.

³⁷ Among others, Father de Jerphanion, in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, March, 1938, vol. 65, no. 3, pp. 264-265.

shroud, nor an intentional forgery of it, then, whether or not we can establish it by a concatenation of documents, we are logically coerced into accepting it as Christ's shroud.

But are there any positive arguments to show a continuous tradition between the death of Christ and the fourteenth century? Here the ground is shaky, and in the present discussion I have chosen rather to study what is admittedly certain than to enter upon long involved arguments about the meaning and value of various texts. Here surely is a possible line of future research. That we should as yet have no clear literary tradition before the fourteenth century cannot be surprising. The present interest in the Turin Shroud was not possible until the photography of 1898 discovered its true character as an equivalent negative. Hence, the laborious process of garnering, sifting, and collating texts has not yet been completed.

Another line of research that offers interesting possibilities was opened by Dr. Vignon in his elaborate iconographical study.³⁸ He argues that we can prove the existence of the Turin Shroud as far back as the fifth century, using a comparative study of icons to draw his conclusions. Briefly, his argument is as follows: We find clear evidence of whole families of icons, apparently deriving from the famed image of Edessa (the so-called "achero-pita"—"not made by hand"). Now these icons show a number of converging particularities, which are shown to be extraordinarily similar to the Shroud as it has always appeared to the eye. Dr. Vignon, and others, are convinced that the argument is quite decisive. On the other hand it is noteworthy that other scholars, equally convinced of the Shroud's genuinity, differ from Dr. Vignon in method of procedure. Professor Cechelli, of the University of Rome, holds that the existence of the Shroud can be shown at least as far back as the year 700 by a comparison with icons in various Roman churches of that day.³⁹ I am not qualified to discuss this highly technical problem.

As has been stated above, various theories have been advanced to explain the origin of the images on the Shroud, granted that it is Christ's shroud. There is plainly no space here to treat, or even

³⁸ This takes up about half of his recent volume and is copiously illustrated.

³⁹ See *Civiltà Cattolica*, loc. cit., p. 531. Friedrich Sühling, writing in *Theologische Revue*, 1939, no. 1, col. 4-6, agrees that the Shroud is genuine, but questions the validity of Dr. Vignon's iconographical arguments. Adversaries of the Shroud, of course, deny their validity also.

to synopsise, them. No one who favors the Shroud's genuinity, least of all Dr. Vignon, holds insistently to any one theory.⁴⁰ Father Thurston's contention (which many fellow opponents seem to take for granted in all their discussions) was that "it is no injustice to insist that M. Vignon's main conclusion that the shroud is not a painting must stand or fall with the rival explanation which he himself propounds of the origin of the figures";⁴¹ this contention can no longer be reasonably upheld. Often indeed Dr. Vignon states that the authenticity of the Shroud in no way depends upon what is only a theory,⁴² and several of his colleagues prefer other explanations of how Christ's body may have caused these images. Here, too, lies opportunity for future work.

In 1902, when the Shroud was as yet known by only one very imperfect photograph, Dr. Henri Terquem, a specialist in legal medicine, wrote a work on the *status quaestionis* as it appeared to him then. He concluded that though the arguments in favor of genuinity were very strong, there remained room for doubt. Thirty-four years later, in the light of recent photography and experimentation, he reconsidered the problem, treating it strictly as any legal case. His conclusions were presented to the Dunquerque Society for the Encouragement of Sciences, Letters, and Arts, printed in the Society's *Mémoires* (vol. 67), and reprinted in book form. This work has been crowned by the French Academy.⁴³ After examining all the possibilities with legal vigor he concludes that what seemed to him in 1902 only a scientific thesis has today received "une consécration définitive," and that

⁴⁰ The principal theory, that of Dr. Vignon, should be studied in his work cited above. Briefer and more accessible is the article in *Scientific American*, March, 1937 (with illustrations). The theory is called "vaporographic." Among other theories recently proposed are those of Dr. R. Romanese, of the University of Milan (cf. F. Trosserelli, S.J., in *Civiltà Cattolica*, loc. cit., pp. 522-534). See also D. Cojazzi in "Tre punti fermi sulla S. Sindone dopo il Convegno di Torino" in *Osservatore Romano*, May 11, 1939. The eminent British physician, Col. W. P. O'Gorman, C.M.G., has advanced yet another theory in *American Ecclesiastical Review* for March, 1940, pp. 208-226.

⁴¹ *The Month*, vol. 101, p. 170.

⁴² For example, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁴³ *Le Linceul de Turin serait-il le véritable linceul du Christ? Etude scientifique*, (Paris: Picard, 1936) (crowned by the French Academy, Prix Montyon, 1937). There are regrettably few copies of this work in the United States; the copy that I have used is a loan.

"le Linceul de Turin ait acquis désormais le droit indiscutable de se nommer 'Le Linceul du Christ'."⁴⁴

Father Adhémar d'Alès's judgment of Terquem's work will be of interest: "Le lecteur non prévenu appréciera l'objectivité de sa méthode et la solidité de ses conclusions."⁴⁵ What makes Dr. Terquem's study and conclusions the more impressive is his insistence that he has no religion at all and no religious interest whatever in the Shroud; he treats it strictly as a scientific, legal problem.

As Dr. Terquem concludes, after all the study that has been satisfactorily concluded the only present basis for denial must be a certain "besoin de scepticisme." This he opposes to the "faisceau que forment ensemble les preuves de l'authenticité du document et les présomptions graves, précises et concordantes concernant l'identification." Accordingly, he adds: "les esprits impartiaux, appréciant les choses en elles-mêmes, en s'abstenant de toute prévention et de toute précipitation se feront leur opinion."⁴⁶

Much as we deplore the obscurities and lacunae in our present knowledge of the Shroud and its early history, enough seems evident for us to draw conclusions. We have examined the possibilities. Considering the problem entirely in the abstract, certain possibilities remain metaphysically thinkable, that is, not self-contradictory. Yet all the concrete indications point to a spontaneous, unpremeditated, sincere complex of impressions on the Shroud. Moreover, the most critical and exacting study of the photographs has satisfied highly qualified experts in physiology, medicine, art, and legal medicine, that the image on the Shroud is that of a man who can only be identified as Christ.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴⁵ In *Etudes*, 1936, vol. 228, p. 135.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 78, 79. Italics are Terquem's.

⁴⁷ Testimonies could be multiplied; e.g., Dr. J. Belot's lecture before the Société de médecine légale de France, Nov. 10, 1936, published in *Annales de médecine légale*, Dec. 1936, pp. 628-636. Among artists we find studies by men like Paul Claudel, *Toi qui es-tu?* (Paris, Gallimard, 1936, 15 ed.) Pope Pius XI, after personal study and an audience with Giuseppe Enrie, publicly spoke of the Shroud as "more sacred than perhaps any other object . . . now established in the most positive manner." (Cf. *Osservatore Romano*, Sept. 7-8, 1936, and Enrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-196.) A fine appraisal of recent studies is given by Eduardo Ospina, S.J., in "Un reflejo histórico de la pasión de Jesucristo" in *Vida* (Bogotá, Colombia, 1944, no. 53), pp. 2, 3, 28.

"Too good to be true," is an objection that everyone tends to entertain when confronted with so stupendous an object. Gaston Salet's rejoinder, "Too good not to be true," seems to epitomize the present *status quaestionis*.

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IS ANYONE SICK AMONG YOU?

REV. CHARLES PICKAR, O.S.A., S.S.L.

From earliest times the Catholic Church has always understood the words of St. James in his Epistle, chapter 5:14-15, as a clear expression of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. The average Catholic ordinarily accepts this dogma of faith on the authority of the Church, which declared in the Council of Trent:¹

This sacred unction of the sick was instituted by Christ our Lord, as truly and properly a Sacrament of the New Law, insinuated indeed in Mark, but recommended and promulgated to the faithful by James the Apostle and brother of the Lord. "Is any one among you sick? Let him bring in the presbyters of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith will save the sick man, and the Lord will raise him up, and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him." In these words, as the Church has learned from apostolic tradition, received from hand to hand, the Apostle teaches the matter, the form, the proper minister, and the effect of this salutary sacrament.²

But in contrast to this Catholic teaching, the founders of Protestantism in the sixteenth century refused to acknowledge the sacramentality of Extreme Unction. Luther, e.g., considered it as an ecclesiastical institution similar to the sacraments; and Calvin called it a "hypocritical show," implying that the Church pretends to possess a power which she does not actually possess. Today the majority of non-Catholics, with the exception of the High Church Anglicans and Episcopalians, exclude Extreme Unction from the category of Sacraments. Their denial of it is based upon two things: first, the meaning and the interpretation of St. James' testimony, and secondly, the paucity of extant patristic evidence in the first four centuries concerning this Sacrament. Of these two, the denial of a scriptural basis for the sacramentality of Extreme Unction is the more serious, for in striving to undermine this basis they attempt to destroy the very foundation for the patristic testimony in favor of its sacramentality. In this respect their efforts are chiefly directed towards discrediting the traditional meaning and interpretation of the Church on this Sacrament as recorded by St. James. This difficulty is all the more grave since the Gospels do not mention the institution of this Sacrament. St. Mark (6:13) relates that

¹ Sess. xiv, c. 1 (Denz. n. 908).

² Translation by Waterworth, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 105.

the Apostles on one occasion went forth to preach the necessity of penance "and anointed with oil many sick people and healed them." But it is unlikely that this ceremony was a Sacrament, since our Lord ordained that Baptism must be received before the reception of any other Sacrament, and those who were anointed on this occasion evidently were not baptized. Then too, the Apostles had not yet been ordained priests, and so at the time they did not possess the necessary qualifications which the reception of this Sacrament demands. However, St. John (21:25) writes that not all the things that Jesus did or said are recorded in the Gospels. So the mere fact that the Gospels do not mention the institution of Extreme Unction by our Lord is no proof that he did not establish such a sacramental rite.

The words of St. James, therefore, furnish the only scriptural argument for the existence of a divinely instituted means of assisting the faithful Christians in time of grave illness. His teaching on this important subject becomes clear in the light of his purpose in writing. As a spiritual father, St. James aimed to guide and direct the early Christians in the practice of the faith. His Epistle is full of advice on Christian conduct and dogma. In this sense the Apostle's final counsel on the necessity of prayer is understood, which at the same time serves as an introduction to his teaching on the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. Therefore, a careful study and analysis of the text will reveal that the rite described by St. James contains the three essential elements of a Sacrament, namely, an external rite, capable of conferring grace, and institution by Christ.

St. James was certainly speaking of an external rite when he wrote: "Is any one among you sick? Let him bring in the presbyters of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord" (v. 14). The context of these words reveals the specific nature of the case. In the preceding verse (13) St. James wrote: "Is any one of you sad? Let him pray. Is any one in good spirits? Let him sing a hymn." The Apostle evidently prescribes prayer as a general remedy against every affliction. But from this he passes on to consider some grave illness for which he proposes the use of a special prayer and rite.

The term here used by St. James for "sick" (*ἀσθενεί*) seems to refer to no common physical malady, but a grave illness. In the New Testament especially *ἀσθενέω* ordinarily indicates and pre-

supposes a grave and dangerous illness.³ A few examples suffice to confirm this restricted meaning of the verb. For example, when our Lord sent his Apostles forth to preach the Gospel with the power of miracles he said: "cure the sick (*ἀσθενοῦντας θεραπεύετε*), raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils" (Mt. 10:8). St. John 11:2-6, also, uses this verb several times to describe the dangerous condition of Lazarus. St. Paul does the same in his Epistle to the Philippians (2:26) in writing about the severity of the illness of Epaphroditus: "he was sick, almost unto death" (*καὶ γὰρ ἡσθένεσεν παραπλήσιον θανάτῳ*). Finally, in St. John's account of the condition of the ruler's son at Capharnaum, the gravity of the child's illness is apparent from the ruler's plea: "Sir, come down before my child dies."⁴

In the present instance this restricted meaning of *ἀσθενεῖ* becomes more certain because of its relation with *κάμνοντα* in v. 15: "and the prayer of faith will save the *sick* man." *Κάμνω* means "to grow weary, to be sick or exhausted, to undergo the last extremity, to die." Consequently, it is not surprising that theologians and exegetes commonly restrict *ἀσθενεῖν* to a serious illness and *κάμνειν* to signify "proximity to death."⁵ These observations seem to place the matter beyond all doubt. But "it is not to be denied nor concealed that they become startlingly less convincing when one looks in a lexicon, there to learn that neither *ἀσθενεῖν* nor *κάμνειν* signifies solely or primarily or even commonly "aegrotum esse," much less "periculose aegrotum esse." Nor is the argument valid that they are used exclusively in the Scriptures in such a sense so that their signification in Holy Writ has become hallowed. The word *κάμνειν* appears in the Scriptures but five times, and nowhere outside of James 5:14 does it signify "aegrotum esse." *Ἀσθενεῖν* is more often used in the Bible, but not infrequently does it mean a deficiency in natural or supernatural forces necessary for a particular end. An example of this is to be had in the book of Judges (16:7-11). There Samson deceived Delilah repeatedly, telling her that if she resorted to several expedients, *καὶ ἀσθενήσω καὶ ἔσομαι ὡς εἷς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*. Add to this the fact that the force of *ἀσθενεῖν* in these comparisons is learned more from the context than from the inherent significance of the

³ Cornelius a Lapide, *Comm. in Ep. St. Jac.*, ad cap. 5:14.

⁴ John 4:6ff; cf. also Mark 6:56; Luke 4:40; 7:10; Acts 9:37; etc.

⁵ Cf. Suarez, D. 42, s. 2, n. 3.

word—and it will be seen that too much stress cannot be laid on the grammatical import of the terms.”⁶

Furthermore, this meaning of the verb can also be judged from what follows in the text. St. James exhorts the afflicted person to call in the priests of the Church; his state presupposes that he cannot leave the house or his bed in order to present himself in Church or at the home of the priests. However, it does not follow that the sick man is unconscious; in fact, St. James presupposes that the ill man himself can call for the priests or ask for the administration of the rite. Moreover, the seriousness of his condition can be judged from the wonderful effects produced by this sacramental rite. In verse 15 St. James teaches that the sick man will be saved, raised up, and if necessary his sins will be forgiven. Father Kilker rightly observes “there is an unmistakable innuendo of the incompetency of the natural powers to obtain this result—for it is the Lord Who “saves” and “raises up” the sick person. Whenever divine aid of such a nature is regarded as necessary for an invalid, his affliction must be surely grave.”⁷

The ministers of the sacramental rite are indicated by the words: “let him bring in the presbyters of the Church.” These are not simply the “elders” or “ancients” of the Christian community. It is true that the term is sometimes used in this sense in the New Testament. But more often it is used of the heads of the early Christian communities who were superior to the laymen and the deacons of the Church, but inferior to the Apostles and their principal disciples.⁸ That St. James had in mind persons who performed the sacred ministry or priests is evidence by the determining clause, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

In this latter connection an objection commonly raised is the Apostle's use of the plural “presbyters.” It seems from this that several priests were necessary for the proper administration of the sacrament. Actually, in the Oriental Churches the rite is administered by several priests. This was also the custom in the Latin Church in the early ages. While this interpretation is in strict accordance with the use of the plural by St. James, yet it is very likely that he had no intention of teaching the necessity of a plurality of ministers. Many critics believe that the plural is employed here for the singular, a practice not uncommon in

⁶ Kilker, *Extreme Unction*, p. 10.

⁷ Kilker, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁸ Cf. Acts 11: 30; 14; 22; 1 Tim. 5: 17, 19; Tit. 1: 5; 1 Pet. 5: 1f.

Sacred Scripture.⁹ But some exegetes, e.g., Fillion, take it as a categorical plural in the sense that "if any one is ill call in one of the priests." Just as, e.g., a sick person calls in doctors or physicians, that is, one of them to attend and cure his physical ills, so too, he should have similar recourse to a priest to attend and heal his spiritual ills.¹⁰ The number of ministers, however, might have depended upon the circumstances of time and place.

The external character of Extreme Unction is further described by the words: "and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord." The matter of the Sacrament, i.e., oil, is specifically mentioned; the form, however, is only referred to in a general way by the "prayer" pronounced over the sick person. Here St. James is not considering simply the faith and dispositions of the recipient, but he is recommending a rite that becomes a means of salvation through the intercession and the unction of the priest. The fact that the form or the prayer is not specifically mentioned is not unusual, since St. James was instructing the faithful and not priests about this salutary rite.¹¹

In the concluding words of verse 14, St. James prescribes that the unction be administered "in the name of the Lord." The Venerable Bede¹² in his comment upon these words thought that they should be taken with *ἐλαίω* to mean oil which was blessed in the name of the Lord for the purpose of anointing. But the majority of exegetes reject this interpretation; they hold that the words are to be understood of the entire rite and the prayer of the priests. Therefore, "anointing in the name of the Lord" would mean to administer it in their capacity as priests by his order and command. A similar expression is used throughout the New Testament as well as in the Old Testament; generally it is a sign of something to be done or something that was accomplished *in* or *by* the power and the authority of God or Christ. In this sense St. Peter (Acts 3:6) commanded the lame beggar seated at the gate of the temple to arise and walk.¹³ This meaning is confirmed by St. James himself in his exhortation on patience in affliction. In the preceding paragraph he exhorted the Christians to "take as an example of labor and patience, the prophets who spoke

⁹ Cf., e.g., Mt. 2:20.

¹⁰ *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, V, 2, 1899.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² MPL 93, 39.

¹³ Cf. also Acts 4:10; 16:18; 19:13.

in the name of the Lord" (5:10).¹⁴ For St. James, therefore, "in the name of the Lord," has a special meaning: priests are to administer the Sacrament as it was previously established by Christ himself. This fact, at least, is indirectly deduced from his words as tradition and the Council of Trent teach. So, contrary to non-Catholic opinion, there is a scriptural basis for the second essential constituent of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, namely, divine institution.

Finally, in verse fifteen St. James points out the effects of this sacred rite: "and the prayer of faith will save the sick man, and the Lord will raise him up, and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him." The specific meaning of these words has often occasioned a great deal of discussion. Scholars have wrangled over their interpretation in their attempts to indicate the primary and secondary effects of the Sacrament. A careful analysis of them, therefore, will reveal that Extreme Unction possesses the third and final essential element of a Sacrament, namely, a rite capable of producing grace; at the same time it will present an answer to a problem frequently proposed by theologians and exegetes as to whether or not St. James considers this sacred rite simply as a preparation for death or at least equally a healing power for the sick.

The introductory words of this verse, "the prayer of faith will save the sick man," seem quite general in character. By "the prayer of faith" is understood the form of prayer which the priest pronounces over the sick man. It is called a "prayer of faith" because it proceeds from and is grounded upon the faith of the Church. But in what sense does this "prayer of faith" save the sick man? Many non-Catholic exegetes¹⁵ have restricted the meaning of the terms "will save" (σώσει) and "raise up" (ἐγείρει) to bodily effects exclusively. But the Catholic teaching on this matter is that the primary effects of this Sacrament are the graces, aids, and comforts it affords the soul of the sick man against the trials and difficulties especially experienced at the time of death. According to this same teaching, the secondary effect of the Sacrament is: first, the proximate preparation of the soul for entrance into eternal life through the remission of sin and the temporal punishment due to it, and secondly, bodily

¹⁴ Cf. Acts 15: 14-17.

¹⁵ Cf. Puller, *The Anointing of the Sick in Scripture and Tradition*, (London, 1904) p. 289f.

health if in the estimation of divine Providence it is expedient to the soul's welfare.

It is true that "to save a sick man" ordinarily means to cure his bodily ills. The New Testament uses *σώζειν* in this sense so often that it is unnecessary to cite any examples. But for St. James the term *σώσσει* has a more precise meaning which admits of no equivocation. Besides the present instance the term occurs four other times in the Epistle, and always in reference to the salvation of the soul.¹⁶ The immediate context too shows St. James had in mind chiefly the spiritual effects produced by Extreme Unction: "confess, therefore, your sins to one another, and pray for one another, that you may be saved" (5:16).¹⁷

Moreover, the spiritual effects of the Sacrament conveyed by the term *σώσσει* can be understood better in the light of the doctrine taught and emphasized by the Apostle throughout the Epistle. In its context *σώσσει* has more than a vague or general meaning. From time to time St. James undoubtedly realized the need of a physical cure and of the restoration to health, effects which this Sacrament can and often does produce. But throughout the Epistle, foremost in the mind of the Apostle is the salvation of man's soul and his ultimate end. This would be true certainly in the case of a gravely sick person and especially one in his last extremity. In view of this it is not surprising that St. James again and again insists upon patience in time of trial and affliction (1:3; 5:7-11); he exhorts Christians to be merciful in their judgments of others (2:13; 4:12) in order that they in turn might be judged mercifully by God (5:7-12); he encourages them to strive for the crown of life (1:12) and to practice impartiality towards their fellow-men so that they might become heirs of the kingdom of God (2:5). The Epistle is brief, but throughout it the Apostle is preoccupied primarily with the future life, for the trials of this life are as nothing compared to the joys of eternal life: happy is the man who is able to bear the afflictions of this life (1:12), blessed is he who suffers patiently (5:10), and with good reason God exalts the poor and humbles the rich (1:9). The man who observes the perfect law shall be blessed in his deed (1:25), his present life is compared to a vapor (4:15) and to enjoy simply its pleasures is to resemble a victim prepared for the day of sacrifice (5:5). A happy and a holy death is the only deliverance from all of these things, and

¹⁶ Jas. 1:21; 2:14; 4:12; 5:20.

¹⁷ Cf. Jas. 5:16.

according to St. James, "the prayer of faith" which "will save the sick man" is conducive principally to his spiritual welfare. For some indeed it may mean a return to life, but more truly it is the grace of a patient and holy death, full of hope in the possession of our Lord in his heavenly kingdom. Therefore, "the prayer of faith will save the sick man" from the evils which oppress him at the time. In general, these are "the physical pains of weakness, producing sorrow of soul, affliction of mind, ineptitude to salutary impulses of grace, fear of death, dread of judgment, horror of the punishments of the other life, remorse of conscience, diffidence, temptations to despair, etc."¹⁸ But since everybody is not afflicted in the same way, the salutary effects produced by this sacred unction will destroy or at least impair that which physical evils cause in man. Primarily, it will aid the sick man to overcome his spiritual evils, which are always the most important as far as man is concerned; but its effects also will be realized against physical evils when such is necessary for the spiritual welfare of the soul.

The spiritual effects produced by the Sacrament are further expressed in the words: "And the Lord will raise him up." Here St. James points out the mode employed by our Lord in the saving of the sick man. Our English version of the text renders accurately the thought expressed by *ἐγερεῖν* in the Greek text. This cannot be said of "alleviabit" (will console, will fortify, will lessen, etc.) in the Vulgate although it is the attested reading of the text. The latter seems to be a corruption of "allevabit" which several ancient manuscripts read. However, the meaning of the text and especially the Greek is not doubtful.

In the New Testament *ἐγερεῖν* generally means "to raise up," depending of course upon the context in which it is used:¹⁹ it is not only understood of the body, but also of the soul. Here, again, many non-Catholic authors²⁰ restrict its meaning to bodily effects, that is, a miraculous cure or a return to health. But such an interpretation "would involve an arbitrary and violent construction of the text and does not supply a reasonable explanation of the universal and perpetual character of the Apostle's prescription."²¹ It certainly cannot reasonably be supposed that

¹⁸ Kilker, *op. cit.* p. 14.

¹⁹ Cf. Mt. 3:9; 8:25; Mk. 1:31; Lk 8:24; Acts 3:7,15; Rom. 4:24; 8:11, etc.

²⁰ Cf. Puller, *op. cit.*, p. 19f.

²¹ Kilker, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

St. James was himself convinced and taught that every anointed Christian would experience only physical relief from his affliction or a bodily cure. Moreover, it is erroneous to think that St. James "solemnly recommends universal recourse to a rite which, after all, will be efficacious for the purpose intended only by way of a comparatively rare exception."²²

But it must be admitted that, from the viewpoint of the readers of this Epistle, the words of St. James possibly made them think of a physical cure. The miracles which our Lord performed throughout his public life in favor of the sick, and similar cures effected by the Apostles in the early Christian communities perhaps prompted them to see in these words a cure attributed to our Lord. The words of St. James do not exclude such an interpretation, but in the light of what has been observed the Christians would certainly realize that such a bodily effect, namely, a cure, would be more the exception than the rule. On the other hand, the predominant spiritual eschatological meaning of the words "will save" and "will raise up" could not fail to impress them and make them realize that St. James was referring to a rite, the worthy reception of which produced certain spiritual rather than bodily effects. The Jewish-Christian readers of the Epistle knew full well the meaning of such biblical expressions as "will save" and "will raise up"; over and beyond the proximate spiritual effects realized in the reception of this sacrament, it made them look forward also the day of judgment and the resurrection. Although the language of St. James is all-embracing, in view of these considerations it is easily understood why the Council of Trent teaches that Extreme Unction infuses comforting grace upon the recipient, and that this constitutes the primary effect of the sacrament.

Furthermore, that the rite inculcated by St. James confers grace is confirmed by his concluding words: "and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him." For sins cannot be remitted without the infusion of grace. Again, it is clear that the Apostle was not writing solely about the gift of curing the sick. If this were the case, it would not have been necessary to have recourse to the "presbyters," but to those who had such a power. Moreover, if St. James had only a miraculous cure in mind, it would not have been necessary to insist upon the use of oil; neither would he have referred to the remission of sins, for those who

²² Toner, *Cath. Encyc.*, art. *Extreme Unction*.

performed such miraculous cures were never empowered to forgive sins.

The remission of sins effected by the reception of this sacrament is expressed in terms of a true condition (καὶν). The words of the Apostle are general and unqualified. Consequently, they should be understood not only of the remission of venial sins, but also of mortal sins. There is no reason for limiting the power of the Sacrament to the remission of venial sins alone as some theologians have done. In fact, a studied analysis of the text must include also the remission of mortal sins. The reasons are apparent: first, St. James makes no distinctions; therefore his words must apply also to the remission of mortal sins; secondly, if it were only a question of the remission of venial sins, St. James would not have gone out of his way to say "if he be in sins," since in 3:2, he pointed out the fact that "in many things we all offend." He takes it for granted that all men sin venially. Evidently, the Apostle meant something more than the mere remission of venial sin, otherwise he would not have employed the conditional expression. In the language of theologians this effect, that is, the remission of sins and the infusion of grace, is not produced primarily, since Baptism and penance were instituted for this purpose; neither is it realized "per accidens" only, in the sense in which the other sacraments remit sins and infuse grace in extraordinary circumstances. According to St. James, Extreme Unction produces this effect "per se" and "directly" (*ex intentione secundaria*), because it was instituted for this purpose, and it is considered as a preparatory rite whereby all impediments are removed, which would hinder the soul's eternal salvation. These words of the Apostle are full of meaning, and rightly should they be understood of the remission of grave sin; for in a sense our Lord is disinterested in lesser sins, since they do not jeopardize man's eternal salvation.

In the light of these observations made upon the text of St. James, it is apparent why Extreme Unction was considered a Sacrament from the very beginning. The words of St. James supply a scriptural basis for this dogma of faith so clearly expressed in the writings of the Fathers and the definitions of the Church.

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FOREWORD

Much prominence has been given recently to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* of Leo XIII, on the study of Sacred Scriptures. Recent articles have recaptured and set forth many of the salient points of the Encyclical and have shown the marked advances that have been made in fulfilling the program outlined by this great Pope. One of the thoughts expressed in the document itself is the solicitude of the Church for the Sacred Books. The Holy Father, Leo XIII, himself writes that "The Church has never failed to take due measures to bring the Scriptures within reach of her children, and that she has ever held fast and exercised profitably that guardianship conferred upon her by Almighty God for the protection and glory of His holy Word; so that she has never required, nor does she now require any stimulation from without." It is with this sentence in mind that we present the following article, showing clearly the truth of this statement exemplified in the encouragement and zeal of the Medici Pope, Leo X. Had it not been for his interest and influence, along with that of his two immediate successors, Adrian VI and Clement VII, Sanctes Pagninus would never have published his translation of the Bible. With the help and approval of the Holy See, he did publish his work and the resulting influence is to be felt even today, although indirectly, in all English Bibles.

HIS LIFE (1470-1536)

Sanctes Pagninus was born in Lucca, in Tuscany, in 1470. In an age of great names and great works, his influence was to extend beyond the borders of his own native Italy well into all lands where the English Bible is read, for it is as a biblical scholar that he is best known. Lucca, then as now, was the cathedral city of the province of Lucca. Young Pagninus spent his early years, no doubt, in the shadow of the beautiful eleventh century cathedral and was familiar with the recent alterations to the edifice. In 1340, the vast portico of magnificent arches and the ranges of long galleries above them had been added in the best traditions of the Quattrocento. Even more recently, in 1484, Matteo Civitali had added the little octagonal chapel in the nave of the cathedral,

destined to enshrine the most precious relic of Lucca, a cedar-wood crucifix said to have been carved by Nicodemus and miraculously conveyed to Lucca in 782.

Under the influence of these pious traditions and also of the preaching of the friars, young Pagninus made his way to Fiesole to enter the Order of St. Dominic, in 1486. There he studied under Savonarola and from him learned many things that would be of help to him later on in his religious life. After Fiesole came Florence, the city of the Medici family. Lorenzo the Magnificent held forth in the splendid manner that has become associated with the name of Medici, and Florence was a city to be reckoned with. Here the new spirit of study had been received in its fullness, welcomed with the strength of Florentine prestige, even though the essential paganism of the Renaissance art and literature had not yet been perceived.

The study of Oriental languages was cultivated at Florence, and Pagninus became well known for his ability, his penetration, and facility in Oriental languages. Such ability in a city that lived the Renaissance spirit would not pass unnoticed, and it is probably here that he became a firm friend of the Cardinals de Medici, who later became Leo X and Clement VII. It must not be forgotten that the convent of San Marco was at that time the possessor of wonderful treasures of art and was the rendezvous of the best Florentine families. Also, it was the Medici who had founded the convent. Be that as it may, we know that Giovanni de Medici, upon his ascent to the papal throne, called for Pagninus to teach in Rome. About 1513, a free school for the teaching of Oriental languages had been opened in Rome, and Pagninus was invited to conduct classes there. The humanist interest in Oriental languages was still aflame when Leo ascended the throne, and he encouraged its study for the very praiseworthy reasons that such study would help greatly in clearing up disputed passages in the Scripture and be a help to the theologians in arriving at the true meaning of a text. This interest was not limited only to Greek but more specifically to the Oriental languages.

In order to encourage this study, Leo had invited the best scholars of the day to lecture in Rome. One of these was Theseus Ambrogio, Canon of St. John Lateran. His knowledge of Oriental idiom extended to thirteen different languages, all of which he had learned by himself. In his "Introductio in chal-

daicam linguam", he relates "In reliquis omnibus, de quibus in hac nostra variarum litterarum harmonia locuti sumus, ego ipse (novit Deus quia non mentior), ἀντοδίδακος, extiti."¹ The title page of his book gives a more complete statement. It reads "Introductio in chaldaicam linguam, syriacam atque armenicam et decem alias linguas. . . ." This good canon, no doubt influenced by Reuchlin and Pico della Mirandola, believed in cabalistic signs which could help one to acquire knowledge. In his grammar he gives us a formula complete with the devil's own response!

Pagninus does not seem to have studied under Ambrogio, but seems to have completed his Hebrew studies at Florence, and from there he came directly to Rome. He did not dwell on cabalistic signs, but used his knowledge of Oriental languages for the purpose of teaching the Roman students and, later, for the purpose of translation. He knew three languages well, but it is principally his work as a Hebrew scholar along with that of John Reuchlin (1455-1522) that paved the way for the famous father and son Buxtorf.²

For a while, Pagninus was prefect of the Vatican Library, which had reached admirable proportions under Leo X. It is interesting to note that most lives of Leo X (a good example would be that of Roscoe) insist mainly on the worldly side of the Pope. Certainly it is true that he is one of the few Popes who has given his name to an age and who brought to the papal court the same measure of splendor he had in his home. Yet we must not overlook the fact that this same Leo X is the Pope who called the Lateran Council, who was aware of the needs of reform in the Church, and who issued the Bull *Exsurge Domine* in which he condemned the errors of Martin Luther. Leo gave much time to the aesthetic, but he also kept watch on Peter's bark.

Nicholas V had begun the project of building a Vatican Library, and in his time there were five thousand Latin manuscripts. By the time Leo had become Pope, the quest for manuscripts extended throughout the world. We can well imagine Pagninus' joy in working among these codices, especially those that appealed to his natural interest, Orientalia.

¹ M. Audin, *Histoire de Léon X et de son Siècle* (3ième édition; Paris: L. Maisson, 1850) Vol. 2, p. 204, n. 1.

² John Buxtorf, (1564-1629), famous Hebrew scholar. Studied under Beza at Basle and held the chair of Hebrew there for 38 years. He was an authority on rabbinic books. John Buxtorf (1599-1664), son of the former, born at Basle. Upon his father's death, he succeeded to the chair of Hebrew.

In 1521, Pope Leo died, and Adrian VI ascended the throne. Pagninus' teaching and his work in Rome now ceased, after a period of eight years. From 1521 to 1524, he accompanied the Cardinal Legate to Avignon. From Avignon we find him going to Lyons in 1524 and remaining there until his death in 1536. It is at Lyons that he did his most important work, the influence of which will run like a thread throughout the history of the English Bible.

Arriving in Lyons, he found emissaries of two heresies and the minds of the people divided as to their allegiance. True to his vocation as a member of the Order of Preachers, he fought strenuously against the invasion of Lutheranism and the Waldensian heresy. No doubt he had learned well the principles of preaching under Savonarola for his biographers give us a summary of his art. The friar "erat in exhortando dulcis, in reduarguendo vehemens, in probando gravis, in persuadendo fidelis, in laudandis virtutibus copiosus, in flectendis populi animis nunc fraeno, nunc calcaribus utebatur."³ In reward for his zeal in extirpating heresy, the city of Lyons awarded him the rights of full citizenship. He was now a citizen of the Gallo-Italian city of Lyons as well as of Lucca.

Not only did the friar take care of the souls of men, but he also watched over their bodies. It was his plea that caused the city of Lyons to erect the leper asylum of St. Lawrence on the banks of the Saône, which had been endowed by alms received from rich Florentine merchants. Audin cites an interesting fact in this connection:

On lit dans un acte consulaire du 9 septembre, 1534 (archives de Lyons): Les échevins font offrir deux *porsons* de vin de Bourgogne à frère Sanctis, jacobin prêcheur florentin, en faveur des prédications, qu'il a faites et fait journellement en faveur des pauvres, mêmement que par son moyen quelque homme de bien florentin fait faire à Saint-Laurent, pour les pauvres portefaix, bâtiments et édifices qui excéderont en dépense 5 à 6 mille livres.⁴

It was also at Lyons that his great work of translation and his work in Hebrew was carried on. In 1527, appeared his translation of the Bible, issued with two letters of approval, one from Adrian VI and one from Clement VII. This was his *Veteris et Novi Testamenti Nova Translatio*. The following year saw the appearance of the *Isagoges seu Introductionis ad Sacras Litteras, liber unus*. In 1529, he published his dictionary, *Thesaurus lin-*

³ M. Audin, *op. cit.*, p. 206, n. 1.

⁴ M. Audin, *op. cit.*, p. 205, n. 3.

guae Sanctae seu Lexicon Hebraicum. Finally, in 1536, appeared his *Catena Argentea in Pentateuchum*. All these works stemmed from Leo X's impulse to the study of Oriental languages. In passing, we might mention that this impulse did not stop at Lyons but travelled throughout the Christian world. Almost simultaneously with Pagninus' edition appeared Cardinal Ximenes' Polyglot Bible. In Calabria, Guidacerio brought forth a Hebrew grammar and Francis Rossi of Ravenna translated Aristotle's *Mystical Philosophy* from the Arabic. From these beginnings, the work of translation spread into the other sciences.

In 1536, Pagninus died and was honored with the greatest signs of mourning on the part of the citizens. Audin relates that an inquisitor from Toulouse, passing through Lyons in 1541,⁵ found the city in sadness. The church bells tolled a dirge, and three hundred men stood about with lighted tapers. Inquiring the reason for this universal grief, he was told that Lyons was that day burying the good religious who had saved their city from the novelties of the Lutheran emissaries.

HIS WORK

In the previous section we mentioned briefly the works of Pagninus. Selecting his translation of the Bible as a constant influential factor in all succeeding English translations (although his translation was from Hebrew to Latin), we shall examine the effect of this work in more detail. It had a definite appeal for Catholics, Protestants and Jews. The following are the most important points to be noted in connection with the work.

1. Pagninus spent twenty-five years in preparing the translation, comparing and studying all manuscripts available to him at the time. Once this research was done, he began his translation which was an independent one in the fullest sense of the word. From his own testimony and that of his historians we gather this fact: "collatis igitur inter se multis, iisdemque probatissimis Hebraecorum exemplaribus quanta maxime valuit diligentia et fide, omne vetus Testamentum ex Hebraica veritate latina donavit."⁶

⁵ M. Audin, *op. cit.*, p. 205. Audin gives 1541 as the date of Pagninus' death. Actually he died on August 24, 1536. This can be ascertained from an inscription in the Dominican Church at Lyons. Quétif-Echard in the text of the *Scriptores O. P.* give 1541, but in an appendix (p. 998, Vol. 2) they state the correction.

⁶ M. Audin, *op. cit.*, p. 206, n. 3.

2. The work enjoyed the patronage of Leo X, who not only approved of the work but offered to pay for it. Again we have Pagninus' description of the interview with the Supreme Pontiff.

Leo X me cum Romae agerem accito, quam olim elucubraveram utriusque Testamenti translationem, ut sibi ostenderem benigne et perhumaniter injunxit. Is cum vidisset aliquot quaterniones et ex iis caetera suo praeclaro perpendisset ingenio: volo, inquit, ut meis impensis totus transcribatur et typis exacte revisus excudatur.⁷

Leo X did not live to see the publication of the work he had encouraged. His successors, Adrian VI and Clement VII, fostered the completion of the work begun under their predecessor and the translation appeared in Lyons with two letters bearing their approval.

In 1536, when the Council of Trent was preparing to convene, we find the Bishop of Vienna, John Hegerlin (Joannes Faber) preparing a list of points suitable for discussion in the coming council. Under the thirty-eighth point, we find the following:

38. Cum primis etiam est et necessario curandum, ut Biblia veteris et novi Testamenti reformatur ex causis sequentibus: nam per ignorantiam linguarum et impressorum incuriam multae intolerabiles irreperunt mendae.⁸

He then cites examples of such mistakes, one from Matthew 12:20 and another from John 21:22. He continues:

Proinde mihi videtur, ut Sua Sanctitas ea prius inspicere ac emaculati curaret, ad quam rem valde commodus ac appositus erit Pagninus ille Lucensis ac alii complures in Italia et Roma, Latine, Graece et Hebraice doctissimi viri; sed et hoc praeparare interea oporteret.⁹

In his answer to the Bishop of Vienna, the Holy Father, in connection with this particular point, does not mention Pagninus' name, but merely assures him of the care that the Holy See will take in the matter. The reason is given in his answer to points fifty-one and fifty-two. The Bishop had suggested that learned scholars come to the Council with new and accurate translations of the Greek Fathers, since the existing translations in Germany were full of errors favoring Lutheranism. The Holy Father's answer is an approval of the idea:

51,52. Dabit Sanctitas Sua negotium hoc peritis in linguarum exterarum cognitione viris (aliis, praesertim quia Pagninus obiit; sed eo etiam peritiores in lingua Graeca vivunt ad laudem Dei).¹⁰

⁷ Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores O.P.*, Vol. 2, p. 115 (Paris: 1721). Cited by Audin, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁸ Stephanus Ehses, *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatum* Tom. 4, Pars la (Freiburg: Herder, 1904), p. 15.

⁹ Ehses, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁰ Ehses, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Both of these documents are dated 1536 and may be found in the *Concilio Tridentini Acta*. From these we gather that Pagninus' work was sufficiently recognized as to be worthy of discussion in an œcumenical council.

3. Janssens describes the translation tersely, "Haec versio est grammaticalis, sed tamen fidelis."¹¹ It was a literal and interlinear translation, which was a tremendous help to those not knowing either language and desiring an exact translation of the original text. LeLong cites the various reactions to the translation, among them the extravagant praises of Huet and De Touron as well as the severe criticism of Richard Simon. All admit the faithful rendition of the original idiom.¹²

4. Vigoroux in the *Dictionnaire de la Bible* as well as Synave in the *Dictionnaire Pratique des Connaissances Religieuses* bring out an interesting point in connection with the work of Pagninus. This was the first Bible in which all the verses are numbered, chapter by chapter, a notation that is still used today in the protocanonical books of the Old Testament.¹³ This division has been falsely attributed to Hugh of St. Cher (c. 1200-1263), a French Cardinal and commentator, who was instrumental in bringing out one of the first "correctoria" of the Bible, which Roger Bacon attacked vigorously. Henri Labrosse,¹⁴ writing in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, agrees with Vigoroux and Synave.

5. The edition of the Psalter, which preceded the appearance of the whole translation, contained rabbinic commentaries, an indication of Pagninus' use of Hebrew sources as well as a deep understanding of them. For his *Thesaurus* and for all his other works, he used Kimchi and the rabbis.¹⁵ His translation of the Bible had the preference of contemporary rabbis, and Protestants brought out editions of his work, using it constantly in the vernacular translations.

¹¹ J. H. Janssens, *Hermeneutica Sacra* (Paris: Outhenin-Chalandre, 1843), p. 429.

¹² Lelong, *Biblia Sacra*, Tom. 1, (Paris: 1723), p. 286.

¹³ F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v., "Pagnino Santes" (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1912); P. Synave, *Dictionnaire Pratique des Connaissances Religieuses* s.v. "Sectionnement des textes Bibliques"; J. Bricourt, éditeur, Tom. 6, Paris (VI) Letouzey & Ané, 1928, col. 292.

¹⁴ Henri Labrosse, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1910 edition, s.v. "Hugh of St. Cher."

¹⁵ Kimchi, David Ben Joseph († ca. 1230) Jewish grammarian and exegete. Wrote a Hebrew grammar containing both a grammar proper and etymology of words in the Bible.

6. Frequent reprintings of the work indicate clearly the worth of it. Vigoroux divides the reprintings into three classes, all with some slight modifications.¹⁶

a) Michael Servet,¹⁷ a Spaniard, brought out a new edition of Pagninus in 1542 at Lyons. He added marginal notations of his own, which he attributed to Pagninus, and in this way spread his own pernicious ideas.

b) Robert Estienne,¹⁸ a Frenchman, published two editions of Pagninus, one in 1557 and one in 1577. The Old Testament is corrected according to the notes of Francois Vatable. Beza's translation of the New Testament replaces Pagninus' and was used as freely as Pagninus' Old Testament translation by the Reformers.

c) Arias Montanus, a Spanish priest, refined Pagninus' literal translation still more and added etymological marginal notations. His work is not always as exact as Pagninus, but is very helpful for those not knowing Hebrew. It was first published at Antwerp in 1572 and was quickly followed by four editions, the last one being the Leipzig edition in 1657 with a preface by the theologians of Leipzig.

7. Pagninus' Bible was a translation from the original Hebrew and not a correction of an existing manuscript, contrary to the opinion of Smith in the *Dictionary of the Bible*. He writes: "Various attempts were made to correct the Latin from the original texts, (Erasmus, 1516, Pagninus, 1518-1528, Cajetan and Steuchius, 1529, Clarius, 1542) or even to make a new Latin version (Jo. Campensis, 1533)."¹⁹ This is a misstatement as is obvious from the many evidences we have of the nature of Pagninus' work.

¹⁶ F. Vigouroux, *op. cit.*, col. 1948.

¹⁷ Michael Servet (1509-1553), born at Villanova, studied law at Toulouse, medicine at Lyons and Paris. Imbued with the ideas of the Reformers, he published his Trinitarian doctrine which shocked even the Protestants. Fleeing from the inquisition of Vienne, he took refuge at Geneva, where he was denounced by Calvin as a heretic and burned at the stake.

¹⁸ Robert Estienne (1503-1559), born at Paris, knew Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He set up a printing press in 1526, devoting particular attention to the correction of Greek and Latin texts. In 1532 he published a Latin Bible which was reprinted in 1545. Both of these were attacked by the Sorbonne. In 1552, receiving no support from the king, he fled to Geneva and became a Protestant.

¹⁹ Wm. Smith, Editor, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 3, p. 1705. (Little, Brown and Co.: 1863).

Cornely in his *Introductio Generalis* clearly calls Pagninus' work a translation, but is somewhat severe in his censure of the work:

Protestantismo vix exorto novatores, ut facilius errores suos spargerent, Vulgatam, qua per nongentos fere annos tota ecclesia occidentalis usa erat, repudiare et impugnare coeperunt. Non tantum novas versiones latinas et primigeniis textibus adornatas in lucem dederunt, sed ipsam quoque Vulgatam innumeris in locis ad textus primigenios vel etiam ad germanicam Lutheri versionem mutarunt. A quo innovationis pruritu dolendum est quod etiam non abstinerint catholici theologi: Sanctes Pagninus et Card. Cajetanus novas ediderunt versiones, Aug. Steuchus Eugubinus, Isidorus Clarius alique Vulgatam proprio Marte ex textibus primigeniis mutare suaque opera sub Vulgatae titulo propagare ausi sunt.²⁰

Father Cornely seems to have followed R. Simon's estimate of Pagninus. In Father Merk's revision of Cornely's work, a more mitigated judgment is passed:

Interea autem exorto protestantismo novatores, qui Vulgatam repuerunt, aut novas versiones latinas sibi adornarunt aut Vulgatae textum ad exemplaria primigenia, imo ad ipsam Lutheri versionem germanicam mutare non dubitarunt. Ex catholicis theologis Santes Pagninus accurate singula verba textum primigeniorum exprimere conatus est haud infelici cum successu (Lugduni 1526 et saepissime), minus feliciter Card. Cajetanus, cum linguarum hebraicae et graecae ignarus esset, a Judaeo quodam adiutus textum sibi ornavit, quem explicaret.²¹

Whatever the true judgment may be, the influence of his work cannot be denied.

HIS INFLUENCE ON THE ENGLISH BIBLE

As we noted above, the first translation appeared in 1527 and underwent various reprintings with modifications. It was not the revised editions, however, that were used by the Reformers but the original. Up to the sixteenth century, there had been translations of the Bible but most of them were in Old English, which was unintelligible to the people. Since the sole rule of faith, according to the Reformers, now lay in the Bible, it was necessary that Bibles be issued in the English that was spoken at the time.

²⁰ Rudolphus Cornely, S.J., *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae: Introductio Generalis in U.T. Libros Sanctos*. (Parisiis: P. Lethielleux, 1894), p. 458.

²¹ R. Cornely, S.J.,-Augustinus Merk, S.J., *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae: Sectio Quinta I; Introductio in S. Scripturae libros compendium*. (Parisiis: P. Lethielleux, 1927), p. 180.

William Tyndale (1471-1536), a Franciscan priest, who became a Protestant, undertook the labor of translating the Bible from the original text. For this translation of the New Testament he used Luther, Erasmus' Greek text with Latin translation, and the Vulgate. He published only parts of the Old Testament, and Pentateuch, and Jonas. His sources for these were the Hebrew, the Vulgate, and Pagninus' Latin translation from the Hebrew. Dr. Westcott insists on Tyndale's originality as a translator. Speaking of his translation of the New Testament, he says that "it is impossible to read through a single chapter without gaining the assurance that Tyndale rendered the Greek text directly while still he consulted the Vulgate, the Latin translation of Erasmus and the German of Luther."²²

Gigot in his *General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*²³ claims Tyndale's knowledge of Hebrew was slim, and even Dr. Westcott does not insist on the amount of his knowledge, although he does advance proof that Tyndale knew both Hebrew and Greek. The use of Pagninus, therefore, may have been greater than is evident in his translation of the parts of the Old Testament.

Miles Coverdale (1487?-1568), an Augustinian monk, also an apostate from Catholicism, brought forth the first Complete Bible, probably printed at Zurich. Coverdale was no independent translator as he himself acknowledges in his dedication to the King, "I have," he writes, "with a cleare conscience purely & faythfully translated this out of fyue sundry interpreters, hauyng only the manyfest trueth of the scripture before myne eyes."²⁴ Dr. Westcott identifies these five interpreters as Luther, the Zurich Bible, the Latin version of Pagninus, the Vulgate, and, in all likelihood, the English translation of Tyndale.²⁵ "His Pentateuch," writes Dr. Westcott "may indeed, unless a partial examination has misled me, be fairly described as the Zurich translation rendered into English by the help of Tyndale, with con-

²² Brooke Foss Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible* (2nd edition; revised; London: MacMillan, 1872), p. 136.

²³ Francis E. Gigot, S.S., *General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures* (N. Y.: Benziger, 1900), p. 359.

²⁴ Remains, Parker Society, 1848, pp. 11 ff. Cited in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 3, 1910 edition, p. 899.

²⁵ Brooke Foss Westcott, *History of the English Bible* (3rd edition revised by W. Aldis Wright; London: 1905), p. 25.

stant reference to Luther, Pagninus and the Vulgate.”²⁶ In an appendix to the second edition of his work, Dr. Westcott gives an examination of the sources of the notes in Coverdale’s Bible of 1535. Selecting fifty-five alternative readings from both the Old and the New Testament he draws the following conclusions: 10 of these alternatives agree with Luther, 16 with the Zurich version, 10 with Pagninus, 6 with the Vulgate, 6 with Tyndale, 7 cannot be traced directly to their sources.²⁷ The selections in which Coverdale agrees with Pagninus are the following: Gen. 41:44; Ex. 17:15; Ruth, 3:3; 1 Sam. 23:38; 2 Sam. 8:18; Amos 7:7; Mal. 2:14; 2 Macc. 2:13; 12:43.²⁷ The Psalter of this version of Coverdale is still to be found in the English Book of Common Prayer.

The success of the Bible as a financial venture was not ignored in London and may have induced many to bring forth from their presses new editions. In 1537, appeared a full-size folio “truely and freely translated into English by Thomas Matthews.” Matthews seems to be an alias for John Rogers, apostate priest and friend of Tyndale, who became a zealous reformer. His book is not a translation but a compilation taken from Coverdale, Tyndale, and the French edition of Fr. Olivetan, which had appeared in 1535. From the *Matthews’ Bible* were to stem all the revised editions which multiplied as time went on. It is significant that this Bible appeared with the permission of the King, probably obtained through the petition of Cranmer. Writing to Cromwell, Cranmer asks him to obtain “a license that the same may be sold and read to every person, without danger of act, proclamation or ordinance, heretofore granted to the contrary.”²⁸

Matthews’ Bible gave the concrete impulse to the obtaining of an authorized version in the sense of a typically English version of the Bible. To this end Cranmer and Cromwell continued to push the work. The suggestion of a new revision was submitted to the Convocation of Canterbury, and the petition was presented to the King in 1534 to approve the work. After two years of inactivity, we find Cromwell appointing Coverdale as the head of a commission to revise the Bible so that one may be placed in every church. The result was the Great Bible, so called from its

²⁶ Westcott, *op. cit.*, (2nd edition), p. 171.

²⁷ Westcott, *op. cit.*, (2nd edition), pp. 313-320.

²⁸ Cranmer’s Works, Letter 194, Parker Society, 1848. Cited in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, l. c.

large size. It is nothing more than a revision of Matthews' work with consultation of the Latin of Erasmus, Pagninus, Sebastian Münster's Hebrew-Latin text and Olivetan's French Bible. (Olivetan's translation in the Old Testament is said to have been based on Sanctes Pagninus, and, in the New, on Lefevre's translation. If this be true, we have a double influence of Pagninus in the Great Bible.)

As Henry's reign drew to a close, stricter measures were decreed regarding the distribution of the Bible. The royal favor was withdrawn from many editions and, by 1546, we find that the Great Bible alone has the approval of the king. Even Coverdale's earlier work is proscribed, though it furnished the structure for the Great Bible. It was not until Mary Tudor's accession to the throne that conditions prevented any work on the Protestant Bible in England. Several reformers, among them Coverdale, found a refuge on the continent and planned a new revision of the Bible. For two years or more, working day and night, the Genevan refugees laboured on this edition. The plan was to produce an independent revision of the text of the Great Bible, with the help of the Hebrew original, the Latin versions of Leo Juda (1543), Pagninus (1528), Sebastian Münster (1534-5) and the French version of Olivetan, all of these being used for the Old Testament. The New Testament consisted of Tyndale's latest text revised with the help of Beza's translation and commentary. Beza²⁹ was himself at Geneva at the time and may have worked personally on the New Testament revision.

The published book was strongly Calvinistic and appealed to the Puritanical mind of the time. Its small size was handy, and the type was a readable Roman type. The small quarto form ran into 140 editions between 1560 and 1644, in spite of the ban on its use in the churches. The popularity of the Geneva Bible in England for private reading was disturbing to the English clergy and another attempt was made to obtain an authorized version and thus to suppress the Genevan Bible. Archbishop Parker initiated the work under Elizabeth. He divided the work of re-

²⁹ Theodore de Beza, (1518-1605) one of the chief figures of the Calvinist movement. Studied law at Orleans and wrote poetry. Went to Geneva where he married and became a Calvinist. Became professor of Greek at Lausanne in 1550. Translated the New Testament in 1556. Buxtorf, the elder, studied under him at Basle. Became Minister under Calvin and, upon Calvin's death, succeeded him in 1564.

vision among eight bishops, giving them a set of rules to follow in their work. The first two of these are interesting to us:

1. To follow the common English translation used in the churches and not to recede from it, but where it varieth manifestly from the Hebrew or Greek original.

2. To use sections and division in the text as Pagnine in his translation useth, and for the verity of the Hebrew to follow the said Pagnine and Münster specially, and generally others learned in the tongues.³⁰

The other rules refer to marginal notations and to smoothness of translation.

The success of the Bishops' Bible in spite of repeated enactments was hardly phenomenal. The problem of twofold allegiance still persisted in the minds of the people—the Bishop's Bible had the support of authority, but the Genevan Bible had the affection of the people.

Up to this time, the Bible had been used as a strong weapon of the Reformers to bolster up their contentions. The same weapon was taken over by a body of Catholic refugees at the English College at Douai and a translation of the Vulgate was begun there under the leadership of William Allen, Gregory Martin, and others. The work was begun at Douai, continued at Rheims, and finished at Douai. Based directly on the Vulgate, reference was constantly made to the Geneva Bible, Coverdale's Diglot and Pagninus. The translation had a strong Latin flavor—in fact, Latin words were often actually transliterated into English rather than translated. Gregory Martin and his assistants were more concerned with accuracy than with readability. Still, they produced passages of sublime English prose, which had definite influence on the next great venture in English translations of the Bible, the Authorized Version of 1611.

It fell to the Stuart king to bring out the version that would ever after bear his name. James I called a conference between the High and Low church parties in 1604 for the purpose of discussing religious affairs in the kingdom. At this conference, James proposed his plan for a revision of the Scriptures.

(He) wished that some special pains should be taken in that behalf for one uniform translation—professing that he could not yet see a Bible well translated in English—and this to be done by the best learned in both the Universities; and after them to be reviewed by the bishops and the chief learned of the Church; from them to be

³⁰ These rules are cited in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. "Bible English," 1910 edition, Vol. 3, p. 901.

presented to the privy council; and lastly to be ratified by his royal authority: and so this whole church to be bound unto it and none other.³¹

A set of rules was prepared for the guidance of the forty-six revisers who were chosen without reference to party. The intention of the commission is expressly stated in the first rule, "The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called 'the Bishops' Bible' to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit." It is difficult to estimate how closely the rules were adhered to, but certainly it is true that the finished work was quite a departure. In the preface of the work, Dr. Miles Smith, gives an account of the proceedings. In reference to sources he says:

Neither did wee thinke much to consult the Translators or Commentators, Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greeke, or Latine, no more the Spanish, French, Italian or Dutch (German); neither did we disdaine to reuise that which we had done, and to bring back to the anuill that which we had hammered: but hauing and using as great helpes as were needfull. . . . brought the worke to that passe that you see.

Dr. Westcott³² interprets the "Spanish, French and Italian translators" as being the following:

Arias Montanus (1572), a translation based on the text of Pagninus.

Tremellius (1579, original Latin translation of the Old Testament.

Bertram, Beza et alii (1587), French revision of the Bible.

Diodati (1607), Italian translation of the Bible.

Reyna (1569).

C. de Valera (1602), Spanish translations.

As we noted above in Montanus' revision of Pagninus, he followed the original very closely, adding marginal notations in etymology and reducing the original literal translation to its utmost rigidity.

Once the Authorized Version was made obligatory and accepted by all English-speaking peoples, the evolution of the English Bible dwindled. By 1644, the Geneva Bible disappears and the Authorized Version stands pre-eminent. During the last century a revision of the Authorized Version was made, the New Testament appearing in 1881 and the Old Testament in 1885, but the

³¹ Barlow, "Sum and Substance of the Conference" in *Cardwell's History of Conferences* pp. 187 ff. Cited in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *op. cit.*, p. 902.

³² Westcott, *op. cit.*, (2nd edition), pp. 267-269.

revisions received only mediocre support. This version is now publicly read in London and in the country parish churches. In Canterbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey it has displaced the older version. Bishops and congregations are changing slowly to the new revision, but the older version, the Authorized Version of 1611, still remains in the minds of the people as THE Bible.

CONCLUSION

We have pursued the course of Pagninus' work from its original publication in 1527 at Lyons to the rest of the continent, then into England, and finally throughout the world. From this we may conclude that his Latin translation from the Hebrew text was definitely an influence in all later English translations. All of them, it is true, used the Vulgate as one of the basic sources, but Pagninus was always at hand in order to verify a reading and a translation.

Assuming then the use of the Vulgate in all translations, we may say that both Tyndale and Coverdale used Pagninus directly. Matthews' work was merely a compilation of Coverdale, Tyndale, and Olivetan's French edition. Hence Pagninus' influence is direct through Coverdale and Tyndale and indirect through Olivetan. (We follow Dr. Westcott's supposition that Olivetan used Pagninus.) The Great Bible also received a threefold influence. It used Matthews' work along with Pagninus (directly) and Fr. Olivetan's text. The Geneva Bible shows a fourfold influence, since it is based on the Great Bible and on Pagninus directly. The Bishops' Bible was a revision of the Great Bible and has the same triple influence. The Rheims-Douai used the Vulgate and Pagninus as well as the Geneva Bible. The influence here of Pagninus is direct and indirect. Finally, the Authorized Version revised the Bishops' Bible, which contained the direct influence of Pagninus as well as the indirect influence through both Matthews and Olivetan.

It is clear, then, that even though each succeeding version returned directly to the originals and to the Vulgate and used existing Bibles as bases of operations, yet we find the revisers constantly going back to Pagninus as a direct source of assistance.

From these facts we can see clearly that Sanctes Pagninus, O.P. has been an influence in the Bible as it is used today in the

world, certainly as regards the Old Testament. Most clearly is his influence to be found, as is also that of the Vulgate, in the Psalter used in the Book of Common Prayer, for this revision is the sixteenth century translation of Coverdale that has never yielded to the revisers. God had given Pagninus many gifts and he used them to great advantage. His preaching saved souls; his teaching inspired others to the study of Oriental languages, but it is his gift of linguistics which did the most apostolic good because of his faithful rendition of the Word of God. It is this same gift that has kept his name alive today. It is our keenest desire that more should be made known of the work of this zealous son of St. Dominic.

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THE WOMEN AT THE TOMB

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The title of this article will explain itself if I remark in the very beginning that it is one part, the principal one I think, of an attempt to harmonize the four apparently contradictory Gospel accounts of the events that took place at the tomb of our Savior on the first Easter morning.

This may strike the reader at first sight as a trite, worn-out theme but a few considerations will explain my choice.

2. The importance of the Resurrection can not be over-estimated.

a. From an apologetical standpoint the Resurrection of Christ is the center of Christian Faith. St. Paul says: "If Christ be not risen again then is our preaching in vain" (1 Cor. 15:14). In fact if Christ is not risen again then the fundamental argument which Jesus Christ continually gave of His divine mission and of the truth of His doctrine disappears completely. When for the first time He appears before the doctors of Jerusalem, He proposes his Resurrection as the conclusive proof of His mission (Jn. 2:19). Later on in His public life when the Pharisees ask for the sign from Heaven He refers to the Resurrection as this sign (Mt. 12:39-40). Near the end of His life on earth, almost six months before the Passion of our Lord began, He repeated the same proof (Jn. 8:28) and in another discourse He explains more fully and clearly what He means (Jn. 10:17-18; 12:32).¹

Hence it is that the four Gospels describe the Resurrection with details. They are at one in emphasizing this story. They propose the historical witnesses: the guards, the women, and the Apostles to show that the story of the Resurrection is not based on a fable but on strict historical truth.

All the world has recognized that the Resurrection is the central point of all things Christian and Catholic. Therefore, all the critics who wish to attack Christianity have attacked the truth of the Resurrection. The story has been attacked from all angles: from the side of the natural sciences, from the side of history.

¹Cf. P. Lino Murillo, *Jesu Chisto y la Iglesia Romana* (Madrid: 1893), *Parte Primera, Jesu Cristo*. Tomo 1, p. 365.

But the brunt of the objections has been leveled against the scriptural accounts themselves.

b. The Scriptural Point of View. This latter point of attack to my mind is the most important. If the critics could prove a real contradiction, even in minor details, between the four different narrations of the Gospels, they would indeed have a starting point. Then, indeed, they could throw doubt and distrust on everything. Therefore, it seems to me that the Catholic Scripture scholar should have nothing more at heart than to uphold the accounts of the Resurrection. This consideration has decided me to attempt a harmony of the four accounts of the Resurrection.

c. One Group of Women, the Nucleus of my Solution. In attempting a solution, I looked for a key and I think I have found it in the realization, which I think I prove in this paper, that there was only one group of women. If this is proved, as I think it is, then the whole story of Easter morn reads smoothly.

II. PROOF OF THE PROPOSITION

1. The Women Designated Formed but One Group. By the way in which the Evangelists designate the women they prove that they are speaking about one and the same group of women who went to the grave on that first Easter morning.

St. Matthew mentions: "Mary Magdalene and the other Mary" (28:1).

St. Mark adds another name to those mentioned by St. Matthew: "Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome" (15:1).

St. John mentions only Mary Magdalene but it is clear that he is referring to the same group, for in the report of Mary Magdalene to St. Peter and St. John, Mary Magdalene says: "We do not know where they have laid him" (20:2). Thus we see that there were more than Mary Magdalene at the tomb. It becomes clearer that Mary Magdalene means that there were others besides herself present at the tomb at first when she uses "we," because, later on, when she alone remains at the tomb, after Peter and John have gone, and she is answering the angel she says not "we" but "I know not where they have laid him" (Jn. 20:13).

St. Luke in the parallel passage of his Gospel says: "They came to the tomb" (24:1). Who are the "they" mentioned here? They must be the same as the ones noted in Lk. 23:49 where it

is said: "But all His acquaintances, and the women who had followed him from Galilee were standing at a distance." And they must be the same as those mentioned in Lk. 23:55-56, where it is said: "And the women who had come with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the tomb and how his body was laid. And they went back and prepared spices and ointments. And on the Sabbath they rested in accordance with the commandment." This is the end of Chapter 23. Therefore, when St. Luke opens Chapter 24 with the words: "But on the first day of the week, at early dawn they came to the tomb" (24:1), his "they" must mean the same as at the end of the preceding chapter.

Finally, to know the names of these women who followed Jesus from Galilee we must look back to Chapter eight of St. Luke where he gives the names: "And certain women who had been cured of evil spirits and infirmities; Mary, who is called the Magdalene, from whom seven devils had gone out, and Joanna the wife of Chusa, Herod's steward, and Susanna and many others who used to provide for them out of their means" (vv. 2,3).

St. Luke makes certain that we know the group that went to the tomb, for, later on, in the story of the women at the grave he directly mentions that "it was Mary Magdalene and Joanna and Mary, the mother of James, and the other women who were with them, who were telling these things to the Apostles." Lk. 24:10.

So, collating the four accounts, we know that Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James, Salome and Joanna and others were in the group that went to the tomb on the morning of the first day of the week. Therefore, the Evangelists by their manner of designating the women, tell us that one group of women, among whom was Mary Magdalene, went to the tomb.

2. The Time Clues Prove One Group. The bearing of this argument is that the four Evangelists are all talking about the same time of the morning and therefore of the same group going to the sepulchre.

a. Three of the Evangelists, Mark, Luke, and John are clear: 1) Mark says: "And very early on the first day of the week, they came to the tomb when the sun had just risen" (16:2). 2) Luke says the same: "But on the first day of the week, at early dawn, they came to the tomb" (24:1). 3) John is just as

clear: "Now on the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene came early to the tomb, while it was still dark" (20:1).

b. That Matthew points to the same time when he says: "Now late in the night of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary came to see the sepulchre" (28:1), is beyond doubt. 1) In the days of Maldonatus this was a debated question.² 2) But in our days as a result of new studies on the meaning of the passage, practically all commentators have adopted the opinion that Matthew refers to the same time.

a) The Douay "in the end of the Sabbath" is not a good translation nor is the Latin "Vespere autem Sabbati quae lucescit in prima Sabbati" a very clear rendition of the Greek which is ὀψὲ σαββάτων (Mt. 28:1). It should be translated "After the Sabbath had passed." 1) Ὀψὲ σαββάτων agrees with the rabbinical מועדי שבת which, in its second meaning, signified "after the Sabbath."³ 2) The very best among the commentators have adopted this explanation.⁴

b) St. Matthew himself is his own best interpreter. Immediately after saying: "After the Sabbath had passed," he adds, "as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week." Mt. 28:1. Matthew means the very same period of time as the other Evangelists mean with they say "very early on the first day of the week," Mk. 16:2, or "the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene cometh early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre." Jn. 20:1.

c) There is a much more important dispute to settle before we leave this part of the argument, namely, whether there is a contradiction between Jn. 20:1 "While it was still dark," and Mk. 16:2 "when the sun had just risen."

3. This dispute brings us to the negative part of our paper namely the refutation of those who, in order to do away with

² Cf. Maldonatus, *Comment. in quattor Evangel. denuo edidit* Dr. J. N. Raich, Tomus I, *In Matth. et Marc.* (Moguntiae: 1847) p. 645-50.

³ Cf. J. J. O'Rourke, S.J., *Adnotationes in Linguam N. Testamenti* (Rome: 1926), p. 43. Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N. T. Erster Band, Das Evang. nach Matth.* (-1922) pp. 1051-52. Knabenbauer-Merk, *Comment. in Matth. in the Cursus S. S.*; Matth., Vol. II chpts. 14-28 (Paris: Lethiel-leux), pp. 558-9. Lagrange, *Evang. selon St. Matt.* (Paris: 1923), pp. 538-9.

⁴ E.g. Fonck, Knabenbauer, Belser, Holzmeister, Fillion, Fouard, Levesque, Murillo, Lagrange, Brassac, and others.

this apparent contradiction between Mk. and Jn., hold either that there were two different groups of women or that the one group went to the grave twice. We refute both opinions, thus again proving our proposition that one group went to the grave.

a. The opinion holding for two groups. 1) Gilbert West, an Englishman, developed this opinion at length. He treats exhaustively all the arguments used by proponents of this theory; therefore we will see his arguments and refute them.⁵

2) Arguments: a) For his first argument he uses the report given to the Apostles as narrated in Lk. 24:22-23, the women have seen angels who have said that Jesus is living, risen. Now in her first report to Peter and John, Mary Magdalene had not seen angels, so she could not have made this report related in Lk. 24:22-23. Nor could she have made this report after her return to the grave with Peter and John, because then she would have told the Apostles that she had seen Jesus Himself. The report in Lk. 24:22-23 could not have been made by the mother of James and Salome, because, according to St. Matthew, the mother of James, at least, saw Jesus on her way to tell the Apostles of the vision of the angel (Mt. 28:8-11) and, therefore, would have told the Apostles of having seen Jesus, if she had then made the report. Hence the conclusion of this argument. The inference is that two different reports were made to the Apostles by two groups of women.⁶

b) Second argument: The different reasons given for the visit to the tomb.⁷ The commentators who hold for two different groups of women say that the different reasons given by the Evangelists for the visits of the women to the grave prove two different groups at different times. Matthew says the women went "to see the sepulchre" (28:1). Mark says "that they might go and anoint Jesus" (16:1); Mark and Luke tell us the women came "taking the spices that they had prepared" (24:1).

c) Third argument: The *πρωί* of Mark 16:2 and John 20:1. According to these authorities, the *πρωί* of Mark and John means

⁵ *Observations sur l'histoire et sur les preuves de la resurrection de Jesus Christ*, a French translation in *Demonstrations Evangeliques* (Paris: 1843), Vol. X, col. 1018, 1026-60.

⁶ Cornely, *Introd.*, Vol. III *Introd. Special*, in N. T. Editio altera emendata 1897 reimpressa 1925, p. 301; A. J. Mass, *The Life of Jesus Christ* (Herder, St. Louis: 1891), p. 556. Fouard, *Vie de J. Christ* (vingt septieme ed. Paris: 1923), Vol. II, p. 406.

⁷ Cf. West, *op. cit.*, Columns 1040-41.

not "early" nor "very early" as is translated in English from the Latin "valde mane" or "mane", but it means "before the determined time" or "prematurely."

3) Refutation of these arguments: a) Luke 24:22-23 causes a difficulty surely. He seems to say that a group of women reported to the Apostles that they had seen an angel but not Jesus. Hence they cannot be the same group that met Jesus while they were on their way to report. But the proofs for only one group of women are so strong from the other Gospels that we must insist on one group and try to explain Luke by the other Gospels.

We know from Jn. 20:2 that Mary Magdalene made a second report. But this time she was not alone. The women who according to Mt. 28:1, Mk. 16:1 and Lk. 24:1-2 came to the tomb are the same ones who according to Lk. 24:9 and Mt. 28:8 report to the Apostles, and Mary Magdalene is one of them (Lk. 24:10). But, according to Mt. 28:8-10, they actually report only after they have seen Jesus and remember Mary Magdalene is in the group.

Now Jn. 20:1-2 tells us that Mary Magdalene was separated from the group when she ran to Peter and John, but we have no indication that she was separated from them when the report was made. On the contrary, all indications point to the fact that she was among the group that reported the vision of Christ.

Therefore, she must have rejoined them after her first report to Peter and John. All these indications prove almost conclusively that the women together made one report to the Apostles, after Mary Magdalene's first notice of the empty grave, and that this report was made after all had seen the risen Savior.

Can we therefore explain St. Luke so as to fit this very probable view? We think so. It is quite commonly acknowledged that St. Luke has a style all his own. He often suppresses details, taking a group of events and telling what he considers the principal one fully and, after going through his story, he will tack on events which were really anterior in time to something he has related before them. Sometimes he skips months and even years, as in the Acts. Hence we can logically conclude that he may be using his famous summary style in this case and for that reason merely alluding to the women's report, without bothering about details.

St. Luke did not consider the testimony of the women as of special value here, as he simply omits details and merely alludes to their report. He was following his master St. Paul, who never

once refers to any woman's testimony to prove the resurrection of Christ.

Luke's account, then, does not prove that there were two groups of women. In fact, it is clear in the first part of the chapter that he is talking about the same group spoken of by Matthew and Mark.

b) The second argument, that the different reasons assigned by the Evangelists for the visit of the women to the grave prove different groups, is a very weak argument. If analyzed, the reasons are the same.

c) The third argument, that *πρωί* means "prematurely" or "before the appointed time", is also very weak. 1) It is gratuitously asserted. According to Greek lexicons, *πρωί* is never used in this sense.⁸ 2) *πρωί* is a general term. It means the period from 3 to 6 o'clock in the morning, and hence both Mark and John add something else to designate more clearly to what precise time they refer. Mark refers to the arrival at the tomb and says "when the sun had just risen." John refers to the beginning of their journey and says "while it was still dark." Mk. 16:2; Jn. 20:1.

b. Some authorities have attempted to solve the question as to whether there is a contradiction between Jn. 20:1 "while it was still dark," and Mk. 16:2 "when the sun had just risen," by postulating that the same group of women went to the grave at two different times. But everything points to one and the same visit.

1) As we have shown, the reasons given for the visit prove it was the same group that is mentioned by all the Evangelists. The same reasons prove only one visit. In Mt. 28:1, they come "to see the sepulchre." Surely this group could not have been there before. Mark 16:1 says that they came "to anoint Jesus." Why would they come to anoint Him if they had already been there and had found an empty grave? And remember that St. Mark in 16:2 is the one who says "after the sun had risen," which is the reason alleged for postulating a second visit later than the one referred to in Mt. 28:1 and Jn. 20:1.

2) The vision of the angels proves one visit and one group

⁸ Cf. Zorell, *Novi Test. Lexicon Graec.* (Paris: 1911) s.v., *πρωί*. A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York: 4th edition, 1923), pp. 295, 471-638. E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods* (Cambridge: 1914).

despite the fact that some authors, because of divergences of details in the accounts of the vision, hold for two groups of women and hence two visits.⁹

a) In essence all is the same. The women saw angels and received from them a message to be delivered to the Apostles. This is clear from Mt. 28:5-8, Lk. 24:4-8, and Jn. 20:11-14.

b) In details there are divergences because each Evangelist uses his own style and mentions the details that strike him personally. We shall examine some of the difficulties and see that they do not force us to admit two separate visits.

1) Matthew and Mark have only one angel; Luke has two. Cf. Mt. 28:5-8; Mk. 16:5-8; Lk. 24:4-8. To solve the seeming contradiction we say: In general, this is a difficulty. It would be far clearer and much more easily explained if Matthew and Mark had mentioned all the angels that were present when they appeared to the women. But why say they were obliged to mention all? Practically all authorities are agreed, for instance, that Mary Magdalene was not alone when she went to the grave, though if St. John's account were taken alone, all would think it likely that she was alone. In other words, one Gospel clears up the other. The whole story must be pieced together from the four Gospels. It is the same in this angel difficulty. When we read Matthew and Mark we see there was at least one angel. On reading Luke, we find there were two. St. Luke tells us there were two angels. Neither Matthew nor Mark say there was *only* one. They mention only one probably because he was the principal speaker.

2) The second difficulty is this: Matthew seems to indicate that the women saw the angel immediately on coming to the tomb (cf. 28:2-5), whereas Mark (16:5) and Luke (24:3-4) say directly that after the women entered the tomb, only then they saw the angels.

Answer: Start with Mark, whose characteristic throughout the whole Gospel is to add small details. He says: "and entering the sepulchre they saw a young man" (16:5). This agrees with Lk. 24:3, "And entering they found not the body; and as they were wondering, two men stood by them."

Matthew must be explained by Mark and Luke who are surely more detailed in their description of this scene than Matthew.

⁹ Cf. Fouard, *The Christ the Son of God* (English edition translated from 5th French edition by George F. X. Griffith), Vol. II, p. 356, footnote.

We know that Matthew in many places writes in a very general style. As F. Ruffenach in the *Verbum Domini* (Vol. I: 1921) p. 99 says, Matthew, "Generice per capita res potius tangit quam describit."¹⁰

Finally, St. John's story confirms Mark and Luke for in his story of Mary Magdalene it is clear that Mary saw no angels until after she had thoroughly examined the tomb (20:1-12).

3) A third difficulty presents itself. Mt. 28:2 and Mk. 16:5 say the angels are sitting and according to Lk. 24:4 the angels are standing.

Answer: The expression used in the original Greek by St. Luke, *ἐπέστησαν* does not necessary mean "stood" in the strict sense of the word. According to Zorell, the root *ἵστημι* means in many cases mere bodily presence in a place and does not necessarily refer to any special position of the body.¹¹ Father Leopold Fonck, S.J., referred to this matter in the *Verbum Domini* (Vol. II, 1922, p. 116): "Expressio graeca quam Sanctus Lucas adhibet frequentissime solam praesentiam personae in aliquo loco non vero situm corporis denotat." Maldonatus in his commentaries on Matthew and Mark notes the same thing and cites many cases where the same verb is used evidently to mean mere bodily presence.¹²

c. In conclusion, we shall deal with the question as to whether there is a contradiction between Jn. 20::1 "when it was yet dark," and Mk. 16:2 "after the sun had risen."

Having proved that it is hardly possible to postulate two groups of women at the tomb or two visits of the same group in order to answer this apparent contradiction between Mk. and Jn., we shall now prove that it is not necessary to have recourse to either of these opinions. Our opinion is that the two Evangelists describe two different stages of the same journey. St. John refers to the beginning "when it was yet dark," and St. Mark to the end "after the sun had risen," namely that the women arrived at the tomb after sunrise.

1) That this solution is possible is proved by the nature of the sunrise in Palestine as described by those who know it. Father

¹⁰ cf. Belser, *The History of the Passion* (St. Louis: 1929), p. 599. Also, E. Levesque, *Nos Quatres Evangiles* (Paris: 1923), Appendice I, pp. 273-336.

¹¹ *op. cit.*, s. v.

¹² *op. cit.*, p. 657.

L. Fonck wrote in the *Verbum Domini*, Vol. II (1922) p. 116: "Cum diluculum in Oriente brevi intervallo solis ortus subsequatur, mirum non est mulieres 'orto jam sole' ad monumentum pervenisse."

2) The opinion is not foolish because so many commentators hold it.¹³

3) It is proved from the texts of the Evangelists themselves. The "very early" (λίαν πρωί) of Mk. 16:2 surely agrees with Jn. 20:1 "early, when it was yet dark," (πρωί σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης) and with Mt. 28:1 "as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week."

The expression "after the sun had risen" of Mk. 16:2 does not agree with the above expression in the exact point of time though it surely does in the general period of πρωί, 3-6 o'clock A.M.

Since Mark, according to all authorities, often adds little details that the others omit and since we have proved that he speaks about the same crowd of women as St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, we may explain him here by the others and say he designates two different exact points of time in the same journey.

There is, then, no contradiction between Jn. 20:1 "when it was yet dark," and Mk. 16:2 "after the sun had risen." Mark mentions both the beginning of the journey and the end of it. John and Matthew mention the beginning.

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¹³ Cf. F. Ruffenach, *Verbum Domini*, Vol. I (1921) p. 99. Knabenbauer, *op. cit. Comment. in Marc. Editio altera* (Paris: 1907), p. 433, quotes St. Augustine. A. J. Mass, *Gospel accd. to Matth.* (St. Louis: 1898), p. 311.

TWO POINTS OF BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION

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Dr. Steinmueller's recent *Companion to Scripture Studies*¹ is an attractive manual covering a wide field, and will doubtless command a wide circulation. Of necessity he deals with some difficult questions in a short space, and must perforce leave some writers a little dissatisfied with the presentation of their views. I trust, therefore, that he will not feel surprise, if one of them ventures to speak for himself in regard of two points of great importance, in order that his readers may be led to a fuller consideration of the topics. Indeed, too much attention cannot be paid to them.

The first is the more fundamental, and is concerned with verbal inspiration. To begin with, I should not care to label myself a "proponent of verbal inspiration in the broad sense,"² but rather, according to the more usual terminology, a proponent of non-verbal inspiration; and it is this term, I venture to think, that would best be applied to the distinguished writers among whom Dr. Steinmueller pays me the compliment of a place. Nor do I much care for the formula that according to our view inspiration works "through the positive divine presence and negative assistance," but would prefer to modify both parts of it, since the divine presence is not sufficient without divine activity, and the assistance is not merely negative but comes in a charismatic movement.

In other respects, also, I have a difficulty in finding anything to which I should care to put my name, either in the way of explanation or argument. No strictly theological argument in favour of non-verbal inspiration is mentioned, and I should therefore like to put forward a couple, referring the reader for more to the chief place where I have treated the matter, which is *Verbum Domini*, vol. 9, fasc. 8, pp. 225-235 (August, 1929).

The first argument is from the authority of the Holy See, speaking through the Biblical Commission. The answers upon the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch (Denzinger, nos. 1997-2000; *Enchiridion Biblicum*, nos. 174-7) allow as a solution that Moses may have entrusted the actual writing of the Pentateuch to one or more scribes, who would faithfully express his meaning,

¹ 3 vols., 1941-3: Wagner, New York.

² Vol. I, p. 25.

write nothing contrary to his wishes, and omit nothing: the work would then be approved by Moses, and published under his name. It is evidently intended that Moses should approve of the work while under inspiration, and by speaking of him as the chief and inspired author (*principe inspiratoque auctore*) the Commission implies that the scribes are neither the chief nor the inspired authors. If, indeed, they were inspired in their choice of words, not much would be left of the Mosaic authorship, which it is the purpose of the Commission to safeguard, not to eviscerate.

The answers about the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Denzinger, nos. 2176-8: *Enchiridion Biblicum*, nos. 429-431) evidently proceed upon the same principles, which in this case can be traced back to Origen (cf. Eusebius, *Church History*, Bk. VI, chap. 25), though he does not formulate them with sufficient precision.

The second argument is patristic, and chiefly from St. Augustine. It has taken me long thought and careful reading to claim him as an exponent of non-verbal inspiration. He is not thinking of our modern rather speculative debate, but in his work *de Consensu Evangelistarum* is engaged in reconciling the Gospels with each other, and it is by way of dealing with the differences between them that he insists that it is the ideas rather than the words which really matter. I should like to quote one passage rather fully, because it is a better one than that which I have quoted in *Verbum Domini*; and to compensate for the length I shall make no further comment upon it than to place the most important words in italics. St. Augustine is writing about the Septuagint translators, whom (owing to the story of the composition of the Septuagint) he believed to have been inspired. The quotation is from the end of Bk. II, chap. 66, no. 128, in the Vienna Corpus:

Ergo et ipsi nonnulla in eloquio variando et ab eadem voluntate Dei, cuius illa dicta erant, et cui verba servire debebant, non recedendo nihil aliud demonstrare voluerunt quam hoc ipsum quod nunc in evangelistarum quattuor concordi quadam diversitate miramur, qua nobis ostenditur non esse mendacium, si quisquam ita diverso modo aliquid narret, ut ab eius voluntate, cui consonandum et consentiendum est, non recedat. Quod nosse et moribus utile est propter cavenda et indicanda mendacia et ipsi fidei, ne putemus quasi consecratis sonis ita muniri veritatem, tamquam Deus nobis quemadmodum ipsam rem, sic verba, quae propter illam sunt dicenda, commendet, cum potius ita res, quae discenda est, sermonibus per quos discenda est, praeferatur, ut

istos omnino quaerere non deberemus, si eam sine his nosse possemus, sicut illam novit Deus et in ipso angeli eius.

A few short quotations from St. Jerome may be repeated from the article in *Verbum Domini*. He too is prepared to attribute the style of an inspired author to his secretaries: *duae epistolae, quae feruntur Petri, stilo inter se et caractere discrepant structuraque verborum: ex quo intellegimus pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum interpretibus* (Epist. 120, chap. 11). It is the meaning of Scripture, not the words, to which we must look: *ne putemus in verbis Scripturarum esse evangelium, sed in sensu* (Comm. in Epist. ad Galat. I. 11-12). And there is more to the point in Epist. 57: *alii syllabas aucupentur et litteras, tu quaere sententias* (chap. 6): (S. Matthaeo) *curae fuit non verbo et syllabas aucupari, sed sententias dogmatum ponere* (chap. 7): *ut obtrectatores mei quaerant et intellegant non verba in scripturis considerata, sed sensum* (chap. 10).

Father Steinmueller writes that "there are two principal arguments employed by all who defend strict verbal inspiration" (p. 26). The first is "the philosophical argument from the notion of causality"; but no philosophical argument can ever prove that God is bound to give the special charismatic impulse or motion of inspiration to the scribes when they are putting into writing (e.g.) Moses' ideas in their own words. There is no question here of divine causality in any other sense.

The other argument is psychological, from the supposed vivisection resulting from the separation of words and thoughts. Obviously, there can be no question of this when the thoughts are supplied by one person and the words by another; but even in the same person it does not need a miracle to separate them. Those who speak or write much may know only too well that self-expression is a hard-won art, so that they may feel upon occasion that their words have not accurately expressed their thought. I need only add that I do not assert that non-verbal inspiration is universal throughout the Bible, but only that in itself it is possible, and theologically a safe doctrine.

The other point of importance upon which I should like to put in a few words is the synoptic problem; but I may do so more shortly, because I have expressed my own view at some length in the first volume of the Westminster Version (New Testament), and in the Cambridge Summer School series in *The New Testament* (Burns and Oates, 1938). Here again I cannot make my

own the precise form of the oral hypothesis ascribed to me in the New Testament volume of Father Steinmueller's *Companion* (pp. 117-8). I will only say here in general that if anyone familiar with the Synoptic Gospels tries to write from memory another synoptic gospel on the same lines, he will probably find that his own gospel differs from the present Synoptic Gospels much as they differ from each other. Where there is something easily remembered, it is presented in much the same words; where the form of words does not easily stay in the mind, the differences go further. Nor is the sequence of events such as to be easily remembered; the incidents are more or less disjointed, and often there is no special point to remind us which should come first. All this can happen without suspicion of formal error; the evangelists were not committed to identical and verbatim reports, or to the exact historical order of incidents.

The *Companion* has my good wishes, and I trust that I may explain to this extent my own views, without suspicion of hostility; I am sufficiently attached to them to deem them worthy of consideration, without claiming much originality for them. I have not expounded them at length, partly because I have done so elsewhere, partly because I presuppose in the readers of this periodical (to which my hearty good wishes) a sufficient acquaintance with the main lines of these questions.

If I make one concluding remark of more general import, I trust it will not be thought that there is a sting in the tail; I do it merely as a contribution to further progress. Although such a work as the *Companion* is a valuable addition to our biblical literature, I am convinced that further advance lies upon the lines of increased specialization; and that for biblical works of a general kind there is now needed, not a single author, but a single controlling editor, or even small committee. Catholic priests are long engaged in a general course of philosophy and theology, and afterwards of general biblical studies, while scholars outside are concentrating almost from the first on an all too rigid specialization. Our general studies have of course a great value of their own; but if the Catholic position is to be adequately defended, Catholic scholars must be able to meet the outside specialists upon their own ground. This entails intense specialization on the Catholic side, but always upon the wide and solid foundation of a previous general course. Owing to this general course, a Catholic scholar cannot be a specialist in the modern narrow sense of the

word; but if all subsequently come to restrict their more intensive investigations to a fairly narrow field, which can be mapped out and thoroughly worked by systematic co-operation and a friendly division of labour, I see no reason why Catholic scholars should not dominate the whole biblical field, even in the English-speaking world. On the one hand, it would be a mistake to think that such a consummation can be reached easily; on the other hand, it would be a still greater mistake to think it beyond our reach. Such a strong organization as the Catholic Biblical Association of America appears to me admirably adapted to the securing of such a result, a prize worthy, surely, of the best efforts, and fraught with immense fruit for the glory of God.

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ST. AUGUSTINE'S DEFENSE OF THE HEXAEMERON

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1: SEVEN DAYS: SYMBOL OF THE SEVEN AGES OF THE UNIVERSE.

In the closing chapters of the first book of *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, there is little not already described in the course of the present study, which directly touches upon the doctrine of the Manicheans or which at any rate calls for an extended comment in refutation of their fantastic tenets. These chapters, however, have a direct relation with the particular scope of this study because of the richness with which they illustrate the teaching of Augustine on the Hexaemeron and the varied interpretations through which he seeks to expound it.

To Augustine¹ the six days of creation and the seventh day of rest represent the seven ages of the universe. The first is the age of the infancy of the universe and extends from the beginning of the human race to the time of the flood. This age is comparable to the first day of creation when light was made. It represents the infancy of the universe in analogy with the first period of the life of a baby that has been brought forth into the light. It extends from Adam to Noe and comprises ten generations. The flood furnished, as it were, the evening of this first day—much in the same manner as the flood of oblivion blots out our infancy.

The second age is that of the childhood of the universe. It extends from Noe to Abraham and also embraces ten generations. It is comparable to the second day of creation (when the firmament was made to divide the superior waters from the inferior), since the ark that housed Noe and his family was for them a firmament between the lower waters on which it floated and the waters on high which rained upon it. Just as our childhood remains in memory, though we do not recall our infancy, so, too, this age is not blotted out by the flood. The evening of this age is the confusion of tongues among those who dared to attempt to build the tower of Babel. This age did not generate the chosen people of God, because the child is not capable of generating.

The third age represents the adolescence of the universe. It is comparable to the third day of creation (when the dry land was separated from the waters), because the chosen people of God

¹ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 23: MPL 34, 190.

(the dry land), thirsting after the gentle, heavenly rain in the divine mandates, was separated through Abraham from the sea of the pagan peoples, storm-tossed by the wind of error and false doctrine. The chosen people worshiped the one, true God and accepted the Scriptures and Prophecies to bring forth useful fruit. This age was able to beget the chosen people of God, because it was the age of adolescence, and an adolescent can procreate. It extends from Abraham, the "father of many nations,"² to the reign of David, and includes fourteen generations. Its evening began with the falling away of the people through their transgression of the commands of God, and lasted until the time of the wicked king, Saul.

The fourth age is similar to the age of youth and young manhood. It can well be compared to the fourth day of creation (when the lights were made to shine in the firmament of heaven), because the period of youth is the embellishment of all ages, and reigns supreme. The pre-eminence of the sun in the firmament of heaven represents the splendor of the reign of David; the splendor of the moon represents the people (along with the synagogue) submissive to his rule; the stars are his princes, and in his kingdom all things were well established, after the fashion of the heavenly bodies in the firmament. The evening of this age is the kingdom already fallen into sinful ways. For their defection, the chosen people suffered the penalty of captivity and servitude.

The fifth age of the universe dawns with the transmigration of the chosen people into Babylonia and lasts until the coming of our Lord. The people, who no longer enjoy a strong and flourishing rule, are broken in spirit and wander about idly during their captivity. This idle wandering represents the state of the decline from the period of vigorous manhood to that of old age just beginning to debilitate—that period when a man, although not yet senile, is no longer young.

This age of the universe is comparable to the fifth day of creation, when the animals in the waters and the flying things of heaven were made. When the Jews began to live among the pagans, i.e., when they began to live in a sea, storm-tossed by every wind of false doctrine and error, they were buffeted about from place to place, i.e., they were forced to flit about, like birds in flight. And assuredly there were included among them great

² Gen. 17:5.

whales, i.e., great men who were able to dominate the billowy waves of the world's adversity rather than suffer enslavement in captivity. These could not be forced, through any fear whatsoever, to worship idols. And the benediction which God bestowed on the animals of the fifth day of creation: "Increase and multiply . . ." can be understood also of those great heroes, the Jews, who, dispersed among the pagans, greatly multiplied their numbers. The evening of this fifth age came when the chosen people, blinded by their many sins, could not recognize our Lord when He made His advent.

The sixth age of the universe began with the preaching of the Gospel through our Lord Jesus Christ, and as yet has not ended. In this age, the old age of the "old man" appears. The nation is drawing its last breath; the carnal kingdom, the rule of the flesh, is definitely on the down-grade; its temple is cast down, its sacrifices have ceased. And in this old age of the "old man," the "new man" is born.

On the fifth day of creation, the waters brought forth, not the living soul, but creeping things having life. These creeping things were bodies: and the people of Israel, practising bodily circumcision, observing the Law, and offering sacrifice³ while yet among the pagans, brought forth those things endowed with life. The command of the sixth day of creation: "Let the earth bring forth the living soul," bespeaks for the sixth age of the universe the spiritual life that longs for things eternal.

The Gentiles, the future firm believers in the Gospel, were pre-figured by the serpents and the cattle which the earth brought forth on the sixth day. Nor are they common and unclean whom God has cleansed—according to the lesson so vividly taught in the vision accorded to Peter. In ecstasy, Peter saw heaven open and a certain vessel coming down like a great linen sheet, containing all the four-footed beasts and serpents of the earth. The sheet was let down from heaven by the four corners and a voice bade Peter to kill and eat. When he expostulated that never did he eat anything common or unclean, the voice from heaven told him not to brand as common and unclean that which God had cleansed.⁴

³ They perhaps celebrated the feast of the Passover, and the offering of the paschal lamb may be considered as a sacrifice. Cf. *Retract.* 1, 10: MPL 32, 600.

⁴ Cf. Acts 10:11-15.

The creation of man to the image and likeness of God on the sixth day represents the birth in the flesh of our Lord who appeared in the sixth age of the universe. The creation of male and female on that sixth day represents Christ and the Church in the sixth age. The rule of man over the beasts and the serpents of the earth and the flying things of heaven, prefigures the sweet dominance Christ exercises over the submissive and faithful souls in the Church—souls drawn from both Gentiles and Jews. These may, at one time, have given themselves over to carnal concupiscence, as the beasts; or, as serpents, may have been wriggling in the shadows of curiosity; or finally, may, as birds, have been puffed up on high with pride; but now they come and submit to the sweet rule of Christ. And as on the sixth day, both man and the animals were fed on seed-bearing herbage, fruit-bearing trees, and greens,—so also every spiritual man in this sixth age is the good minister of Christ and His faithful imitator to the best of his ability. He feeds on Sacred Scripture and the divine Law,—the seed-bearing herbage, as it were,—to conceive a certain fecundity in thought and word; feeding on the fruit-bearing trees, he develops a command of the customs of human intercourse; nourishing himself on the greens, which never dry up in the heat of adversity, he maintains the vigor of his faith, hope, and charity unto life everlasting. The spiritual man is fed on these food-stuffs that he may understand many things. The carnal man, the little one in Christ, God's little lamb, as it were, is likewise fed on these same foodstuffs that he may believe those things which as yet surpass his understanding.

The evening of the sixth age is that defection of faith of which our Lord speaks: "Thinkest thou, when the Son of Man cometh, He will find faith upon earth?"⁵ After the passing of the evening, the dawn will break and Christ will appear in His glory. Those who have fulfilled the counsel: "Be ye perfect, as your Father who is in heaven,"⁶ those, indeed, who have done very good works, will then rest with Christ from all their labors. This is the seventh age, the day of rest, and it has no evening.

Augustine closes this chapter on the seven days, and the seven ages of the universe which they represent, with the observation

⁵ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 23: MPL 34, 193: "Putas cum veniet Filius hominis inveniet fidem super terram?" (Luke 18:8)

⁶ *Ibid.*: "Estote perfecti, sicut Pater vester qui in coelis est." (Matt. 5:48)

that it is not within the power of words to express just how God made heaven and earth and every creature; the exposition according to the order of the days, as set down here, serves both as a history of deeds accomplished and, at the same time and more importantly, as a prediction of things to come.⁷

2: AGES OF THE UNIVERSE ARE UNEQUAL.

In the following chapter⁸ Augustine seeks the reason for the inequality among the ages of the universe. Each of the first two ages has ten generations; the following three, each fourteen; and the sixth, no definite number. As he pointed out in the sustained metaphor of the preceding chapter, each age of the universe represents a certain period in the life of an ordinary man: the first age, infancy; the second, childhood; the third, adolescence; the fourth, youth and young manhood; the fifth, that period of life of a man who is no longer young and not yet old; the sixth, old age and death of the carnal man, with the ensuing birth of the spiritual.

The period of infancy of the universe has ten generations, as also has the period of childhood, because in every man, during the period of his infancy and childhood, the senses of the body predominate. These are five: seeing, hearing, smelling, touching, and tasting. The sexes whence each succeeding generation takes its birth are two. Five times two are ten, the number of generations in each of these first two ages of the universe.

From the period of adolescence onward, reason prevails in man, adding to the five senses two things: knowledge (cognition) and intelligent operation (action), thus making the sum-total seven. The sexes, again, are two. Seven times two are fourteen, which is the number of the generations in each of the three ages of the universe: adolescence, youth, and manhood.

The sixth period of the life of man is that of old age. It comes upon him as his final period and has no definite length. Just as it is determined by no definite number of years, so also no definite number is given for the generations of the sixth age of the universe. And the reason for ascribing no number to these generations is that the Last Day may remain unknown to us. Our Lord deemed it useful to keep secret from us the knowledge of that

⁷ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 23: MPL 34, 193; cf. also *Contra Faustum* 12,7-8: MPL 42, 257.

⁸ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 24: MPL 34, 193.

day, for he said:⁹ "But of that day and hour no one knoweth, not the angels of heaven, but the Father alone."¹⁰

Continuing his discussion, Augustine makes an even more allegorical interpretation of the seven days, from the standpoint of our good works and right living in this world, with the hope of rest in the next.

The light, created on the first day, signifies that light of faith which we have in visible things, and on account of which our Lord deigned to appear in the flesh. The firmament, created on the second day, represents that firm discipline which we exercise when we distinguish between the carnal and the spiritual,—as it were, between the lower and the upper waters. The dry land that appeared out of the waters on the third day symbolizes our mind arising free from the foam and waves of the temptations of the flesh,—separating itself therefrom in order to bear the fruit of good works: "With the mind I serve the law of God, with the flesh, however, the law of sin."¹¹ The lights in the firmament which were created on the fourth day typify the spiritual insights pursuant upon the exercise of firm discipline over the flesh. The sun shines in our soul and we see what the unchangeable truth is; the soul, participating of this truth, gives order and beauty to the body, much as the moon illuminates the night; and our spiritual insights shine forth in the obscurity of this life, after the fashion of the stars twinkling in the dark. The animals which the waters brought forth on the fifth day represent the effects which the knowledge of these insights (into corporeal actions) produce for the good of society in the turbulent sea of this world: the creeping things, possessing life, are the works which benefit fellow-men; the great whales are those all-powerful actions which conquer the billows of this world; and the flying things of heaven are voices preaching celestial things.¹² The living soul in every genus of four-footed animal, etc.,—brought forth from the earth on the sixth day,—represents the spiritual fruits and good thoughts of a mind subjecting all things to right reason rather than giving way to rashness and to sin.

God made man to His own image and likeness, male and female He made them. The two sexes represent the intellect and in-

⁹ Matt. 24:36.

¹⁰ *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 24: MPL 34, 193.

¹¹ Rom. 7:25.

¹² *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 25: MPL 34, 194.

tellectual operation which, in spiritual conjunction, fill the earth with spiritual offspring, i.e., with intellectual and immortal joys.¹³

The "evening" of each of the six days of creation designates the completion of the work of the respective days; the "morning" signifies the inception of the same. After six days of very good works, man is to hope for eternal rest and the understanding of the saying: "God rested on the seventh day from all His works." As explained in the preceding,¹⁴ the head of a family is said to build a house, not because he actually constructs it, but rather because he commands his subjects to build it. After the construction has been completed, the head of the family may rightly be said both to take rest and to permit his subjects to rest. In like manner, God, who commands us to perform good works and, indeed, operates the good in us, is rightly said to rest when, as a reward for all these good works of ours, He grants us rest.

3: RECAPITULATION

We have sought to expound and illustrate, at some length, the teaching of Augustine on the Hexaemeron, as defended by him against the Manicheans. Now it may be useful, for the sake of greater clearness, to re-state briefly the main points of his teaching. For this purpose, the following brief summary is here appended.

God made heaven and earth. The term "heaven and earth" signifies the universe, all creation. God made this universe out of nothing, i.e., He created it. Since the universe exists, two hypotheses for its coming into being may be considered: either it came from the substance of God, or it came from nothing. But it did not come from the substance of God, because it has been made, and whatever is made cannot be of the substance of God. The world, moreover, is changeable, hence it cannot be a part of God, who is immutable and indivisible. God alone is eternal, nothing exists coeval with Him. Since, then, the world is not of the substance of God, it must have come from nothing. Creatures, made from nothing, are not equal one to another; neither are they equal to the Son, through whom they were made; nor are they equal to God, who made them. His will is the cause of their creation: they were made out of nothing, because He so willed.

¹³ *Ibid.* 1, 19: MPL 34, 187.

¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 467.

God made the universe, the world, in the beginning, i.e., in the Word, "in whom and through whom all things were made." We believe that the world was created in the beginning of time. The expression "in the beginning of time" signifies that both time and the world came into being simultaneously. Before the world was, there was no time.

Various names are used to designate the shapeless matter which God created in the beginning and out of which He formed all things. It is called: "heaven and earth," because these were to come from it; "the invisible and unformed earth," and "darkness over the abyss," because it lacked shape, and could be seen or touched under no species, even had anyone been present then to see or touch it; "water," because it lent itself easily and tractably to the power of the Maker, that He might form all things from it. Under all these designations, this mass, which came from nothing, and out of which God formed all things, remained shapeless and unseen. And the Spirit, that hovered over the waters, is the Holy Spirit.

The operation by which God formed all things out of the unformed mass, through the "work of the six days," is called the work of formation. It is so called, because God distinguished all things, one from another, by endowing each with its specific form. This work of "formation" is not to be construed as opposed to that of "creation." These terms represent concepts which we use to express two phases of one and the same unique act by which God created the shapeless mass and formed all things therefrom. He did this "at one stroke," (*in ictu*), although we are unable to express it in one concept.

The "work of the six days" does not mean that God, in producing the work of the individual days, required definite intervals of time. He created all things simultaneously. The analogy of a "day's work" is employed to enable us to understand better the operation of God. The analogy is adduced from the everyday fact that men generally do a day's work by beginning in the morning and leaving off in the evening. What, then, does this term "day" signify? It represents an indeterminate space of time. That which is expressed by the first verse: "In the beginning, God made heaven and earth," does not pertain to any of the six days in particular, nor do the terms "create" and "form" express two distinct acts. The term "day," then, describes the indeterminate space of time, in which the work,

ascribed to a certain day, was ordered. "Evening" signifies the completion of the operation of any particular day; "morning," the inception of the operation of the following day. The interval (night), between the completion of one operation and the inception of the following, is added as a complement of its "day."

The first day, God made the light and separated light from darkness. Darkness is negative and signifies the absence of light. God is said to "make" the darkness in the sense that He withdraws His light from certain places for certain periods.

The second day, God made the firmament, which gets its name from the distinction and specification of corporeal matter from incorporeal nature. It separates the waters, the upper from the lower. The composite term "firmament of heaven" signifies the heaven we see now, yet represents it before it was studded with celestial bodies.

The third day, God gathered the waters into one, i.e., He gave form to the unformed matter to make the waters which we now see and touch. On this day, dry land appeared. God called the waters the sea, and the dry land He called the earth, in the sense that He caused them so to be called.

The same third day, God commanded the earth to bring forth plants, etc. These are good, for, all things, inasmuch as they exist, are good. It was only after original sin, that the inedible and the poisonous plants are mentioned.

The fourth day, God made the lights in the firmament: the sun, to illuminate and rule the day; the moon to illuminate and rule,—and the stars to illuminate,—the night. These lights were created for a two-fold purpose: to shine upon the earth, and to aid man in distinguishing times and seasons.

The fifth day, God caused the waters to bring forth the fishes and the flying creatures. The waters are said to bring forth the flying creatures, since they, through the vapors arising from land and sea, render the air above humid enough to support the flight of the flying creatures, who, otherwise, would not be able to live there in air too dry, i.e., too rare to breathe. The flying creatures were made to fly in the air above the earth and below the firmament.

The sixth day, God caused the earth to bring forth the animals, serpents, etc., that live on the earth. Only after the fall of Adam do we read of the existence of superfluous and harmful animals. The harmful were created in punishment of our sins, and as a

source of trial to us; the superfluous were created to contribute to the integrity of the universe.

That same day, God created man to His image and likeness. He formed him from the slime of the earth, and breathed into him a rational soul. The body of man was created immortal, i.e., exempt from the necessity of dying, even though it was material; it was incorruptible even though it had come from nothing; and it was unblemished. Only after the fall of Adam was this body subject to corruption and to death.

The resemblance of man to God is according to the inner man, i.e., according to intellect and reason. Through reason, he gains a knowledge of truths of an inferior order (science); through his intellect, he seeks after a knowledge of supernal truths (wisdom).

Because of his intellectual endowment, man dominates the brutes. After original sin, he could, because of the frailty of his body, be killed by some animals, yet he could be dominated by none of them. Even after the fall, his power over brute animals was so extensive as to include almost all of them.

The work of each day was good; the works of all the days, taken together, were very good, when it is said that God rested after six days, the meaning is not that He was tired or fatigued, but rather, that He will grant rest to us after all our works are done, provided these works are good, indeed, very good.

V

1: MANICHEAN COSMOGONY ACCORDING TO AUGUSTINE.

In his defense of the Hexaemeron against the Manicheans, Augustine manifests a complete grasp of their fundamental teachings. Among these, their theory concerning the origin of nature forms the foundation for all their doctrine and practice, hence one must have a thorough comprehension of their cosmogony in order to understand their system. Their views, then, on the origin of things, as these views were known to Augustine and set down in his works, constitute the object of this part of our study; and we indicate them here as a matter more of history than of controversy.

The Manicheans derive their name from their founder, Manes, a Persian,¹ who, coming some 200 years after Christ,² in his

¹ *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 34.

² *Cont. Faust.* 28, 4: MPL 42, 487.

Epistles styles himself: "Manes, the apostle of Jesus Christ."³ As a starting point of their doctrines, they assume that two lands, or two realms, exist from all eternity: the Realm of Light and the Kingdom of Darkness. The Realm of Light consists in a dazzling splendor of light extended through an infinity of space, and unchecked in all directions save one: its extension towards the lower regions is cleft, as it were, by a wedge of darkness,⁴ i.e., by the Kingdom of Darkness, which, in turn, extends itself unchecked in all directions except one,—upward.⁵

God, the Supreme Good, unchangeable, impenetrable, and incorruptible,⁶ holds sway in the Realm of Light; indeed, He is the Father of Light, everlastingly holy, magnificent in His power, true by nature, and eternally in possession of wisdom and vital powers.⁷ Surrounded by a brilliant court of innumerable eons, He exercises His power principally through twelve great members,⁸ arranged about His flower-crowned throne in four groups of three each. In the Realm of Light, no infirmity and no want can be found, and all who dwell therein form one nature with their Ruler, the Father of Light.

The Kingdom of Darkness, also, has no beginning: it always existed and is eternal.⁹ Hyle,¹⁰ (matter), the supreme evil, reigns over this Kingdom,¹¹ which is formed of five provinces corresponding to the fire elements: darkness, evil water, evil wind, evil fire, and smoke.¹² This Kingdom and its Ruler are, from all eternity, opposed to the Realm of Light and the God of Light.

All was peace and quiet until some biped animals in the Kingdom of Darkness saw the light of the Kingdom of God, contemplated and took delight in it, and, finally, decided to seek after it.¹³ They acceded to the persuasion of one of their number and

³ *Cont. ep. Man.* 5; MPL 42, 176; *Cont. Fel.* 1, 1 et 14: MPL 42, 519 et 529; *Cont. Faust.* 13, 4: MPL 42, 283; *De mor. Ecc.* 33: MPL 32, 1341.

⁴ *Cont. ep. Man.* 24: MPL 42, 190; *De vera relig.* 49: MPL 34, 164-5.

⁵ *De mor. man.* 9: MPL 32, 1351; *Cont. ep. Man.* 21: MPL 42, 188.

⁶ *De mor. man.* 3 et 11-12: MPL 32, 1347 et 1354-56.

⁷ *Cont. ep. Man.* 13: MPL 42, 182.

⁸ *Cont. Faust.* 15, 5: MPL 42, 308.

⁹ *De cont.* 9: MPL 40, 363.

¹⁰ *Cont. Faust.* 20, 3 et 21, 1: MPL 42, 370 et 387.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 21, 14: MPL 42, 398.

¹² *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35, *Cont. ep. Man.* 28: MPL 42, 194; *De mor. man.* 9: MPL 32, 1351.

¹³ *Ibid.* : MPL 32, 1352.

set out to wage war against God.¹⁴ Armed with the five evil elements (darkness, evil water, evil wind, evil fire, and smoke), the forces of evil marched on their enemy.¹⁵ Terrified by the tumult of the threatened invasion,¹⁶ God emanated the First Man (not to be confused with Adam)¹⁷ a part of His substance, whom, armed with the five good elements (light, good water, good wind, good fire, and air), He sent to do battle against the evil insurgents.¹⁸ In the battle that ensued, the forces of evil triumphed over the First Man and imprisoned him in matter by devouring him and the five good elements.¹⁹

The Father of Light permitted this initial reverse in order to prepare the stage for a subsequent and complete victory.²⁰ Later, in response to the earnest entreaties of the First Man entrapped in matter, God emanated the powerful Spirit to liberate him and the other particles of light.²¹ In this second great battle, the powerful Spirit conquered the powers of evil, liberated the First Man, and formed the world out of the mixture of the five good and the five evil elements.²²

The God of Light, then, through the powerful Spirit, made the world out of a nature and substance foreign to His own,²³ i.e., out of a nature which is no longer a part of His pure nature, but rather a mixture of the five evil elements and the five good elements, already soiled through contact with matter during their captivity.²⁴ He was compelled to compact (not create) the things of the world through a certain necessity, lest the forces of the enemy once again recoil against Him.²⁵

¹⁴ *Ibid.*: MPL 32, 1351.

¹⁵ *De ag. christ.* 4: MPL 40, 292; *De cont.* 5: MPL 40, 358; *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35.

¹⁶ *Cont. Faust.* 5, 4: MPL 42, 222.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 11, 3 et 24, 2: MPL 42, 246 et 478.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 2, 3 et 4: MPL 42, 210-11; *Cont. ep. Man.* 12: MPL 42, 182; *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35; *De vera relig.* 9: MPL 34, 130; *Cont. Fel.* 1, 19: MPL 42, 533.

¹⁹ *Cont. Faust.* 13, 18 et 20, 17: MPL 42, 293 et 381; *De ag. christ.* 4: MPL 40, 292.

²⁰ *Cont. Fort.* 22: MPL 42, 126.

²¹ *Cont. Faust.* 20, 9: MPL 42, 375; *De mor. man.* 17: MPL 32, 1371.

²² *Ibid.* 9: MPL 32, 1351; *De vera relig.* 9: MPL 34, 130; *De ag. christ.* 4: MPL 40, 292; *Cont. Jul. op. imp.* 1, 49: MPL 45, 1071.

²³ *Cont. adv. Leg. et Prophet.* 1, 1: MPL 42, 603.

²⁴ *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35; *Enarr. in Ps.* 140: MPL 37, 1822.

²⁵ *Conf.* 13, 30: MPL 32, 864; *Cont. Fort.* in initio: MPL 42, 113.

The universe, which God made, consists of eight earths and ten heavens. It is supported on the shoulders of the god Atlas on bended knee, and is held in place by the hand of Splenditenens, a six-faced and six-mouthed god. It was fabricated by the powerful Spirit, aided and abetted by five other gods: Splenditenens, Rex Honoris, Adamas, Rex Gloriosus, and Atlas.²⁶ These five had definite duties to perform. Splenditenens was to support, from on high, the world that he held suspended in his hand, as though he were weighing it. Rex Honoris, surrounded by angels, was to circle about heaven with his rays of light, reclaiming parts of God's subsance from foul places. Adamas was the war-waging hero, armed with a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left. Rex Gloriosus was to set in motion the three wheels: the wheel of fire, that of water, and that of wind. Atlas, on bended knee, was to support the universe on his shoulders, proping it up on either side with his fore-arms.²⁷

All things were arranged in the universe in their proper places according to the amount of good (light) they possessed.²⁸ The sun and the moon are two great light-ships in the heavens: the first, made out of purest fire; the second, out of most limpid water.²⁹ The first light-ship, the sun, having emanated from God,³⁰ and therefore a god,³¹ must be adored³² as a particle of the divine substance and as the light of wisdom.³³ It is not a body,³⁴ since a body is of the substance of the Land of Darkness.

Both the sun and the moon are immense vessels of light which contain holy virtues. These holy virtues assume the appearance of males in order to attract females, and vice versa,—that through the arousing of concupiscence, the light of the soul which is held captive in matter may be liberated, and then transported in the light-ships back to the Realm of Light.³⁵

The second light-ship, the moon, increases or diminishes in size accordingly as the light-particles in it are greater or less in num-

²⁶ *Cont. Faust.* 15, 5 et 6; 20, 9; 32, 19: MPL 42, 307 et 309; 374 sq.; 508.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 15, 6: MPL 42, 309.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 6, 8: MPL 42, 235.

²⁹ *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35.

³⁰ *Cont. Faust.* 21, 4: MPL 42, 391.

³¹ *Sermo* 12, 11: MPL 38, 105.

³² *De mor. man.* 8: MPL 32, 1351; *De Gen. cont. man.* 2, 25: MPL 34, 217; *Enarr. in Ps.* 25: MPL 36, 189; *Epist.* 236: MPL 33, 1033.

³³ *Cont. Faust.* 5, 11: MPL 42, 228.

³⁴ *Sermo* 12, 12: MPL 38, 106.

³⁵ *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35; *De nat. bon.* 44: MPL 42, 567.

ber. The number of light-beams, freed from captivity,—already purged of that contamination suffered as a result of their contact with matter,—and now in the process of being borne back to the Realm of Light, will determine the fulness, etc., of their bearer, the moon.³⁶

In the Land of Darkness, there are five dens, or caves, of elements: the first full of darkness, the second full of evil water, the third full of evil wind, the fourth full of evil fire, and the fifth full of smoke.³⁷ These elements are evil, have begotten their respective princes, and oppose the five elements of the Realm of Light: bright light, limpid water, refreshing wind, warming fire, and clear air. In the first battle against the evil elements (and the Princes of Darkness), the five good elements (with the First Man) were overcome and devoured by the evil elements, with the result that bright light was mixed with darkness, good water with evil water, good wind with evil wind, good fire with evil fire, and clear air with smoke.³⁸

The evil elements beget their respective princes in the following fashion: the elements give rise to trees, and from these trees, thus born in the Land of Darkness, spring the bodies of the princes of the different caves or dens. The origin, then, of the bodies of the princes from the trees is akin, in manner, to the origin of worms.³⁹ In the five caves of evil elements, the following animals were born: snakes, in the darkness; swimming things, in the water; flying things, in the wind; four-footed animals, in the fire; and two-footed animals, (from which man originated), in the smoke.⁴⁰

Out of the mixture of the good elements with the evil, God made the visible world.⁴¹ All bodies in the world are substances from the Kingdom of Darkness, part of that evil nature which is coeternal with God.⁴² The demon Hyle⁴³ molded these bodies and

³⁶ *Epist.* 55, 4: MPL 33, 207.

³⁷ *Conf.* 3, 6: MPL 32, 687; *De mor. man.* 9: MPL 32, 1351; *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35; *Cont. ep. Man.* 28: MPL 42, 194; *Cont. Faust.* 2, 3: MPL 42, 210.

³⁸ *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35.

³⁹ *Cont. Faust.* 6, 8: MPL 42, 235.

⁴⁰ *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35; *De mor. man.* 9: MPL 32, 1351; *Cont. ep. Man.* 28: MPL 42, 194; *Cont. Faust.* 21, 14: MPL 42, 398.

⁴¹ *De mor. Ecc.* 10: MPL 32, 1317; *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35; *Enarr.* in Ps. 140: MPL 37, 1822.

⁴² *Cont. Jul.* 1, 5: MPL 44, 651; *Cont. Jul. op. imp.* 3, 186: MPL 45, 1325.

⁴³ *Cont. Faust.* 21, 4: MPL 42, 390.

gave them their forms; accordingly, he must be a god, for only God can give species, form, and order to a body.⁴⁴

The origin of the flesh of all those animals that move in the air, on the earth, and in the water is thus explained: the females of the divers dens were pregnant at the time when the great revolution occurred. This revolution was in the nature of a violent whirling round, attendant upon the setting in motion of the three wheels (of fire, of water, and of wind), of Rex Gloriosus,⁴⁵ after the battle between the forces of good and the powers of evil.

This vehement action caused the pregnant females to suffer an abortion; and their abortive offspring thereupon crashed down upon the earth,⁴⁶ to live thereon and procreate their kind, thus imprisoning more particles of light in flesh.

In the inferior parts of the earth, the flesh of the smallest animals (frogs, bees, gnats, etc.), and whatever has roots in the soil, were made by the evil mind,⁴⁷ the prince of the Kingdom of Darkness. In each plant and everything else rooted in the earth, part of the good God is confined;⁴⁸ and the size of this captive part of the divine substance determines the amount of color in the plant.⁴⁹ Also, because there is in each of them, in the sense just described, a part of the divine substance, trees are said to possess rational souls, to hear voices, to understand words, to perceive bodies and movements of bodies, and even to suffer and to sense pain.⁵⁰ For this reason, they are not to be cut down, nor is their fruit to be plucked. Farmers must refrain from reaping their harvests and even weeding their fields, lest they thus become murderers.⁵¹ For the same reason, the smaller animals are not to be killed.

The larger animals also hold captive, in their flesh, parts of the divine substance, hence their souls are rational.⁵² Accordingly, the slaughter of animals is prohibited; for whosoever should

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; *De nat. bon.* 18: MPL 42, 556.

⁴⁵ *Cont. Faust.* 15, 6 et 20, 10: MPL 42, 309 et 376.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 6, 8: MPL 42, 235; *De mor. man.* 9 et 17: MPL 32, 1353 et 1371.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; *Conf.* 13, 30: MPL 32, 864-5; *Cont. Faust.* 24, 2: MPL 42, 475; *Cont. Jul. op. imp.* 3, 186: MPL 45, 1325.

⁴⁸ *Cont. Faust.* 24, 2: MPL 42, 475.

⁴⁹ *De mor. man.* 16: MPL 32, 1362.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 17: MPL 32, 1369; *De Gen. ad lit. lib. imp.* 5: MPL 34, 229.

⁵¹ *De mor. man.* 17: MPL 32, 1371; *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 37; *Enarr. in Ps.* 140: MPL 37, 1823.

⁵² *De mor. man.* 17: MPL 32, 1370; *Epist.* 236: MPL 33, 1033.

kill them would become a murderer, guilty of a more heinous crime than the murderer who should pluck fruits, dig vegetables, cut down trees and plants, or destroy the smaller animals.

The part of the divine substance held captive in edibles is liberated when these are eaten; and in eating them, the eater is cleansed.⁵³ The more food he eats, therefore, the more particles of the divine light he liberates and the more he increases his own soul. However, these liberated particles have suffered defilement through their contact with matter, and in punishment of that defilement the once-liberated particles are again bound in the flesh and made prisoner whenever their liberator, i.e., the one who had eaten the food, procreates offspring.⁵⁴

Adam and Eve, the first man and the first woman on earth, were born of the biped animals, the abortive offspring of the princes of the den of smoke.⁵⁵ Their immediate father was prince Saclas, who, when he had devoured all the offspring of his associates in the den of smoke (together with the portions of the divine substance which the evil progeny contained), had marital relations with his wife, that he might bind in the flesh of future offspring those particles of light that he had devoured. In Adam and Eve, then, whose bodies are evil because they originated in the Kingdom of Darkness, good is found mixed with evil, and light with darkness. The evil prince made them male and female, husband and wife, in order that they, in procreating offspring, might imprison in the flesh even more particles of the divine substance.

Man, however, comprises more light than darkness in his makeup. His soul, a portion of the divine substance, forms the greater part in him; his body, on the other hand, material and therefore evil, makes up but a small part of him.⁵⁶ Every man, in fact, possesses two souls: one, good, which is from God and a part of Him; the other, evil, which comes from the Land of

⁵³ *Cont. Faust.* 31, 4: MPL 42, 498.

⁵⁴ *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 37; *De nat. bon.* 47: MPL 42, 571; *Cont. duas ep. pelag.* 4, 3: MPL 44, 611.

⁵⁵ *De mor. man.* 19: MPL 32, 1376; *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35 et 37; *Cont. Faust.* 21, 14: MPL 42, 398; *De nat. bon.* 46-47: MPL 42, 569-70; *De nupt. et concup.* 2, 3: MPL 44, 441; *Cont. Jul.* 6, 22: MPL 44, 864.

⁵⁶ *De mor. man.* 19: MPL 32, 1376; *Cont. Jul. op. imp.* 3, 186: MPL 45, 1325.

Darkness.⁵⁷ All man's good deeds are to be credited to his good soul; all his evil works are to be attributed to his evil soul. Although he may be converted into a tree in punishment for having suffered contamination on this earth,⁵⁸ his good soul belongs to Christ,⁵⁹ who will one day liberate it and conduct it, in His light-ship, back to the Realm of Light, whence it came.⁶⁰

Man's body is material, hence evil, and belongs to the Kingdom of Darkness. Moreover, since the differentiation of the sexes depends on matter, which is evil, each sex is likewise evil and comes from the devil.⁶¹

The children of Adam are just as much slaves to matter as was he. However, they know that Light cannot remain forever captive, and so are not without hope. They look for Christ to liberate them through His works.⁶² At the end of this world (brought about through a great conflagration), the good souls will return to the Realm of Light; the evil souls will enter into an eternity of torment in a fiery globe.⁶³

The foregoing account constitutes a brief statement of the Manichean cosmogony as transmitted in the writings of Augustine. The teaching of the sect on this point is all-important, for on it are built the ethics, the moral doctrine, and the eschatology of all those who profess a belief in the "world religion" of Manes.

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⁵⁷ *De duab. animab.* 1: MPL 42, 93; *Retract.* 1, 15: MPL 32, 608; *De vera relig.* 9: MPL 34, 130.

⁵⁸ *De mor. man.* 17: MPL 32, 1369.

⁵⁹ *De cont.* 10: MPL 40, 365.

⁶⁰ *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35 et 38; *De nupt. et concup.* 2, 3: MPL 44, 441.

⁶¹ *De cont.* 10: MPL 40, 365.

⁶² *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 38.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

RECENT STUDIES ON THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION

REV. EDWARD A. CERNY, S.S., S.T.D.

All four Evangelists testify that our Lord was crucified on a Friday at the beginning of the Passover season. They leave some uncertainty, however, whether that Friday was the fourteenth or the fifteenth of Nisan. Of the year itself they say nothing directly, but from such indications as they give, scholars now conclude that it must have been one of the five years from 29 to 33 A.D. The astronomical calculations for the period by J. K. Fotheringham¹ and by Karl Schoch² yield no "fifteenth of Nisan Friday," but do yield a "fourteenth of Nisan Friday" in the years 30 and 33. On the basis of these calculations, the view has been popularized that the true date of the crucifixion must be either April 7, 30, or April 3, 33.³

Prof. A. T. Olmstead of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago announced recently that the problem has been definitely solved in favor of April 7, 30. "No longer is doubt permissible as to the date of the crucifixion," he writes. "Friday, April 7, 30 A.D. is established as firmly as is any date in ancient history; in fact, few dates in Greek and Roman history before the adoption of the Julian calendar are as sure."⁴ His conclusion is based upon tables compiled at the Oriental Institute, which restate in terms of the Julian calendar, the new moons and intercalary months of the Babylonian calendar from 626 B.C. to 45 A.D. inclusive.⁵ The compilers of the tables claim that seventy per cent of the dates in the tables are "astronomically correct to the day, while the remaining thirty per cent may be off by one day." If, as

¹ J. K. Fotheringham, "The Evidence of Astronomy and Technical Chronology for the Date of the Crucifixion," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 35 (1934), 146-162.

² Karl Schoch, "Christi Kreuzigung am 14 Nisan," *Biblica*, 9 (1928), Pp. 43-56.

³ Johannes Schaumberger, C.S.S.R., "Tabella Neomeniarum Vitae publicae Domini et Procurationis Pilati," *Verbum Domini*, 13 (1933), p. 109. E. Power, S.J., "De anno mortis Christi," *Verbum Domini*, 13 (1933), p. 208. Urbanus Holzmeister, S.J., *Chronologia Vitae Christi*, (Romae: 1933), p. 205.

⁴ A. T. Olmstead, "The Chronology of Jesus' Life," *Anglican Theological Review*, XXIV (1942), p. 5.

⁵ Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.—A.D. 45*, (Chicago: 1942).

Prof. Olmstead maintains, the Jews adopted the Babylonian calendar during the exile, we are indeed nearer to a solution, but the thirty per cent margin of dates that may be off by one day should make us hesitate in thinking that the problem has been finally disposed of.

According to these tables, the position of the seven intercalary months in each cycle of nineteen years became stabilized with the cycle that began in the spring of 367 B.C. Thereafter, the intercalary months were inserted in the third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, seventeenth and nineteen years of the cycle. In the seventeenth year, the intercalation was made in the autumn; in the other years it was made in the spring.

Of interest for the period under consideration is the intercalation in the autumn of 30 and in the spring of 33. If the Jews intercalated a month in the spring of 33 according to the Babylonian calendar, then that year could not have been the year of the crucifixion.

Of further interest to our problem are the dates given in the tables for 1-Nisan. After the cycles became stabilized, there was no 1-Nisan earlier than March 25, and consequently no Passover earlier than April 7. This is in contrast with present practices, for the Jews now celebrate Passover as early as March 26; and the Christian Easter, which is supposed to be calculated as the Sunday after Passover, may fall as early as March 22. A Passover, then, on Friday, April 7, 30 A.D. is the earliest Passover possible according to the Babylonian calendar. If the Jews used this calendar in the determination of their religious festivals, then Prof. Olmstead is correct in believing that Friday, April 7, 30 A.D. was the true date of the crucifixion. It is the only date possible according to this calendar.

Prof. Olmstead believes he has found confirmation for Friday, April 7, 30 A.D. as the date of the crucifixion, in "L'art de vérifier les dates" compiled by the Benedictines in 1770. He writes as follows:

At an early date, how early we are beginning to suspect, an "Easter Canon" was drawn up to regulate its observance. Some two centuries or more ago, chronologers calculated this "Easter Canon" back to the year 1 A.D.; when we look up their tables, to our utter amazement we discover that under the year 30 A.D. they have given the date of Easter as April 9! We need no more evidence that the Easter Canon is correct.⁶

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

Evidently Prof. Olmstead missed the column of Passover dates adjoining the Easter dates. For the year 30 A.D., the Benedictines give April 4, not April 7, as 14-Nisan! The only 14-Nisan Friday for the period 29-33 A.D. according to their calculations is April 15, 29 A.D., but of that more later.

Another stimulating study of the problem is an article by Miss Grace Amadon in collaboration with Glen H. Draper, Associate Astronomer, U. S. Naval Observatory, Washington, D. C.⁷ It is illustrated with numerous tables, graphs, and figures, and sets the date of the crucifixion on April 27, 31 A.D. Forty years ago, Father Matthew Power, S.J.,⁸ arrived at the same conclusion, but not for precisely the same reasons.

Miss Amadon bases her reconstruction of the ancient Jewish calendar on two principles: "(1) the relation of the Jewish first month to a characteristic agricultural season; and (2) a 14-Nisan Passover on the next day after the Jewish day of full moon in Jerusalem." In regard to the first principle she rejects all March and early April Passovers as impossible, since the first sheaves of barley were offered in Passover week (16-Nisan), and barley does not ripen around Jerusalem ordinarily until the end of the first week in April. The intercalary years according to her barley-harvest cycle are in precisely the same years as in the Babylonian calendar, and were it not that her 1-Nisan dates are frequently placed a day or two later, the calendars would coincide as far as the beginning of the year was concerned. Whether the intercalary month in the seventeenth year of each 19-year cycle is placed after the sixth month as in the Babylonian calendar, or after the twelfth month as in Miss Amadon's calendar, makes no difference in the position of 1-Nisan in the following year.

In regard to the second principle, that of a 14-Nisan Passover on the next day after the Jewish day of full moon in Jerusalem, some explanation is necessary, as the statement may be misleading. It must be remembered that the Jewish day was reckoned from evening at sunset, and not from midnight. Elsewhere Miss Amadon considers 14-Nisan to be "the day when both at sunset and sunrise, sun and moon faced each other on the horizon." With that definition no one need quarrel. It is what most

⁷ Grace Amadon, "Ancient Jewish Calendation," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXI (1942), Pp. 227-280.

⁸ Matthew Power, S.J., *Anglo-Jewish Calendar for every Day in the Gospels*, (St. Louis: 1902).

authors mean when they say that 14-Nisan falls *on* the day of full moon. It is on the day when the full moon is visible from sunset to sunrise. For them "the next day *after* the Jewish day of full moon" would mean 15-Nisan. Miss Amadon, however, is speaking of the astronomical full moon. Her statement translated into other terms means simply that 14-Nisan began on the evening after the moon had full.

When the moon fulls in the daytime, it will be visible as full at sunset, and that evening is properly the beginning of 14-Nisan. A difficulty arises, however, when the moon fulls at night, and particularly in the early evening. Does the 14-Nisan begin then the same evening or the next evening? Miss Amadon's thesis demands that in such a case the 14-Nisan begins on the next evening. According to her table of full moon dates for the first century A.D., whenever the moon fulls before 6 P.M., 14-Nisan begins the next evening.⁹ One may wonder, if 6 P.M. was so sharp a line of demarcation, and if there wasn't a marginal zone. For instance, when the moon fulls at 6:15 P.M., wouldn't the same evening be a better beginning for a 14-Nisan Passover than the next evening when the moon was already waning. Other factors, of course may be involved.

The date of Passover, however, was not tied directly to observation of the full moon, but to the observation of the new moon in its phasis or first visibility. At conjunction, the new moon is not visible. It generally makes its first appearance a day or more later. The day on which it appeared was officially declared by a commission of the Sanhedrin to be 1-Nisan, and Passover followed automatically on 14-Nisan without any further observations about the full moon.

From conjunction to full moon at opposition there are 13.91 to 15.53 days.¹⁰ Miss Amadon points out that if 1-Nisan were computed for the day of conjunction or at most one day later, Passover would fall frequently a day or two before full moon.

⁹ Her one exception is at 89 A.D. Although the moon fulls on April 13.72 (about 5:17 P.M.), she puts 14-Nisan not on the same, but on the following evening. In 53 A.D. she has the moon fulling on April 21.72, but puts 14-Nisan on the same evening. As the waxing period (from conjunction to opposition) in 89 A.D. (13.93 days) was shorter than in 53 A.D. (14.14 days), there should be, according to her theory, a correspondingly shorter translation period (from conjunction to phasis) but the reverse is the case according to her figures—1.97 days for 89 A.D. and 1.19 days for 53 A.D.

¹⁰ Due to the moon's anomaly.

If the Jews followed the Babylonian calendar in the determination of their religious festivals, their Passover would have often taken place out of season. Although the Scripture do not say that Passover was to fall regularly on the day of the (visible) full moon, Jewish and Christian traditions generally imply that it did. Miss Amadon places phasis from one to four days after conjunction. Her theory was rejected by Dr. Parker, one of the compilers of *Babylonian Chronology*. He finds it inconceivable "that any ancient people using a lunar calendar should follow such a practice."¹¹ She replied in the same issue of JBL, criticizing Schoch's values used in the table as too low. "As early as the sixth century B.C.," she writes, "the Babylonians are said to have recognized the moon's anomaly. Therefore their lunar observations should periodically show longer translation periods than Schoch's calculations allow."¹² Although astronomers can compute conjunction and opposition accurately today, they are not agreed regarding the computations for phasis, or the time after conjunction when the thin sicle or crescent of the new moon becomes visible. If, as Miss Amadon claims, the Jews used the more advanced form of the crescent moon known as the horned moon for their computations, then their 1-Nisan would be ordinarily a day or two later than in the Babylonian calendar. The two calendars raise a number of new issues, and the last word has not been said on either side.

Another approach to the problem is that of Frank Herman Meyer, who attempts to re-construct the contemporary Jewish calendar within the framework of the Callippic periods.¹³ Although Mr. Meyer admits that the Callippic periods were interdicted by the Roman Emperor Augustus Caesar in 26 B.C., he assures us that they were continued in a modified form, without the official Roman sanction, until finally displaced by the Easter cycle of Hippolytus in 222 A.D. He claims that they were "not only recognized by the then-existing governments of the Near East, but were cited and appealed to, as well known standards of time reckoning, by historians, astronomers, and scientists of various kinds." He claims further that "they may be astronom-

¹¹ "Ancient Jewish Calendation: A Criticism," JBL, LXIII (1944), Pp. 173-176.

¹² "The Crucifixion Calendar," JBL, LXIII (1944), Pp. 177-190.

¹³ Frank Herman Meyer, *The Cruz of Chronology* (Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1942).

ically verified, and dates fixed by them may be regarded as placed beyond question or criticism."

Of immediate interest are Mr. Meyer's results, which yield a 14-Nisan Friday for 29 and for 32 A.D. He himself eliminates 32 A.D. as a possible date for the crucifixion of our Lord, by placing the stoning of Stephen on Dec. 26, 29 A.D. Since the crucifixion was anterior to the martyrdom of St. Stephen, he concludes that it must have occurred in 29 A.D., in the consulship of the Gemini, or more precisely on Friday, April 17 according to calendar D of the contemporary Julian reckoning, or in modern reckoning, Friday, April 15, Calendar B, a date agreeing with the Benedictine calculations already mentioned. Mr. Meyer's 14-Nisan dates for 30, 31, and 33 A.D. also agree with the Benedictine calculations, but his date for 32 A.D. falls one day earlier.

When examined in relation to new moon, each of Mr. Meyer's corresponding 1-Nisan dates will be found to fall on the civil (midnight to midnight) day itself of the moon's conjunction with the sun. Since the Jews then as now reckoned their religious days from evening to evening rather than from midnight to midnight, a conjunction accuring after 6 P.M. would be reckoned as of the following day. Thus the conjunction that occurred on Sunday evening, April 2, 29 A.D. at 8:05 P.M. would be said to have occurred on Monday, April 3. If the day of conjunction rather than that of first visibility or phase was actually 1-Nisan for the Jews in 29 A.D., then 14-Nisan that year must have been Saturday, April 16, and not Friday, April 15, as claimed by Mr. Meyer. To put 1-Nisan on April 2 in 29 A.D. would be putting it on the day before conjunction as reckoned by the Jews. Analyzed in this way, Mr. Meyer's results yield no 14-Nisan Fridays and no 15-Nisan Fridays for the period 29-33 A.D. Apparently, his reconstruction of the Jewish calendar of the period cannot be the correct one. His theory, however, and his calculations, which are given in full, will have an interest of their own for the chronologist.

Still another approach to the problem is that of Father Peter Archer, S.J. in his excellent book on the Gregorian calendar.¹⁴ His method is to project back to the period under discussion the modern lunar calendars of both Jews and Christians. By means of the 76-year cycle with its corrective subtrahend, he determines

¹⁴ Peter Archer, S.J., *The Christian Calendar and the Gregorian Reform* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1941).

the autumnal new moon from which 1-Tishri, the controlling date of the Jewish calendar, is computed. In like manner, he determines the vernal mean moon from which the Christian Easter is reckoned. The 14-Nisan of the Jewish calendar thus determined and the 14th moon appertaining to Easter generally differ by a day or two, and occasionally by a month. According to Fr. Archer's calculations, 33 A.D. is the only year in the period 29-33 that yields a 14-Nisan Friday, and he concludes quite modestly:

This might have been the year of the crucifixion. Mar 21 (Jewish) was the Passover new moon festival, and 14 Nisan, 13 days later, was Friday, Apr 3, beginning Thursday evening, Apr 2, after sundown, when Christ could have eaten the Pasch with his disciples in strict conformity with God's Law in Leviticus 23:5. The Jews, following their paternal traditions, celebrated the official Passover combined with the solemnity of the unleavened bread (Leviticus 23:6) on 15 Nisan which was Saturday, Apr 4.

Astronomers generally agree that the new moon, which came into conjunction at 1:26 P.M. on March, 19, 33 A.D., could have been visible on the evening of March 20, which for the Jews was really the beginning of March 21. If Mar. 21 of that year was 1-Nisan, then 33 A.D. may well have been the year of the crucifixion. It may be noted here that the Babylonian calendar for 33 A.D. also had a month beginning on March 21, but it was the intercalated II Addaru. If the Jews intercalated according to this calendar, their 14-Nisan would have been on Saturday, May 2, and 33 A.D. could not have been the crucifixion year.

Yet another approach is by the re-examination of the pertinent chronological notices in the early patristic literature. This has been carefully done by Father Edmund Sutcliffe, S.J.,¹⁵ and also by Dr. George Ogg.¹⁶ Like many others before them, neither of these authors finds any valid tradition for the length of our Lord's public ministry, or for the precise date of the crucifixion with which that ministry ended. From a study of the chronological notices in the Gospels themselves, both conclude for a longer ministry than that of one year.

Fr. Sutcliffe declares for a two-year ministry, putting the first Passover in 28, and the crucifixion on April 7, 30. Dr. Ogg, on the other hand, declares for a three-year ministry, putting the

¹⁵ Edmund F. Sutcliffe, S.J., *A Two Year Public Ministry* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1938).

¹⁶ George Ogg, *The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1940).

first Passover in 30 and the crucifixion on April 3, 33. Fr. Sutcliffe considers the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar as extending from Oct. 1, 27 to Sept. 30, 28 A.D., while Dr. Ogg considers it as extending from 1-Nisan 28 to 1-Nisan 29 A.D. Neither view is new, but the discussions are fresh and interesting. It may be noted here that of the two recent Gospel harmonies based on the Confraternity Text, one adopts the two-year ministry with the crucifixion in 30 A.D.,¹⁷ and the other the three-year ministry with the crucifixion in 33 A.D.¹⁸

We are thus still far from a solution of the problem. Perhaps no solution is possible until a few synchronisms between the Jewish and the Julian calendars of the period are found. To this writer, 29 and 32 seem to be definitely out of the question unless it can be proved that the day before conjunction in those years was taken as 1-Nisan. If, as Miss Amadon claims, the Jews reckoned from the horned moon rather than from the first pale crescent, then 31 may have been the year. Her thesis and her arguments merit attention, and very likely will get special attention from the astronomers as well as from Scripture scholars. In the meantime, 30 and 33 will continue to be considered as the more probable years.

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¹⁷ Stephen J. Hartdegen, O.F.M., *A Chronological Harmony of the Gospels* (Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1942).

¹⁸ John E. Steinmueller, *A Gospel Harmony* (New York: W. H. Sadler, Inc., 1941).

QUERIES

THE CONFRATERNITY VERSION OF PHIL. 2:6,7a.

We have received a number of questions concerning some assertions made by *Amator Evangelii* in his article entitled, "A Defense that Fails," which appeared in the August 1944 number of *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*. It is our conviction that these questions should not go unanswered; accordingly, we shall state each of them together with an appropriate reply.

1. *Amator Evangelii* denies with insistent and pathetic repetition that he ever made the charge of heresy against anyone (p. 808). If this is true, why has he never received an adequate apology?

Answer. His assertion of innocence is amazingly at variance with objective truth. After citing Fr. Lilly's defense of the Confraternity version of Phil. 2:6,7a, he says, among other things, the following: "Nestorius was condemned for minimizing the adoration due to the assumed humanity of Christ; the modern Kenoticists are condemned for denying the divine attributes of the Person of Christ. If it is unorthodox, and even heretical to take away adoration (honor) from the humanity of Our Lord, it is surely much more to say that the Second Person could and did relinquish divine honor." *Amator Evangelii*, therefore, declares explicitly in the passage just cited from the May number of the same periodical (p. 618) that his opponent is more heretical than Nestorius. How, then, can *Amator Evangelii* dare to assert that his critic knowingly exaggerated and misrepresented his statements in order to bolster up his own case? (cf. August, p. 809).

2. A. E. declares, "I do not find that Zorell makes mention of a rendering even distantly resembling that of the Confraternity version" (Aug., p. 809).

Answer. This assertion is due to an unintelligible oversight. In his admirable *Lexicon Graecum* (2nd ed., 1931) Zorell cites the following as one of the acceptable renderings of Phil. 2:6,7a: "Non sibi avide arripiendam censuit (in Incarnatione) aequalitatem cum Deo, i.e., vitam gloria externa divina conspicuam" (s.v., ἀρπαγμός). Obviously, this translation is substantially identical with the Confraternity version.

3. A. E. professes to have culled the following definition of 'relinquish' from the Webster and Standard dictionaries: 'to give up something already had or to cease to demand or to claim something as a right.' On the basis of this definition, is it not incorrect to say, with one of the defenders of the Confraternity version, that the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity relinquished equality with the Divinity in honor at the Incarnation?

Answer. A. E.'s definition is self-concocted. Webster's New International Dictionary (2nd ed., unabridged: 1936) defines the word

thus: 1. To withdraw from; to leave behind; to abandon; to desist from; quit, as, to *relinquish* a pursuit, a hope, or an idea. 2. To give up; to renounce a claim to; to resign; as, to *relinquish* a debt, a right, or one's inheritance.

Funk and Wagnalls' New Standard Dictionary (Unabridged: 1944) has this definition: 1. To recede or withdraw from; forsake for a time or wholly; to give up using or having; abandon; quit. 2. To cease to demand or claim; resign; surrender, as to *relinquish* a claim or debt.

It is evident from these definitions that relinquish does not necessarily mean to give up something already had. In fact, the word is not defined in this manner in either dictionary. One may relinquish something which one merely intends or which is only in prospect, as, for instance, a nation may relinquish intended war and a person may relinquish a prospective inheritance.

Nor is the alternative form of the definition proposed by the object discoverable in either of the authorities just cited. To obtain this definition A. E. omitted important marks of punctuation, a semicolon and a comma. A right is simply one of the things which one may relinquish; besides this, there are others which one may give up, without relinquishing the right to their possession. Thus, a man held up by robbers relinquishes his purse, without abandoning the right of ownership and without ceasing to demand its restitution.

Relinquish, therefore, may simply mean to give up something which one actually possesses or which is in prospect. In this supposition, the question naturally arises whether the Incarnate Word could give up equality with God. It is obvious that He could not do so in His divine nature. It is equally clear that He did so in His human nature, for this is created, finite, dependent; it was subject to suffering and death.

This brings up the further question whether the Incarnate Word could relinquish equality with God in honor. Here we must make an important distinction between the right to divine honor and the actual possession of the honor corresponding to this right. On account of the Hypostatic union the human nature of the Incarnate Word had an intrinsic and inalienable right to divine honor. Christ never ceased to express this right during His sojourn here on earth. But when entering this world, the Divine Word was confronted with a choice between two possible alternatives: (1) a life of outward equality with God consisting in all the external glory due to His dignity as the God-man; (2) a life of outward inequality with God consisting in the absence of the external glory and honor which were rightfully His. He relinquished the first alternative and chose the second. This is abundantly attested by all the inspired documents of the New Testa-

ment. It is perfectly correct, therefore, to say that the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity relinquished equality with the Divinity in honor at the Incarnation. This is one of the explanations proposed by Fr. Zorell; it is the only interpretation of Phil. 2:6 given by Fr. Lercher in his *Institutiones Theologicae Dogmaticae*, Vol. III, p. 72.

4. In the August issue of *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review* (p. 811) you are quoted as saying: "Christ relinquished equality with God with regard to his human nature during his sojourn here on earth . . . by becoming corporeal, dependent, subject to suffering and death." Does not this imply that Christ ceased to be corporeal and dependent with regard to His human nature after His ascent into heaven?

Answer: What I actually said in the June number of the American Ecclesiastical Review is this: "Christ relinquished equality with God with regard to his human nature during His sojourn here on earth" (p. 413). To this sentence, which closes with a full stop and is unassailable, A. E. added the phrase, "by becoming corporeal, dependent, subject to suffering and death." He borrowed this phrase from another sentence which recurs later on. Hence the charge of theological inaccuracy which is founded on the spurious quotation falls to the ground.

5. In the same article you are also quoted as saying: "Christ relinquished equality with God" and "Jesus Christ" became "corporeal, dependent, subject to suffering and death." Do these expressions at their face value clearly imply the pre-existence of Christ, something similar to the teaching of Origen, which was condemned in 543?

Answer: I never made these statements. In the first instance I said: "Christ relinquished equality with God with regard to His human nature." The author of the article in question corrupted this statement by suppressing the phrase, "with regard to His human nature." In its genuine form the sentence describes the Incarnate Word and not the pre-existing Logos. In the second instance I said: "In His human nature, therefore, Jesus Christ, though retaining His divine nature, relinquished equality with God by becoming corporeal, dependent, subject to suffering and death." This sentence, also, refers to the Incarnate Word. Our critic, for reasons best known to himself, mutilated this sentence by omitting the important qualifying phrase, "in His human nature" and by transforming a participial construction into a finite verb. This operation vitally changes the meaning of the sentence.

Moreover, Origen did not teach the pre-existence of Christ; he believed that the soul of Christ existed prior to the Hypostatic union. Hence the expressions cited above, though spurious, do not imply anything similar to his error. They are sanctioned as lawful by Duns

Scotus and St. Bonaventure (cf. Pesch, *Praelectiones Dogmaticae*, 1896, Vol. IV, 89). Pohle-Preuss, who disapproves of them, states expressly, "fortunately, disregard of it does not involve heresy." (*Christology*, p. 190).

6. Does the following statement refer to the *Incarnatio in fieri*? "St. Paul explicitly declares: He emptied Himself by taking the nature of a slave and becoming like unto men"?

Answer: The phrases, "by taking the nature of a slave" and "by becoming like unto men" denote the instrumental cause by which the effect (He emptied Himself) was obtained. But a cause must be prior to its effect. Therefore, these phrases refer to the act of taking and becoming as completed before the "emptying" occurred. Hence they speak of the Incarnation as an accomplished fact.

The same holds true of two other statements which have been made in explanation of the Confraternity version: (1) "As a matter of fact, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity did relinquish equality with Divinity when He became man." (2) "In taking unto Himself human nature He put Himself in a position where He was subject to humiliation, suffering, and death." Both these statements suppose that the "becoming" and the "taking" are completed and so designate the Incarnation as an accomplished fact.

7. It is contended by the writer of the article in *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review* (1944, Aug, p. 812) that the passage under dispute is concerned with the Divine Word precisely in Himself or as a Divine Person in the divine nature. But it is clear from St. Thomas that we cannot attribute any defect to God in His divine nature. Accordingly, the Confraternity version of Phil. 2:6,7a. must be rejected.

Answer: To dissipate the last vestige of doubt concerning our text let us requote and reconsider the Confraternity rendering. It reads: "Who [Jesus Christ], though he was by nature God, did not consider being equal to God a thing to be clung to, but emptied himself, taking the nature of a slave and being made like unto man."

This rendering, therefore, states that the Divine Word before the Incarnation did not consider being equal to God a state to be clung to or to be embraced avidly. This statement is followed by the adversative particle, "but," which shows that the Logos had the contrary thought or design. This thought, however, is not expressed, but the manner in which the Divine Word realized this thought is described: "he emptied himself, taking the nature of a slave, etc." Therefore, the Confraternity version declares that the Divine Word gave up His equality with God, not in the divine nature but in His human nature, which he assumed. Consequently, the thought which the Divine Word had about relinquishing equality with God concerned the future Incarnation only and was realized in that Incarnation only.

Now, when He relinquished His equality with God in His human nature, He also relinquished His equality with God in external glory. This, as we have already explained in detail, means merely that the Incarnate Word embraced a life of humiliation terminating in His death upon the cross. Since the Incarnate Word had a sublime reason for entering upon this *via dolorosa*, He did not and could not commit a sin by doing so. Could any rational being maintain that the work of the Redemption was sinful?

MICHAEL J. GRUENTHANER, S.J.

CORRESPONDENCE

A TEXTBOOK LIFE OF CHRIST FOR HIGH SCHOOLS.

EDITOR: These few lines present a plea for a good, adequate textbook Life of Christ, suitable for the high school student. A life that would satisfy that desideratum would be a boon to many a teacher, struggling to impart a knowledge of our Savior, with perhaps only a background of a seminary Scripture course, or often less, as in the case of teaching Sisters. That no such life exists will be apparent to anyone who has shopped around for one. Merely to list a few objections, Fouard is too extensive and much out of date. The same is true of Fillion. O'Brien's Life held out hopes for a while, but actual use has shown that he is far above the capacity of high school students, who literally often fail completely to grasp the meaning he is trying to convey and who cannot follow his (to them) diffuse and unconnected treatment. At least that has been the reaction of my pupils, a fact especially true of the Freshmen. Such works as Vincent McNabb's, and similar ones with the same approach, are not satisfactory, for the very reason that their approach is pietistic—to use the expression—and not factual. They fail to give the student any background for the Life of our Lord, and do not add much to the understanding of the Gospels, which after all is the purpose of a life. They forget the fact that our Blessed Savior lived in historical times, among a concrete, real people with their own history, surrounding, mannerisms, beliefs, etc.

I would like to outline a few points on what would constitute a good Life of Christ for high schools.

1) It should not be more than 250-275 pages in length for the text matter, short and sufficiently concise for one year's work.

2) An introduction of two or three pages delineating the creation of man, his fall, the necessity of a Redeemer, the selection of the Jewish race to prepare His advent, would be desirable.

3) The geography of Palestine, the history and customs of the Jews of the time of Christ, in general the background to His life would be interwoven in the narrative, in order to fill it out and complete its understanding. They should not, as seems to be customary, be put into separate excursus or in footnotes. Subjects needing a more extensive treatment, as Pharisees, Sanhedrin, etc., could be given in a glossary.

4) Illustrations, pictures, etc., should reflect actual conditions. In my opinion much harm has been done in this respect by art pictures. Ideas ingrained by scenes of the Annunciation, usually picturing an elaborate and untrue background, scenes of the Nativity, etc., are false and practically impossible to counteract. The truth never harms.

5) Derivations and meanings of names such as Mary, Elizabeth, etc., should be woven in the text. They add immensely to the interest of the student, not to mention his knowledge. A student is capable of mastering many detailed facts if presented properly, and of still maintaining his interest. (For the truth of that statement, consult many of the newer biographies, books on countries and customs, written for children.)

6) The approach of the life should be positive and authoritative. Choose one theory (the most likely) and present it without discussion. Something must be left to the prudent judgment of the teacher. He can explain further if he deems it necessary. Correct dating of the life should be had, because the student comes into contact with it, even in the daily papers, as I have noticed. Furthermore, there ought not be any footnotes or references (other than to the Bible text) which detract from the student's interest.

7) The language and vocabulary should be consonant with the average high school student's ability, which, unfortunately, is not great.

8) Lastly, and naturally most important in consideration, the life will be reverent. However, not saccharine, for anyone knowing the mind of an American high school student, realizes that his tendency is to cover up and to put on a more or less sophisticated "front," usually hiding his true feelings. To use the technical catechetical term in a good meaning "unction" can most effectively be added by the teacher—and should be—because his living voice is always more persuasive than the dead term of the book.

I grant that these suggestions do not represent the best theoretical life, but I do believe they represent actual, concrete conditions. The following exposition of a part of the incident of Zachary in the Temple may serve as a poor illustration of the above briefly outlined ideas.

* * * * *

—As he starts to enter the Temple a gong is struck, and the priests arrange themselves in their proper places. The people throw themselves upon the paved court and there is a great silence. Zachary enters into the Temple, passing through its porch, into the second room called the Holy Place. His two helpers place their vessels with the incense and the burning coal upon a small altar—the altar of incense—then they leave and Zachary is alone. He waits for a signal before burning the incense in honor of God. It is given, and he places some of the incense on the burning coal and as the smoke from it rises, Zachary adores, bowing down, and prepares to leave. But wait, something is happening, there is some one standing on the right side of the altar of incense. He recognizes the personage as an angel of God from the splendor shining around him and begins to fear greatly. And well he might fear, for the Jews believed that no one could look upon the face of an angel and live. “Do not be afraid,” the angel said to him kindly. He goes on to tell Zachary that his prayer, which he had offered in the name of the entire nation for the coming of the Messiah, has been heard by God and that, moreover, his wife Elizabeth shall have a child. He commands him to call the name of the child John, meaning “God is merciful,” as he has shown mercy to his people. This child would be great before the Lord and was to prepare the people for the coming of their new and glorious king, the Redeemer.—

REV. R. H. SCHWEMIN

BIBLICAL NEWS

According to an announcement appearing in *The New York Times* of Feb. 9, 1945, the new revised standard version of the Bible, on which experts have been working since 1929 under the sponsorship of the International Council on Religious Education, is in the hands of the publishers. The work was done by leading scholars of forty-four denominations. Dean Luther A. Weigle of Yale University Divinity School is the secretary of the revision committee. He has stated the hope that the New Testament will be available by Christmas, 1945.

A particularly interesting movement has recently been inaugurated for the clergy, secular and regular, in Denver, Colorado, by the Rev. W. J. Kenneally, C.M., professor of Sacred Scripture at St. Thomas Seminary. Every three weeks a dinner meeting is held; after the dinner one of the members presents a fifteen minute paper on a scriptural topic. This is followed by a fifteen minute period of discussion and questions. Then another paper of the same length is read and a discussion follows. The topics of the various papers have been outlined for a long term period, so as to cover in turn topics of General Introduction, then questions pertaining to the Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse, to be followed by a series of discussions on the Old Testament. The organizational meeting was held at the home of the Most Reverend Urban J. Vehr, D.D., Archbishop of Denver. Subsequent meetings are being held at the Cosmopolitan Hotel in a private dining room. Among the members are several professors of St. Thomas Seminary and the Right Reverend Matthew Smith, LL.D., editor of *The Register*. Membership is purely voluntary. Meetings are held from September to June. Thus far the plan is meeting with much enthusiasm, and promises to lead to much good.

Bible Week was held this year at St. Mary's College, Xavier, Kansas, January 28-30, 1945. It was opened with Solemn Pontifical Mass, celebrated by Bishop Paul Schulte of Leavenworth, with a sermon by the Rev. Dr. William H. Schulte. That afternoon there was a lecture, delivered before a capacity crowd on "Poetry and the Scriptures" by Dr. Alfred Noyes, and in the evening Dr. Patrick Cummins, O.S.B., lectured on "The Lamentations of Jeremias." On January 29, there was a lecture on "St. Luke, Physician and Historian," by the Rev. Dr. William H. Schulte, and on "The Encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*" by Dr. Kevin Smyth, O.F.M.Cap. On January 30, Dr. Smyth gave another lecture on "The Interpretation of the Bible," and Dr. Henry Willmering, S.J., presented an illustrated lecture on "Marriage Customs in Palestine." Program arrangements were in charge of

Sir John J. Craig, G.C.H.C. There was a very interesting exhibit in the library of Manuscripts, Incunabula, and various rare Bibles, and such like Scripture pieces. There were explanatory talks on the exhibits each day. Sister Mary Mark, librarian at St. Mary's writes: "To me it seems our Bible Week Program here has again been a glorious success. It was a privilege to have such scholarly men in our midst."

Word has come from Rome that a new translation of the Psalter from the Hebrew into Latin has been completed and is now *in press*. Although there is no official word as to its adoption for Breviary use, the rumor is persistent, in biblical circles in Rome, that the new version will be adopted for liturgical use.

The Reverend Roman Halas, O.F.M., on December 7, 1944, successfully passed his examination and defended his thesis for the Doctorate of Sacred Theology at the Catholic University of America. The subject of his thesis, which is to be published in full as soon as war conditions permit, is "Judas Iscariot." Father Halas has gathered a wealth of information from many sources on every phase of the subject.

There continues to be a steady sale of the Association's Commentary on the New Testament. During the last six months of 1944 over one thousand copies were sold.

A series of four lectures on the Bible, held in Boston, Mass., on Sunday afternoons, Jan. 21, 28, Feb. 4 and 11, 1945, under the patronage of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Richard J. Cushing, D.D., LL.D., and in cooperation with the Catholic Biblical Association, elicited a most enthusiastic response, and, in spite of the bitterly cold weather, drew a total attendance of more than five thousand. The speakers were the Reverend M. P. Stapleton, S.T.D., S.S.L., who spoke on "A Father's Letter to His Children" on Jan. 21 and on "In the Old Testament the New Lies Hidden" on Jan. 28, and the Reverend John J. Murray, S.T.L., who spoke on "The Divine Master of the Scriptures" on Feb. 4, and on "St. Paul, God's Chosen Vessel," on Feb. 11. After the lectures questions were answered by the speakers. The first lecture was held in the Georgian Room of the Hotel Statler. Although this is one of the largest ball rooms in Boston, it was not large enough to accommodate the crowds. On subsequent Sundays the lectures were held successively in larger halls, yet each Sunday large numbers had to be turned away.

At the opening lecture His Excellency, Archbishop Cushing said in part: "When we pray, we talk to God. When we read the Bible, God talks to us. Through the Bible we share the companionship of God, the grace-given intimacy with His Divine Son. Critical indeed are the times in which we live, but with Pius XII we should thank God that we live in these critical times. An invaluable help to us to keep our confidence, to show true Christian courage to the world, is the Bible. The Church loves the Bible for what it is, God's word. The Church defends the Bible as free from error. The Church propagates the Bible as a source of grace for her children."

At another lecture His Excellency stated: "I take your presence here in such large numbers as evidence that you are interested in lectures on religious and cultural subjects, and I consider it as a commission by you to me to provide an opportunity to have such lectures. . . . I promise you that lectures similar to the one today will become a permanent feature of our diocesan life."

It has just been announced that the translation of the New Testament made by Monsignor Knox has been given official approval by the Hierarchy of England and Wales. An edition for general distribution with a preface by the Archbishop of Westminster, Most Reverend Bernard Griffin, is being printed by Burns, Oates & Washbourne.

A general meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association will be held in New York on August 22 and 23 at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, if travel conditions at that time permit. Preparations for the meeting are being made.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

NEW TESTAMENT

REV. JOHN COLLINS, S.J., S.S.L.

REV. ANTHONY C. COTTER, S.J., S.T.D.

American Ecclesiastical Review, 109, 1943. J. L. Lilly, C. M., "Fiftieth Anniversray of *Providentissimus Deus* (437-43). Gives the background, content and effects of the encyclical.

110, 1944. R. F. Stoll, "The Circumcision" (31-42). Discusses the mystery of our Lord. Also treats of the origin, significance and efficacy of the rite.

Pascal Parente, "A Letter from St. Jerome" (188-92). Gives the occasion and contents of Jerome's *Contra Vigilantium*, in which he defends reverence for Martyrs' relics, vigils, virginity.

J. Hennig, "Christ the Rock" (295-9). The liturgical background as interpreting the meaning of 1 Cor. 10:4.

J. A. Kleist, S.J., "An Important Principle in Rendering the Gospels into Modern English" (435-43). It "is essential for the modern translator of the Gospels to seize the 'spirit' of the original and give it bodily form in harmony with the 'spirit' or genius of present day English. Only when this is done can we speak of a translation into the vernacular."

M. J. Gruenthaner, S.J., "An unfounded Charge of Heresy" (407-15). Defends the Confraternity version of the text Phil. 2:6.

111, 1944. M. J. Gruenthaner, S.J., "The New Encyclical on Biblical Studies. II. The Interpretation of the Bible" (43-52). Treats the norms which the Pope lays down for finding the sense of Scripture.

M. J. Gruenthaner, S.J., "The New Encyclical on Biblical Studies. III" (114-23). Conclusion of the series.

J. A. Kleist, S.J., "Emotion in the Gospels" (330-51). Our reservedness in showing emotion should not prevent us from translating the Gospels so as to express fully the emotions found in them.

Catholic World, 160, 1945. H. Schumacher, "A Strange Adventure of the 'Our Father'" (342-9). Discusses the doxology which the Protestants add to the Our Father. Tatian is the father of the doxology in its full form, which is based on Dan. 7:14.

Clergy Review, 24, 1944. J. MacDonald, "The Homilies of the Breviary as Commentary on the Gospels" (254-63). Index of the homilies arranged in the order of the Gospels.

J. M. Barton, "The Significance of Alfred Loisy" (298-305). Loisy was not original in thought and for many years before his death had ceased to exercise great influence.

E. F. Sutcliffe, S.J., "Pope Pius XII on the Study of the Bible" (305-13). An "account of the new document [encyclical] with some comment and amplification."

J. M. T. Barton, "Notes on Recent Work. Holy Scripture" (368-72). Reviews C. W. Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office*; George Adam Smith: *a Personal Memoir and Family Chronicle* by Lady Adam Smith; and A. C. Deane, *The World Christ Knew, the Social, Personal and Political Conditions of His Time*.

J. M. T. Barton, "The Epistle of the Priesthood of Christ" (415-23). Sermon Notes. A treatment of the Epistle to the Hebrews according to patristic methods.

E. F. Sutcliffe, S.J., "*Divino Afflante Spiritu*—and a Quotation" (541-4). Deals "with a quotation from St. Thomas . . . which is present in the draft of Pope Pius XII's Encyclical on biblical studies and absent from the official text." The quotation is "the literal sense. . . the only sense, which, as St. Thomas Aquinas has said, has 'demonstrative force.'" "The more probable explanation is that [the words] . . . were judged likely to raise questions requiring answers that would have been out of place in the Encyclical." From other places it is evident "that St. Thomas is not speaking universally when he says that a valid argument can be based only on the literal sense."

Downside Review, 62, 1944. H. Pope, O.P., "The History of the Rheims-Douay Version" (157-71). A brief summary containing qualifications of the various versions in the footnotes.

Expository Times, 55, 1944. J. W. Drummond, "Jesus in the Quran" (260-2). Of two recent translations one, Maulvi Muhammed Ali's, is a polemic against the divinity of our Lord, the Passion and Resurrection. The other version, Dr. Richard Bell's, is recommended.

N. H. Snaith, "The Width and Length of Words" (265-8). Describes the principles of translation. "There are three main difficulties of the translator from the purely etymological point of view—the width of words, the length of words, and the accidents of assonance."

W. W. D. Gardiner, "Autobiographical Fragments in the Gospels" (275-7). The author portrays Christ from certain selected texts. "Moral greatness is exhibited as victory, not as mere sinlessness. A salvation for the world is planned, but not in the terms of Pauline soteriology. There is set forth a messianic vocation, but one that has little to do with traditional apocalyptic ideas."

P. J. Heawood, "Baptism for the Dead" (278). Paul merely means "what shall they do who have sworn allegiance to one who on their showing must be numbered among the dead?"

J. E. L. Oulton, "Great Texts Reconsidered. Heb. 13, 10" (303-5). Christians have an altar whereof they have no right to eat whose

worship is sensuous and earth-bound. Otherworldliness must govern the spirit of our worship as of all else.

G. H. Parke-Taylor, "A Note on '*eis upakoen pisteos*' in Romans i.5 and xvi. 26" (305-6). "Surely in both cases 'obedience that springs from faith' is intended, *pisteos* being a genitive of source or material."

E. H. Blakeney, "*huper* with Genitive in N. T." (306). There "should be no hesitation in claiming for *huper* the signification of substitution and atonement, at least in certain Pauline passages."

S. K. Finlayson, "The Parable of the Sower" (306-7). Suggests as the prophetic background of the parable Isa. 55:11ff.

W. R. Matthews, "The New Order. V. Biblical Principles and Social Progress" (312-4). Discusses the NT principles particularly concerning the kingdom and man's rights. "The Christian faith, as we find it in the New Testament, has certainly no condemnation for such sacrifice for the good of those who come after us, but it definitely holds that the religion of progress by itself is a false religion."

W. H. Rigg, "Christ and Public Opinion" (317-20). Considers "What was our Lord's attitude towards public opinion, and then, in the light of His teaching what should be our own."

56, 1944. F. C. Synge, "Mark ii.21-Matthew ix.16-Luke v.36: The Parable of the Patch" (26-7). "Luke gives the meaning which Mark intended to convey . . . that patching an old garment with new cloth is folly *primarily* because it ruins the new."

C. S. C. Williams, "Did Matthew and Luke use a 'Western' Text of Mark?" (41-5). Discusses T. F. Glasson's article upholding that view in *Exp. Times*, April, 1944, pp. 108 ff. Williams thinks it doubtful that Glasson's theory helps to point to 'incipient Western' readings.

J. A. F. Gregg, "*hetoimasia* in Ephesians vi.15" (54). Notes that the interpretation of the word advanced by E. H. Blakeney, *Exp. Times*, February, is that of Buascarlet, *Exp. Times* IX (p. 38).

S. T. Byington, "1 Timothy vi.10" (54). "May not the words have been a current quotation, perhaps from a comedy?"

W. J. Jobling, "Is Christ Divided? 1 Corinthians i.11ff" (54-5). Expounds the desirability of a bridge to unite the Established Church and the Free Churches.

Harvard Theological Review, 37, 1944. H. I. Bell, "Evidences of Christianity in Egypt during the Roman Period" (185-208). Papyri show "that even in the second century the number of Christians in Middle Egypt was by no means negligible and by the middle of the third was considerable."

Hibbert Journal, 42, 1943. H. S. Shelton, "The Origin of the Gospels" (71-6). Presents further arguments for his hypothesis that the canonical Gospels in their present form arose about the middle of the second century.

43, 1944. H. G. England, "The Godhood and Manhead of Jesus" (55-62). An interpretation of the Trinity. "So then the title of Godhead must be restricted to the 'Father' who alone is the Headship of the Godhood or Deity. The Father as Godhead is thus the One Supreme Being, but not alone in his possession of Godhood, even as Jesus, the Manhead, is the Head of Manhood but not alone Man."

Irish Ecclesiastical Record, 64, 1944. H. Pope, O.P., "Calumnies concerning the Douay-Rheims Bible" (145-58). The "writer's aim is to expose the falsity of accusations brought at one time against . . . Dr. Troy . . . and Dr. Murray."

"Encyclical Letter of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII on the Promotion of Biblical Studies (*Divino Afflante Spiritu*)" (198-212). Outline and Latin text.

H. Pope, O.P., "Calumnies concerning the Douay-Rheims Bible" (233-46). Troubles in Ireland, England and America. A continuation of the Sept. article.

P. J. Gannon, S.J., "The Interpretation of St. Mark III.20-21" (289-312). Defends the following interpretation: "And they enter a house and the crowd gathers (round them) again, so that they cannot even eat bread. And those (from) about Him hearing it (i.e. the crowd outside, excited and clamorous) went out (of the house in v. 20) to master or restrain it; for, said they, it is beside itself (i.e. worked up to feverish tension which makes it troublesome and dangerous)."

Jewish Quarterly Review, 35, 1944. D. Daube, "The Interpretation of a Generic Singular in Galatians 3,16" (227-30). Paul may have had in mind the rabbis' reference to "man" Gen. 1:27 and 5:1f. who held "that the first being created by God was androgynous, and Eve was later taken out of this androgynous being."

Journal of Bible and Religion, 12, 1944. A Wikkren, "Wellhausen on the Synoptic Gospels: A Centenary Appraisal" (174-80). Shows his contributions and limitations. He believes that in Wellhausen "are to be found the seeds of most of the more important developments of recent years."

A. N. Wilder, "Paul through Jewish Eyes" (181-7). A review of Asch's *The Apostle* and Klausner's *From Jesus to Paul* showing instances in which they fail to appreciate the apostle, Klausner's work coming in for severe criticism.

Journal of Biblical Literature, 63, 1944. C. C. McCown, "Symbolic Interpretation" (329-38). Points out the danger of reading things into the text. Objects to Niebuhr and Dodd. Dodd "has no right to use the authority of Jesus or the Gospel of John for his modern ideas. Niebuhr should so phrase his language as to make it clear that the ideas are his and not those of Paul."

R. M. Grant, "The Odes of Solomon and the Church of Antioch" (363-77). He thinks that "the Odes of Solomon, composed in Syriac at Edessa, were known to the bi-lingual Ignatius either there or at Antioch... The Fourth Evangelist, who was perhaps the teacher of Ignatius, did not know the Odes, but was influenced by the spiritual atmosphere of the city."

F. W. Beare, "The Text of the Epistle to the Hebrews in P. 46" (379-96). Study in textual criticism.

F. W. Beare, "Note on Paul's First Two Visits to Jerusalem" (407-9). A discussion of D. F. Robinson's, "A Note on Acts 11, 27-30" (JBL 63 [1944] 169-172).

D. F. Robinson, "A Reply" (411-2). Answers Beare's objections.

Journal of Religion, 24, 1944. C. T. Craig, "The Identification of Jesus with the Suffering Servant" (240-5). Claims that Jesus did not so identify himself. "I do not see how we can affirm more than that the secret of his mission lay in his own realization of the will of God."

Journal of Theological Studies, 45, 1944. J. Burnaby, "The Divine Sonship" (129-34). "I have argued that the acceptance of the Gospel revelation as true implies the acceptance of what can only be called a mystery of subordination in the Divine Life itself."

T. E. Bleiben, "The Gospel of Luke and the Gospel of Paul" (134-40). "A contrast of some of the leading ideas found in St. Luke's writings with the teaching of St. Paul may bring out the Evangelist's independence of, and even opposition to some of the characteristic Pauline doctrines."

W. D. McHardy, "Disputed Readings in the Syriac Sinaitic Palimpsest" (170-4). Discusses the readings of Burkitt, Mrs. Lewis and Hjelt.

W. D. McHardy, "The Philoxenian Text of the Acts in the Cambridge Syriac Ms. Add. 2053" (175-7). A textual critical study.

G. D. Kilpatrick, "Matthew iv.4" (177). Reconstructs the history of the textual variants.

G. D. Kilpatrick, "*epano*, Mark xiv.5. An addendum" (177). "Jerome can now be added to the authorities which omit *epano*."

G. D. Kilpatrick, "Note on Dr. Souter's Edition of the Greek New Testament" (177). Souter did not intend to establish his own text but to give "the text that appears to be behind the Revised Version."

D. Daube, "Matthew v.38" (177-87). Treats the relation of the text to Rabbinic teaching.

A. J. B. Higgins, "The Arabic Version of Tatian's Diatessaron" (187-99). The MSS, their origin and authorship and the value of the Arabic version.

P. R. Weiss, "Some Samaritanisms of Justin Martyr" (199-205). Justin "having been born and brought up among the Samaritans in Shechem, has quoted Samaritan practices as Jewish...".

Modern Churchman, 34, 1944. C. F. Russell, "St. Luke's Three Words from the Cross" (73-4). These resemble the last three utterances of Stephen after the conclusion of his formal speech in Acts. Russell suggests the possibility that Stephen heard these words at the crucifixion. They were then transmitted by Stephen's friends to Luke via Paul.

J. Todd, "Leprosy, Biblical and Mediaeval" (129-37). "The cases of leprosy described in the Bible are not the horrible disease known as leprosy in mediaeval and modern times" but some other skin disease.

P. Gardner-Smith, "A Zionist's Interpretation of Christianity" (145-55). He thinks Klausner uses his material eclectically and grievously misunderstands Paul.

R. W. Macan, "Guignebert's *Jesus*" (160-6). A review of Guignebert's book. He jettisons three fourths of the Gospel records. On the other hand he does not give enough credit to Form Criticism.

B. P. W. Stather Hunt, "The Old Testament in the New" (167-73). The author upholds the possibility of a Testimony book which might be the *logia* of Papias written by Matthew in Aramaic.

Month, 180, 1944. E. F. Sutcliffe, S.J., "Our Lady and the Divinity of Christ" (347-50). Claims our Lady did not know the divinity of our Lord until after the finding in the Temple, citing Bede and Bonaventure.

National Geographic, 86, 1944. N. Glueck, "The Geography of the Jordan" (719-44). A description and the history of the various biblical sites.

Theological Studies, 5, 1944. J. J. Collins, S.J. "The Brethren of the Lord and Two Recently Published Papyri" (484-94). Arguments from Scripture and Tradition proving the brethren cannot be children of our Lady, and two pre-Christian papyri are cited in which brother has the sense of near relative.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDWARD F. MURPHY, *The Scarlet Lily* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co.). Pp. 237. \$2.25.

That Father Murphy has written a wholesome entertaining novel about Mary Magdalene in *The Scarlet Lily* is evidenced from the admirable reception accorded the book in the literary world. With it the author won the coveted Bruce-Extension award for 1944. The story has been received so well that Hollywood producers have purchased its rights for the purpose of making it into a motion picture in the near future. The question of the purely literary merit of the book we are content to leave to literary critics. Here we are concerned primarily with the possible scriptural implications of the work. There can be no doubt, however, that the author has succeeded in both edifying and entertaining a vast audience; and on that achievement he is warmly to be congratulated.

The story of Mary Magdalene provides interesting reading for men and women of all classes. Contrary to the usual custom of authors who weave the biographies of biblical characters, the story is brief and to the point. Throughout the story Father Murphy manifests the ability and the facility to delineate chastely the indelicate story of Mary Magdalene's early life. In a beautiful, graphic, and vivid style, his descriptions of the Magdalene, our Lord, his Blessed Mother, and John the Baptist are excellently portrayed. Occasionally, interest in the story might wane, but in general the scenes and incidents described are lifelike, inspiring, and profound in religious insight. Such, **for example, are the dramatic scenes of the Child Jesus at the age of twelve discoursing in the Temple with the Doctors of the Law on fear, love, and reverence for God, Mary Magdalene's visit to John the Baptist in prison, and the first meeting between The Scarlet Lily and The White Lily.** These will be remembered long after the book has been laid aside.

Father Murphy traces the story of Magdalene's life from the fearful incidents that blighted her young innocent life. The death of Zora her mother and Joas her infant brother, occasioned by the edict of Herod to put to death the Holy Innocents, eventually accounts for Magdalene's hatred of life in general and our Lord in particular. In despair she turns away and leads a life of sin. But this very basis of Magdalene's life story is weak, for it all rests on the author's assumption that Herod decreed to put to death all the male children of Jerusalem and Bethlehem in order to get at the Child of Bethlehem. Zora and Mary are unsuccessful in their attempts to conceal the infant Joas and bear him secretly out of Herod's palace. Zora and Joas perish in the tumult that suddenly overtakes them, and Magdalene, embittered by their loss, gradually comes to hate the Child of Bethlehem, whose birth was the occasion and cause of her bereavement.

It is readily admitted that biblical novelists must indulge in a bit of imagination, especially when there is a paucity of material. This is generally permissible as long as the author does not allow his imagination to run away in descriptions which seem to be out of harmony with the sacred narrative. Occasionally the author of *The Scarlet Lily* errs in this respect: in imagination he offers several incidents which seem to be out of place. For example, one can hardly imagine Herod being privileged to see the star of the Magi before their entrance into Jerusalem (p. 12). Likewise, it is hard to imagine the Highpriest so interested in the Babe of Bethlehem and solicitous for his welfare as to protect him from the clutches of Herod (p. 19). In like manner it seems out of place to imagine our Lord uniting Joachim and Rhea in holy matrimony (p. 157), or to envision Magdalene's impulse to commit suicide in order to save the Master she has finally learned to love (p. 199).

If an author can be excused at times for indulging in the imaginative, especially when we reflect that an event or a conversation might have taken place as described, in no case is the novelist permitted to depart from the evident, acceptable, and traditional interpretation of the sacred text. But the author of *The Scarlet Lily* seems to do this in several instances. When the Magi, for example, encounter Herod they become suspicious immediately of him; then and there they decide not to return to Herod after they have found the Child of Bethlehem (p. 24); whereas the Gospel narrative relates that they were admonished in their sleep to return to their own country by another route after they had found and adored the Christ Child. In Jerusalem, before they proceed on their way to Bethlehem, Josue persuades them to distribute their gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh to the poor. The Babe of Bethlehem would have it so (p. 24). But St. Matthew relates that "opening their treasures they offered him gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh." Again, the sequence of events recorded by the Evangelists Matthew and Luke makes it highly improbable that the Magi returned to Jerusalem with the Holy Family, as the author maintains, for the circumcision and presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple (p. 29). Joseph would hardly run the risk of encountering Herod after he had been admonished to take the Child and his Mother and flee into Egypt.

The author is also guilty of an anachronism when he mentions Pontius Pilate as the Governor of Judea at the time that the Christ Child, at the age of twelve, visited Jerusalem with his parents. Actually Pilate became governor some eighteen years later. It also seems unlikely that Peter would disobey the command of the Master concerning the vision accorded himself, James, and John on the mountain when our Lord was transfigured before them. Yet, according to the

author, Peter divulges the vision to the two Marys in a letter, claiming that he is not betraying our Lord's charge in mentioning it to his dear friends (p. 164). The author, too, identifies Mary Magdalene with the woman taken in adultery (John 8:3-11); in the story the charge is instigated by Tullus, Mary's suitor. It is a charge fabricated by the author contrary to the Gospel evidence, for, according to the thread of the narrative, Mary had already given up her life of sin to follow our Lord. But in the Gospel narrative, the adulteress had been apprehended "in flagrante delicto" and brought before our Lord for judgment. Again, the delegation of Gentiles, that approached Philip for an introduction to our Lord appeared in the house of Martha and Mary at Bethany according to the author's version, whereas it occurred evidently in the vicinity of the Temple (Jn. 12:21f.).

Finally, the Roman nobleman Tullus and Judas, the traitor, are given too much credit for bringing about our Savior's death, while the real plotters of his destruction recede into the background. The author could have been much more realistic in that particular part of the narrative.

These observations are made for the purpose of correcting certain false impressions that sooner or later will be created in the mind of the average reader. In the fervor of reading one may not notice these defects since they do not detract from the narrative's interest. By all means read *The Scarlet Lily* for the noble thoughts and religious sentiments it inspires.

CHARLES H. PICKAR, O.S.A.

Sr. MARY IMMACULATE BODENSTEDT, S.N.D., *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian* (Washington, D. C.: Cath. Univ. Press, 1944). Pp. viii, 160. \$2.00.

This is volume XVI of the Catholic University Studies in Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature. It deals with one of the first complete Lives of Christ, one which exercised a great influence throughout Europe for centuries. Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Avila, Francis de Sales, Alphonsus Liguori are among the Saints who utilized it.

The work itself was a meditation on the history of Christ according to the Four Gospels. Not exactly original, it was, as so many spiritual works of that era, more a compilation, containing excerpts from the commentaries of the Fathers and scholastics. The present study evaluates Ludolphus' own contribution to thought as distinguished from that of his more than a hundred sources; this investigation is limited to the authors not named by him. A fine study of an old work of ascetical theology, with a good index.

R. T. MURPHY, O.P.

WILLIAM MERRIT READ, PH.D., *Michigan Manuscript 18 of the Gospels* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1942). Pp. vii, 75.

This is a collation of the University of Michigan manuscript number 18 of the four Gospels. Michigan manuscript 18 is manuscript Burdett-Coutts II, 18; Gregory 538; Scrivener 552; von Soden E335. According to Scrivener it is a manuscript of the 12th century, but Gregory and von Soden date it from the 13th. The Baroness Burdett Coutts imported in 1870-2 from Janina in Epirus more than one hundred manuscripts, among which were sixteen copies of the Gospels or parts of them. The Roman numerals I, II or III were added to the manuscript to indicate the library where the manuscript could be found. Michigan manuscript 18 formed part of this collection and was acquired by the University of Michigan in 1922 at the Burdett-Coutts sale.

An introduction precedes the collation. In the introduction Dr. Read sets forth a description of the manuscript, a citation of authorities and the character of the text. The description of the manuscript is taken from, "A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America," by Kenneth W. Clark. The description varies a little from Scrivener's description of the same manuscript in, "A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament." To the description given by Dr. Clark, Dr. Read makes one correction and adds a few particulars. The correction is: the unpublished collation was by Dr. Read and not by Dr. Geerlings. The more important particulars added to the description are: the lectionary material in the margin was written by two scribes, the text in the margin often differs from the text in the manuscript, the lectionary readings were copied into the margin without regard to the text of the manuscript and some of them contain readings which are older than the same passages in the text, in the genealogy (Lk 3:26-35) a confusion of word order is caused by the scribe copying from a manuscript containing two or more columns to the page, read across instead of down; a few passages in the margin are connected with a saint, only a few of which could be made out with certainty.

Manuscripts are cited according to Gregory's system. The citations from the Sinaitic, the Curetonian Syriac, and the Peshitto were checked with the editions of Burkitt and Gwilliam, although a few in Matthew were accepted on the authority of Legg. The evidence of the Philoxenian Syriac and the Jerusalem Lectionary is gathered from the apparatus of various editions of the New Testament. The Sahidic and Bohairic citations were checked with Horner's edition. The Old Latin citations were checked with individual editions of the separate manuscripts. The Vulgate readings are from the edition of Wordsworth and White. The Gregorian version is derived from Legg. The Greek

manuscripts are cited from the editions of Scholz, Wettstein, Tischendorf, von Soden and Legg. The Church Fathers are cited from various editions of the New Testament or from the individual manuscripts. It can be thus seen that the work is carefully done.

As to the character of the text, Dr. Read partly agrees with von Soden and partly dissents. Von Soden classifies manuscript 18 as belonging to his K^x group. This classification can be accepted for John and Matthew but Mark and Luke are closer to the Kⁱ type. There are, however, a number of other readings in the manuscript not of the K type. These other readings may indicate something about the history of the text of the manuscript. The fact that the manuscript generally contains the K^x or Kⁱ text should not cause a lack of interest in the rest of its text. Many of these renderings are old, but they cannot generally be ascribed to one particular family. Dr. Read sets forth those readings of the manuscript which show an agreement with D. and the Old Latin, with the Syriac, with the Sahidic and Bohairic, with the Alexandrian group, with Family I, 13 and 1424, with von Soden's K^x, Kⁱ and I^b groups, with Origen and Eusebius and with the Georgian version. He also indicates a number of unclassified readings and concludes that the base of the manuscript contains a mixture of Old Latin, Syriac, and Egyptian readings, some of which may be Caesarean. Whether ms. 18 can be grouped with the text called "Caesarean" will probably have to await further research into that text.

The collation is based on the Textus Receptus as given in the 1877 edition of Scrivener. The readings of the Textus Receptus are given first, followed by the reading of ms 18 to the right of the bracket. If ms. 18 has only a slight change the reading of the Textus Receptus is not given. Variations from the Textus Receptus and from the text of the manuscript in the marginal text are noted and included in the collation. Because the large amount of Greek type, which the collation demanded, offered a great problem to the average printer, Dr. Read was forced to learn type casting and to set the type himself. He is to be congratulated on the fine result obtained.

J. S. CONSIDINE, O. P.

J. R. PERKINS, *The Emperor's Physician* (New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1944). Pp. 245. \$2.50.

In *The Emperor's Physician*, Dr. J. R. Perkins, a Congregational minister, sketches the long visit of Sergius Cumanus, Emperor Tiberius' personal physician, and Luke Galen, a Judeo-Greek physician, to Palestine where they had been sent to investigate firsthand health conditions reported to be especially poor. Chance circumstances shortly bring them into contact with Jesus of Nazareth, whose cures had electrified the multitudes. Their natural skepticism is shocked by His success where their remedies failed. Galen was by temperament more

sympathetic than the pagan Cumanus. But the number and the variety of the cures, which included the leprosy of the daughter of the Governor of Syria and the deadly fever of the son of Herod's steward, attracted them. Soon they attached themselves to the little band.

Meanwhile the Captain of the Temple Guard, Malchus, had become a zealous adversary of the Healer. His enmity stemmed from the loss of his previously exploited dancing girl, Omri, who had joined the group after her cure of congenital epilepsy, and from his hatred of Jesus, who had driven the money-changers from the sacred precincts of the Temple. Prevented from violent action because of the protection given the Galilean and His friends by Captain Titus of the Legion stationed at Jerusalem, Malchus' rage only increases when he perceives the growing affection between Omri and Cumanus. During the nine months before the last Passover, Jesus, His mother, the Twelve and the physicians lived with Chuza, former steward of Herod, and his wife Joanna in a hidden valley in the Wilderness of Bethaven some twelve miles north of Jerusalem. From there the Master frequently set out on journeys, sometimes alone, sometimes with the Twelve, chiefly it seems to heal the sick and the maimed. As the great feast drew near all decided to go with Jesus to Bethany where Lazarus lay dead. The physicians leave first to acquaint Captain Titus with the news of the coming visit and to provide for the safety of the band. The following night, after the excitement at Lazarus' grave, Cumanus is struck down by one of Malchus' hirelings. He is at the point of death when Jesus, at the request of Galen, Mary and Omri, heals him. The Emperor's physician opens his eyes and looking at the Galilean calls Him "my Master."

Since it is the hope of the author that *The Emperor's Physician* be a therapy for a war-wearied world, the chief characters are introduced as a background for the problem of the cures and the faith required as a necessary condition for healing by Jesus. The questioning attitude of Cumanus is in complete accord with his materialism and paganism. It is true that at the close of the book he recognizes that the power of Jesus is superior to his own. But there is no evidence that he admits the supernatural character—in fine, the miraculous character—of His cures. Galen's Jewish background accounts for his willingness to acknowledge a power that in some way is linked with God and is based on what he calls a spiritual law. May not, he asks, the miraculous be but the fulfilling of the natural (meaning physical) law, may it not be that medical science is but the partial uncovering of spiritual law? Prayer to the Father and a confidence that this prayer will be heard seem to be, in his mind, the secret of Jesus' success whenever the ill or the friends of the ill "believe that he is able to heal."

But the connotation of the word "faith" is elusive. At one time, he speaks of faith in the existence of God as faith in love that woos and watches over the world; at another, of faith in the reality of the unseen; at still another, of faith in God and in Jesus. There is not a remark in the whole book which even suggests that faith implies an acceptance of the teachings of the Galilean and is to be intimately associated with Baptism. Faith is trust, confidence, a feeling, a sentiment.

In fact, the general impression left upon the reader is that Jesus was a superior personality who had extraordinary powers of healing. The Twelve shared in these powers in part in accord with their dispositions and their readiness to accept the way of fasting and of prayer. Nothing is said of Jesus' teaching, nor of the Sacraments nor of the formation of the Twelve as the nucleus of His Church. They were being schooled, according to Galen, in all the forces and factors that make for world misery. The adequacy of this schooling is not apparent. Besides, the narration of a supposed conversation with Mary, His mother, seems to deny His divinity and her virginity.

The Twelve, as a group, appear in an unfavorable light owing to their slowness in accepting the example of the Master and their tendency to over-indulgence in food and drink. The Seventy disciples are said to have been sent on missions because the Twelve proved a failure. Simon Peter speaks with "amazing dogmatism" of his conviction that he will be able to heal; at another time of his readiness to rip open the belly of a fish to secure tribute money as he would the belly of Malchus. Judas is guilty not only of thefts but of lust. Simon the Zealot is animated chiefly by a nationalistic desire for a revolution to restore the kingdom of Israel. Thomas is sure he will never be able to cure the sick. John has "faith" but is confused when asked why prayer and fasting are necessary for one who seeks the power to heal and cast out demons.

The author, too, is unfair in his treatment of the Old Testament. Its historical value is indirectly denied by Galen's references to the folklore heritage of religious faith, the Jewish dream of a Messiah and an old Hebrew Hymn of Creation.

As a novel, *The Emperor's Physician* is weak. The characters are thinly drawn, the situations are for the most part artificial and the suspense is not sustained. As an historical novel, it fails to remain faithful to the known facts of Jesus' life and that of His disciples. The false picture which results can be most misleading to those who believe in the supernatural and in the divinity of Jesus' person and ministry. How *The Emperor's Physician* can be a powerful reaffirma-

tion of the faith taught in the New Testament or "a therapy for a war-weary world" is difficult to understand.

JOHN J. GALVIN, S.S.

CECIL JOHN CADOUX, *The Historical Mission of Jesus*. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1943). Pp. xxiv-376. \$3.00.

The sub-title of this work explains the author's purpose: *A Constructive Re-Examination of the Eschatological Teaching of the Synoptic Gospels*. The author further states his purpose at the end of the introduction: "The aim of this book is not to solve the deep problems of Christology, but only to contribute some materials for solving them, in the form of a clarification of certain aspects of our Lord's teaching, along with an assessment of the historical trustworthiness of its various component elements" (p. 20). The book, however, contains much more than the sub-title suggests, as may be judged from the general plan of the book: 1. The Bringer of the Kingdom of God; 2. the Nature and Presence of the Kingdom of God; 3. the Future of the Kingdom as first envisaged; 4. the Future of the Kingdom as last envisaged.

In regard to his sources, the Synoptic Gospels, the author accepts the theory of Streeter as to the several documents of varying reliability, incorporated in the existing Gospels, and also as to the dates of their final redaction. And to show just what degree of trust he puts in the reliability of the various passages he cites, Dr. Cadoux strews throughout the pages of his work Ms, ms, Ls, ls, Qs and so on, to indicate from what source the text comes, so that the reader may evaluate it accordingly. He quite freely rejects as unauthentic many statements and deeds ascribed by the Synoptics to our Lord, with the result that he has left a rather lacerated and considerably diminished text on which to base his conclusions. He has great confidence in the Gospel according to St. Mark as being the earliest written account of Jesus' life, but even here he thinks that the early Church tended to modify radically certain sayings of Jesus and without any intentional dishonesty to ascribe others to Him which He never uttered.

The reader has perhaps already surmised from the foregoing what conclusions Dr. Cadoux reaches on the four points he examines. He declares that Jesus had a "consciousness of being in a unique sense the Son and the intimate of God" (p. 51). In just precisely what sense He was conscious of being God's Son, the author does not state. He remarks that "His [Jesus'] personality was apparently possessed of a numinous magnetism, and consequently made the profoundest impression on others" (p. 69). He had "a telepathic and clairvoyant awareness of what was going on in the minds of others" (p. 73). This is as far as the cautious Dr. Cadoux dares go. The reader looks in vain for a forthright, unequivocal statement of the divinity of Jesus

Christ. On the contrary the reader finds its implied denial in the author's admission that "Jesus' own knowledge was to some extent limited by the conditions of his race and education, that his eschatological teaching contains an element of *human ignorance and error, that he uttered predictions which were never fulfilled in the sense in which he uttered them, and that he assumed, as true, descriptions of the life after death . . . which cannot rightly be so regarded*" (p. 343, italics ours).

In regard to the Kingdom of God it meant, Dr. Cadoux thinks, "in essence men's loyal compliance with God's will." Consequently, the Kingdom is present "wherever and whenever man loyally and lovingly accepts the Will of God" (p. 179). As to whether Jesus intended to establish a Church with an organized government and rites or sacraments, Dr. Cadoux thinks that "certainty is impossible" (p. 308).

In the third part of this work, the author's conclusion is that Jesus had erroneously expected the conversion of the Jews to his standards and teachings (p. 183); and in the fourth part, that Jesus voluntarily accepted death and offered it in the spirit of the Servant of Yahweh as set forth in the Isaian prophecy (pp. 249-328). He looked forward after His death to a period of absence in Paradise when He would return in glory. The Resurrection prophecies, the author thinks, should be identified with those predictions relating to the Parousia. These Resurrection predictions were modified by the Evangelists in the light of the actual Resurrection appearances, which, although they were "objective," did not mean the bodily Resurrection of Jesus. This theory of the resuscitation of the dead body of Jesus places "intolerable intellectual burdens" on the modern mind. The story of the empty tomb and the Ascension are brushed aside as legendary.

Far from "contributing some materials for solving" the deep problems of Christology, Dr. Cadoux has, in our opinion, rather clouded and made more enigmatic the problems he had hoped to aid in solving. He professes "loyal regard for the objective evidence," yet he refuses to accept the corporeal Resurrection of Jesus because of what look like philosophical prepossessions, i.e., because this imposes "intolerable intellectual burdens" on the modern mind. Is such an attitude "loyal regard for objective evidence?" He accuses Jesus of error because His teaching on eternal punishment contradicts His own revelation about God. In consequence of this "the modern Christian conscience has definitely given up its belief in fiery and eternal punishment." We infer, accordingly, that for Dr. Cadoux, the consciences of three hundred and fifty million Catholics are either not "modern" or not "Christian." Could it be possible that these "modern" consciences, including Dr. Cadoux's, have not caught the true meaning of Jesus' revelation of God, and that their refusal to admit Jesus' teaching on eternal

punishment is based not on what Jesus objectively taught, but on what they erroneously understand Him to have taught? Is that loyalty to objective evidence?

We note the absence of reference to any work by a Catholic authority. But this is not surprising in a book by one who believes: "In the middle ages the early Christian history was dealt with only on certain fixed lines laid down by the supposedly-inerrant tradition of the Roman Catholic Church. The Renaissance revealed the fact that the observance of these limits had involved, and was in the nature of things bound to involve, the acceptance of numerous errors as if they were truths." And so the author classes all Catholic scholars, apparently, among those who politely bow history out of court in the interest of revelation, and thus open the door to "obscurantism, error and untruth."

It is books like Dr. Cadoux's with their false pretence of unswerving fidelity to objective evidence which have undermined faith in the Man-God and have contributed largely to the infidelity which is one of the contributing causes of the present chaotic condition of the world.

JOSEPH L. LILLY, C.M.

THE DIVINITY OF JESUS CHRIST IN SAINT PAUL

REV. ANTHONY C. COTTER, S.J., S.T.D.

That Jesus of Nazareth was not only man but also true God has always been believed in the Church of Christ. It was the exultant faith of the infant Church, as we learn from the Acts of the Apostles; it was the militant faith of the martyrs, the victorious faith of the great Fathers of the Church. The Middle Ages drew from it their inspiration and strength to make over a decadent world; and when the Protestants walked out of the Catholic Church, they took it with them into the wilderness. Faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ is still the hallmark of Christianity; the very name "Christian" implies it, and one who denies or doubts it is no more than a Christian in name.

Now while the ordinary Catholic holds this faith directly and confidently on the authority of his teachers (parents, parish priest, catechism), its truth can be proved *scientifically*—dogmatically and apologetically. But to do so is not the precise scope of this article. Nor are we concerned with the general opponents of the divinity of Jesus Christ; Cerinthus (1st cent.), Paul of Samosata and the Photinians (3rd cent.), Arians (4th cent.), Socinians (16th cent.), modern rationalists, of whom Harnack was the uncompromising champion.

The scope of this paper is less sweeping. Our subject is *Paul's belief* in the divinity of Jesus Christ. Did St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, believe Him to be true God? More particularly, do *his Epistles*, some or all, clearly contain such a belief? For we know a good deal of what Paul believed from the Acts of the Apostles, and some excellent arguments could be drawn from Paul's sermons which Luke has preserved for us in that book. But we leave them aside for the present and confine ourselves to Paul's Epistles.

But which are they? The *Council of Trent* enumerated "14 Epistolae Pauli Apostoli." Now it is true that it did not, by that expression, define their authorship or genuinity. But over against the older rationalistic theories (Tübingen School, Dutch School), modern critics concede that most of them are Pauline, at least in content and perhaps as combinations of Pauline fragments; only the Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Tim., Tit.), Eph. and Hebr. are still under fire. As even some Catholics had let themselves be moved by doubts in their regard, the *Biblical Commission* reaffirmed the Pauline authorship of the first and of the last (Denzinger, n. 2172-8). But there really are no cogent arguments against the genuinity of any of these Epistles. Hence we shall take all 14 Epistles as *emanating from Paul the Apostle*, in the sense that Paul either wrote them with his own hand or dictated them or, if he merely

suggested the ideas to a secretary, went over the finished product before dispatching it.¹

A word must be said about our *basic text*. In his Encyclical, "Divino Afflante Spiritu," Pope Pius XII urged Catholic scholars to go back to the *original text* of the Bible. After explaining the juridical (official) and dogmatic nature of the Latin Vulgate, he continues: "Haec Vulgatæ in rebus doctrinae auctoritas minime vetat—immo hodie fere postulat—quominus eadem doctrina ex primigeniis etiam textibus comprobetur et confirmetur."² Now it is admitted almost universally that the Pauline Epistles were all written in Greek, even the one designated as "to the Hebrews." This obliges us to make the Greek text our basis. And since the "textus receptus" has long been discredited, we shall follow the modern critical editions, by preference Fr. Merk's *Novum Testamentum* (2d. ed., Rome: 1935). But, as scholars are aware, there is no substantial difference between it and the other modern editions (Westcott-Hort, Weymouth, von Soden, Nestle). The fact is that few of the passages to be discussed involve problems of textual criticism. Paul wrote (in the sense explained) what we have in our critical editions. Our problem is one of simple translation or interpretation.

INTRODUCTION

The vast majority of *liberal critics* today deny that Paul regarded Jesus Christ as true God. Felder (I, pp. 333-5) names the following German writers: Weizsäcker, B. Weiss, H. J. Holtzmann, O. Pfleiderer, J. Grill, A. Harnack, E. von Hartmann, A. Jülicher, H. Wendt, O. Holtzmann, A. Meyer. The list could easily be added to by French, British, and American names. Some distinguish between Paul's genuine and, what they call, dubious Epistles; they explain away professions of faith in Christ's divinity in those Epistles which now are admitted by all to be genuine; but they allow that, e.g., in Hebr., such professions occur. The current is so strong in that direction that *Protestant* commentaries, even those supposedly orthodox, often leave the reader doubtful whether Paul's Epistles contain even one unmistakable profession of his faith in the divinity of Christ.

It is mainly as an offset against this modern tendency that the present article is written. Before beginning our discussion proper, let us remind these exegetes of two facts whose importance they do not appreciate sufficiently. One is that Paul, having been reared in strict Judaism

¹ Even the hypothesis of "fragments" would not directly affect our argument, as long as the fragments themselves are admitted to be Pauline.

² *AAS*, Oct. 20, 1943, p. 309.

and therefore as an uncompromising *monotheist*, would sedulously avoid in his writing even the appearance of putting a creature on a par with Yahweh, would shrink from language that might suggest anything like it. To Paul, such language would have been more than a slip; it would have been blasphemy, such as Christ's claim to be the Son of God appeared (truly or feignedly) to the assembled Sanhedrin. In particular, we know from Acts 14:7-14 how horrified Paul and Silas were when the Lycaonians made ready to offer sacrifice to them as to gods. But now—and this is the second fact—when we peruse the Pauline Epistles, we come across *innumerable passages* in which Paul bestows on Jesus Christ titles and attributes that either clearly enunciate His divinity or at least strongly suggest it. A convincing proof of this is that the critics are hard put to it to interpret these passages otherwise.

What else are we to conclude from these two facts than that Paul really believed in the divinity of Christ? Indeed, considering Paul's ingrained monotheism, the same conclusion would have to be drawn if we had only one passage where he clearly and unmistakably calls Jesus Christ God or bestows on Him an attribute distinctly divine.

As this argumentation may appear too general, it is our purpose to pick out those passages in the Pauline Epistles where the divinity of Jesus Christ (or, if you will, Paul's belief in it) is either directly asserted or evidently implied.

Since these occur almost everywhere, it is not easy to decide what *order* to follow. Some (e.g., Pesch, IV, n. 16-9) take the Epistles more or less in their traditional order. Others (e.g., Galtier, p. 11; Lahousse, I, pp. 275-290) prefer the chronological order of the Epistles, which is fairly well settled today. Their method has the advantage of meeting the opinion that Paul came to a realization of Christ's divinity but gradually. Others again (e.g., Felder, I, pp. 335-346; Levesque, p. 528) roam through the various Epistles, classifying and substantiating the divine attributes given to Christ. This might be called the systematic method.

Ours will rather be a combination of the first and the third method. While adhering in general to the traditional order of the Epistles, we shall first take those few passages in which Christ is distinctly called *God*. Then we shall study the titles "*Son of God*" and "*Lord*," which are scattered so profusely through the 14 Epistles. The third section will contain an exegesis of some more extended passages in which Paul multiplies the *divine prerogatives* of Christ. In a fourth section we shall discuss Christ's *pre-existence*. Lastly, to conform to the scholastic method, we shall examine some general and particular *objections* against the thesis that Paul believed Jesus Christ to be true God.

Our division will entail some overlapping, but as the pertinent passages will be looked at from different angles, repetition should not be tedious.

1. THE DIVINE NAME

In this first section we shall examine those few passages in which Christ is called God directly or indirectly.

1. Rom. 9:5

"From whom (i.e., the Israelites) is the Christ according to the flesh, who is (ὁ ὢν) above all things God (θεός) blessed forever. Amen."

No one doubts the genuinity of this verse. Moreover, the manuscripts agree perfectly on the text itself, so that there was no warrant for arbitrarily transposing ὁ ὢν into ὢν ὁ, as did J. Weiss (p. 363). Nor is there any warrant whatever for omitting θεός, as Grotius suggested. The verse must be translated or interpreted as it stands.

Though it "has probably been discussed at greater length than any other verse in the New Testament" (Sanday-Headlam), yet no quibble is really possible as to its meaning. It contains not only the clearest expression of Paul's belief in the divinity of Christ, but is sufficient to prove our thesis and sheds light on the rest of Paul's writings. O. Bardenhewer called it "a classical testimony to the duality of nature in the unity of Person." For Paul clearly distinguishes in the one Christ His human nature (τὸ κατὰ σάρκα), which is derived from His Jewish ancestors, and something else, which can be nothing less than true divinity. For Paul calls Him *God*; and lest anyone be tempted to take the word in a polytheistic sense or as a rhetorical figure, he adds "*who is above all things.*"

Hence all the Fathers who quote this text, and of whom Fr. Durand³ examined more than 30, interpret the passage as enunciating the divinity of Jesus Christ. The Arians of the 4th century, on the other hand, against whom the Fathers adduced it as a conclusive refutation of their heresy, found it so embarrassing that they either ignored the objection or distorted the obvious meaning of Paul's words.⁴ Later scholars (Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz, Tischendorf) indeed cited some ancient works which, they thought, broke the *patristic unanimity*; Tischendorf even spoke of "*luculenta testimonia*" against the traditional interpretation. But Franzelin (pp. 74-8), Durand (l. c.), Sanday-Headlam (p.

³ *Revue biblique*, 1903, pp. 550-570.

⁴ Prat, II, pp. 125-127; Liddon, pp. 316-319.

234) showed that, with the possible exception of two, none of the writings quoted are out of step with tradition.⁵

However, beginning with Erasmus, modern critics try to evade the natural sense by a change of *punctuation*. Reuss (1878), The Revised Version (1881), Westcott-Hort (1898), etc., place a period or *full stop* after "flesh" (either in the text or on the margin), or after "above all things"—and treat the rest of the verse as an *independent doxology* addressed to the Father or to God. E. J. Goodspeed, An American Translation, puts it thus: "from them physically Christ came—God who is over all be blessed forever! Amen." The Twentieth Century N.T. (1900) reads as follows: "And so far as his earthly parentage was concerned, from their nation came Christ—he who is over all things, God for ever blessed. Amen."

Now the earlier Greek codices had, of course, little or no punctuation.⁶ Of the earliest uncials, A, B, C have some sort of a stop after *σάρκα*, but comparison with similar signs elsewhere in the same manuscripts leaves its meaning doubtful; it could hardly have stood for a full period.⁷ In any case, all the earliest versions of the Epistle refer the end phrase to Christ, which would have been impossible with a full stop. Besides, it would be unintelligible how with these three codices intimating a full stop the interpretation of the Fathers could have been so unanimous.

But apart from textual considerations, the newly proposed punctuation sins against the context, against Greek grammar, and against the invariable structure of doxologies.

First of all, though one might expect a doxology after all the privileges granted to the Jews, yet nothing is farther from Paul's emotional state here than to break forth into a paean of divine praise. Paul's feeling is one of sadness and failure. He is sorely distressed over the obstinacy of the Jews, who, though Christ is descended from them according to the flesh, yet will not acknowledge His far higher dignity. "It is impossible to say that a doxology could not stand here; it is certainly true that it would be unnatural and out of place" (Sanday-Headlam).—Secondly, *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός* as an independent phrase would be barbarous. *θεός* can only be construed as in apposition to *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων* and then the article is equivalent to a relative pronoun ("who"), referring back to the noun which precedes, i.e., to "Christ according to the flesh."—Thirdly, the end phrase, no matter where it is

⁵ This unanimous interpretation of the Fathers would seem to have *dogmatic value*, inasmuch as they draw from it a dogmatic argument for the divinity of Christ.

⁶ Sanday-Headlam, p. 233.

⁷ Durand, *loc. cit.*; C. Lattey, *Expos. Times*, April, 1923, p. 331; Oct., 1923, pp. 42-43.

begun, can on no account be taken as an independent doxology. While *εὐλογητός* may correspond to a Hebrew *יְיָ*, independent doxologies of this kind invariably begin with the predicate: Blessed be (or is), etc.⁸ An independent doxology—supposing that we keep all the words in the text—would have to read *εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων* or better (omitting *ὢν*) *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*.⁹

A. Jülicher, commenting on Rom. 9:5 (p. 58; cf. pp. 5-6), admits that the traditional interpretation is correct, and that it was already current in antiquity. Yet he pronounces it impossible; for, he says, Paul never calls Christ "God," much less "God above all," because that could only mean the omnipotent Creator.¹⁰ But, we ask, what—never? What about Rom. 9:5 itself? And supposing that Paul nowhere else called Christ God, would that be a valid reason for denying that he does so here? But, as will be seen, that supposition is also false.¹¹

We conclude, then, with St. Cyril that one cannot wish for "a clearer testimony in favor of the divinity of Jesus Christ," and we agree with d'Alès (p. 69) that we have in Rom. 9:5 an "assertio divinitatis quam distinctissima." The Confraternity Commentary rightly calls this text "perhaps the most direct and forceful statement of the divinity of Christ in the New Testament."

2. Col. 2:9

"In Him (Jesus Christ) dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" *πάν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς*).

Though Jesus Christ is not here called God, the idea itself is so evident in this short sentence that the text must find a place in our first section. We shall return to this Epistle later.

The reason for the Epistle was that the Colossians were in danger of being contaminated with a theosophic doctrine which degraded Christ to the rank of one of a long series of inferior beings, sons or angels, supposed to range between mankind and the supreme God, each mediating its particular perfection. The divinity, on the other hand, called *πλήρωμα*, was supposed to possess them all. Adopting the term, Paul twice applies it to Christ. In 1:19 *πάν τὸ πλήρωμα* is explained by Fr. Prat (II, pp. 128-9) as "the plenitude of graces requisite for filling

⁸ Cf. 2 Cor. 1:3; Eph. 1:3; Mt. 23:39; Mk. 11:9; Lk. 1:68; 13:35; 19:38.

⁹ Cornely, *Rom.*, pp. 477-8; Lagrange, *Rom.*, p. 227; Galtier, pp. 18-23; Levesque, pp. 53-55; Pohle-Preuss, pp. 85-88; Liddon, *Div.*, p. 318; idem, *Rom.*, pp. 151-154; Lechler, pp. 331-332; Simón, II, pp. 304-305.

¹⁰ Cf. also his Introduction to the N. T. (1904), p. 62.

¹¹ Cf. Cornely, *Rom.*, p. 478; Durand, *l. c.*, pp. 567-568; Murillo, pp. 276-277; Liddon, *Div.*, pp. 318-319.

His role of universal reconciler and pacificator." But in 2:9 it means the *fulness of the Godhead*. For be it noted that Paul uses *θεότης*, not *θειότης*; the latter might be taken for merely divine power or illumination, such as was also granted to the Prophets; but *θεότης* means the divine nature, the Godhead itself. The adverb *σωματικῶς* brings out the twofold nature of Christ. It does not exactly mean "essentially" or "really," as many of the Fathers interpreted it, but "in a body," emphasizing His humanity. This is the interpretation of St. Thomas, who contrasts this in-dwelling with grace, by which the Godhead dwells in the souls of the just. Nor was it merely that the Shekinah, the Spirit of God, rested on Him, but His body was the dwelling-place of the divinity.

St. Paul's short sentence then contains exactly the same idea as St. John's "the Word was made flesh."¹²

3. *Tit. 2:13*

"Looking for the blessed hope and the coming of the glory of our great God and Savior (τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν), Jesus Christ."

Paul's purpose here is exhortatory, not dogmatic. He encourages Titus to persevere in the preaching of Christian virtue and in placing before the faithful the hope of eternal reward. Nevertheless, the passage contains an unequivocal testimony to his faith in Christ's divinity.

A prejudiced or superficial reader might indeed see in the end phrase a coordination of two Persons, of God the Father and of Jesus Christ, such as is not uncommon with Paul. As a matter of history, the Arians, Erasmus, and many liberal exegetes did refer "the great God" to the Father. But a closer inspection of text and context forbids us to see here any reference at all to Him. This for three reasons. First, Paul is bidding Titus and his flock to look forward to the parousia, the second coming, here called *ἐπιφάνεια τῆς δόξης*; now, he nowhere ascribes the parousia to the Father; that is the glorious manifestation of Jesus Christ as judge of the world.¹³ Secondly, Paul never speaks of the Father as "the great God"; but this unusual predicate is here given to Christ because of the glory that will be His on that day. Thirdly, it would seem that if two Persons were involved here, the article would have to be repeated before *σωτῆρος ἡμῶν*.¹⁴

¹² Cf. Meinertz, p. 23; Colon, col. 2466-7; Lebreton, I, pp. 406-409; Levesque, p. 582; Lightfoot, col. pp. 255-271; Grandmaison, III, p. 405; A. Michel, in *DThC s.v.*, Hypostatique (Union), col. 447-448; Simón, II, pp. 364-365.

¹³ Cf. 1 Cor. 1:7-8; Phil. 1:6; 3:20; 2 Thess. 2:8; 1 Tim. 6:14-5; 2 Tim. 4:1.

¹⁴ Cf. Rosadini, II, pp. 198-199; Knabenbauer, *Tit.*, p. 365; Meinertz, pp. 90-91; Franzelin, p. 44; Galtier, pp. 14-15; Pohle-Preuss, pp. 83-84.

Fr. Prat notes with satisfaction (II, pp. 1278) that "the exegetes of our day are coming back more and more to our interpretation." He rightly adds that "to object to this testimony under the pretext that Jesus Christ is not God and that Paul should not have called Him so is to give up working as an exegete and to entrench oneself behind a prejudiced position of obstinate negation."

4. *Hebr. 1:8*

"But of the Son: Thy throne, O God (ὁ θεός), is forever and ever."

Comparing the angels with the Son of God, the head of the new covenant, Paul here cites Ps. 44:7 (according to the Septuagint), which is regarded by almost all exegetes as messianic, and probably in the literal sense. The Hebrew there for "O God" is *Elohim*. Now one might doubt if the divinity of the future Messiah was clearly enough contained in that text. But no doubt seems possible on the meaning given to it by Paul. Christ's pre-eminence over the angels consists in this that He is God, and that His throne therefore stands forever. This is also the interpretation of the Fathers and the ancient versions.

However, we must admit a weakness in the argument. It is not quite clear whether *ὁ θεός* should be taken as nominative or as vocative. But since the nominative would yield a most awkward metaphor ("thy throne is God"), most exegetes prefer the vocative. Its grammatical form need cause no surprise. *θεός* is also a vocative form (for *θεέ*), and the article is needed because *ὁ θεός* is in apposition to "thy."¹⁵

5. *Other Texts*

Let us now turn to some other texts in which Christ seems to be called God, and which are sometimes quoted to that effect, but which, on closer inspection, do not bear out such an interpretation.

In *Eph. 5:5* Paul calls heaven "the inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God" (*τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ*). Since *θεοῦ* is without the article, Canon Liddon¹⁶ concludes that Christ and God are here intended for one concept. But *θεός* often occurs without the article, and there seems to be no reason here for emphasizing Christ's divinity.¹⁷ Still, the expression "the kingdom of Christ and God" is most unusual

¹⁵ C. Rosadini, *Notae exeg.*, pp. 38-39; Knabenbauer, *Pss.*, pp. 177-179; Franzelin, pp. 42-43; Pohle-Preuss, pp. 80-81; Ceuppens, pp. 385-388, 398-399; Liddon, *Div.*, p. 82.

¹⁶ *Div.*, pp. 318, 340; *Rom.*, p. 153.

¹⁷ Knabenbauer, *Eph.*, p. 145; Grandmaison, III, p. 417.

and seems to allude to Rom. 8:17, where we are called heirs of God and joint-heirs of Christ.

In *2 Thess. 1:12* we read: "That the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you and you in Him, according to the grace of our God and Lord (τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου) Jesus Christ." Fr. Knabenbauer (*2 Thess.*, p. 130) argues that, since the article is missing before "Lord," the two nouns refer to one and the same Person. Still, as Fr. Lebreton (*I*, p. 371) suggests, the omission of the article may be due to Paul's style. Our English translations insert the article, and theologians do not use this text to prove the divinity of Christ.

Inoperative is also *1 Tim. 3:16*: "And obviously great is the mystery of godliness: Who (ὃς) was manifested in the flesh, etc." The textus receptus, relying on some ancient manuscripts, here read *θεός* for *ὃς*, so that the hymn began: "God was manifested in the flesh." No doubt, a splendid testimony to the divinity of Christ—if *θεός* were genuine. But the reading *ὃς* is now admitted to be critically certain. And while we may have here a fragment of a liturgical hymn addressed to Christ, its contents does not distinctly exhibit His divinity.¹⁸

From the *Epistle to Titus* three texts (1:3; 2:10; 3:4) are sometimes quoted, in each of which Paul speaks of *ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν θεός*. Franzelin (p. 46) refers them all to Christ. But this is denied by Knabenbauer, Meinertz, Zorell, etc., who refer them to God.

Nor can *Tit. 2:11* be used to prove Paul's faith in the divinity of Christ.¹⁹ For the Greek text there is not *ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* (Confrat. Transl. "the grace of God our Savior"), but most probably *ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ (ἡ) σωτήριος* "God's saving grace."

Finally, though in the context Christ is compared to Moses, *Hebr. 3:4* furnishes no argument, since its correct translation is "it is God who made all things" (against Zorell *s. v. θεός*)²⁰

II. DIVINE TITLES

Apart from the name of God which Paul gives to Christ in a few places, there occur throughout the Epistles two titles which, we claim, were for Paul equivalent to divinity: *Son of God* and *Lord*. Here we may include, too, those passages in which Paul spoke of Christ as *one with the Father* or as *one of the Blessed Trinity*.

¹⁸ Cf. Knabenbauer, *1 Tim.*, p. 236; Prat, *II*, p. 429; Franzelin, p. 81; Liddon, *Div.*, p. 315-6.

¹⁹ Cf. Liddon, *Rom.*, p. 153.

²⁰ Cf. Lebreton, *I*, p. 453; Michel, col. 1237; Hollmann, p. 210.

1. *Son of God*

Fr. Felder (I, p. 339) well illustrates Paul's preference for this title: "It strikes us as remarkable that the Apostle uses the title Son of God in the most solemn passages of the Epistles and in the most sublime utterance about Jesus Christ. When he wishes to give prominence to the infinite love of the Father and the immeasurable humility and condescension of Jesus, which is involved in the Incarnation (Rom. 1:1-3; 8:3); when he wishes to prove triumphantly the sublimity and blessing of the Gospel of Jesus (Rom. 1:9; 2 Cor. 1:19); when he desires to extol in jubilant strains the certainty and divine blessedness of reconciliation and redemption through Jesus Christ (Rom. 5:10; 8:1; Gal. 4:6); when he wishes to reveal overwhelmingly the whole might and grandeur of the Savior Jesus Christ (Rom. 1:4; Phil. 2:9; Hebr. 1:2); when he summons his readers to faith in Jesus Christ (Gal. 2:16, 20) and to his invocation everywhere (1 Cor. 1:1-9); at the commencement and the conclusion of his Epistles, where he calls down upon the believers the grace and peace of God—in all these instances Paul calls Jesus Christ preferably the Son of God. And correspondingly he also calls God, in the most solemn moments and formulas of confession, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (Rom. 15:6; 2 Cor. 1:3; 11:31)." ²¹

Now you can hear it said that in New Testament times the appellation "Son of God" was synonymous with *Messias*, so that at least the Jews would ordinarily have taken it in that sense.²² But no one has ever furnished proof for that assertion. Actually, all indications point in the other direction. Origen, who knew what he was talking about, laughs at Celsus for making his Jew say that the Son of God would come to Jerusalem, viz., as the *Messias*. Never, replies Origen, would a genuine Jew have spoken thus; the real Jews ask us on the contrary what we mean when they hear us mention the Son of God.²³

In the Synoptic Gospels it is sometimes difficult to determine the precise value attached to the title "Son of God."²⁴ Not so in the Pauline Epistles. One reason for this difference is plain. While the title may have had a wider or even metaphorical meaning in the Hebrew language, out of which the Synoptic Gospels arose, the Greeks used the word "son" only of physical, natural filiation, unless another meaning could be gathered from the context; and Paul wrote all his Epistles in Greek and for Greek readers.

²¹ Cf. Weinel, p. 324.

²² Cf. Weinel, p. 313.

²³ Cf. Prat, II, p. 142; Franzelin, pp. 20-25; Galtier, pp. 35-36; Cornely, *Rom.*, pp. 35-36.

²⁴ Cf. Galtier, pp. 36-38.

But let us go more into detail.

1. To Paul, Jesus Christ is *the* Son (1 Cor. 15:28), *the* Son of God (1 Thess. 1:10), the *Son of God's love* (Col. 1:13). In Eph. 1:6 we are said to have been sanctified ἐν ἡγαπημένῳ (according to the most probable reading), but its meaning is well rendered by the Vulgate "in dilecto filio suo." Cf. Rom. 1:3, 9; 5:10; 8:29; 1 Cor. 1:9; 2 Cor. 1:19; Gal. 1:16; 2:20; 4:4, 6; Eph. 4:13, etc.

Because Christ is called "the Son of God's love," "the Beloved" etc., some rationalists have argued that for Paul Christ's sonship is only another name for that of "love," that He is the Son because the Father loved Him. Paul meant exactly the reverse. The Father loved Jesus Christ because He is the Son.

2. Perhaps the most emphatic expressions are those found in Rom. and Hebr.

In Rom. 8:3 Paul tells us that God sent "His own Son" (τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν), and in 8:32 that He spared "not even His own Son" (τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ). Paul's reasoning in these two passages would lose all its force if the obvious sense of the terms were set aside.

In Hebr. Christ is called "Son" time and again (1:2, 8; 4:14; 6:6; 7:3; 10:29); but His divinity and therefore physical sonship appear most markedly in *quotations from the Old Testament*. Thus in Hebr. 1:5: "To which of the angels has He ever said: Thou art my Son, this day I have begotten thee? And again: I shall be to Him a Father, and He shall be to me a Son." The first quotation is taken from Ps. 2:7, which is certainly messianic and most probably in the literal sense. Now while angels and the Jewish nation were sometimes called sons of God, no individual angel or human being ever receives that title; Christ is here given it as His proper name. Furthermore, He is said to have been "begotten" of the Father. This text itself, therefore, as well as the context (v. 3), clearly exhibit Christ as the natural and physical Son of God.²⁵ The second part of the quotation is taken from 2 Sam. 7:14, which literally refers to Solomon; it therefore applies to Christ only typically.—Again, in Hebr. 1:10-2 the words of Ps. 101:26-8, which originally referred to Yahweh, are boldly applied to the Son: "Thou in the beginning, O Lord, didst found the earth, and the heavens are works of thy hands; they shall perish, but thou shalt continue. . . . But thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail." Whereat Fr. Knabenbauer exclaims (in Pss., p. 365): "En argumentum efficax pro divinitate Filii, et consequenter Iesu Christi."²⁶

²⁵ Cf. Franzelin, pp. 16-20; Rosadini, *Notae exeg.*, p. 33.

²⁶ Cf. Rosadini, *Notae exeg.*, pp. 41-43; *Confrat. Comm.*, p. 592.

3. Let us also note that though Paul knew Christ to have been "born of a woman," he never gave Him any other *Father* than God. Cf. Rom. 15:6; 2 Cor. 1:3; 11:31; Eph. 1:3; 3:14; Col. 1:3.

4. It is futile to say, as does Weinel (p. 325), that "Paul, like Jesus, applies exactly the same word to Christians, too, whom God has "accepted" to be His "sons." Christians are sons *by adoption* (Gal. 4:5-6), because they have received the Spirit of the Son. Their sonship (*υιοθεσία*) is due to their being members of Christ's mystical body. What Christ had by nature and in a supereminent degree, they receive in a measure by participation. The glory of the resurrection of the body will consist in this that they are "conformed to the image of His Son, that He should be the first-born among many brethren" (Rom. 8:29).

2. *One of the Trinity*

The number of passages in which the Son is joined, in the same text, to God the Father or to both the Father and the Holy Ghost, is remarkable. While the order in which the three Persons are named is not fixed, they are distinguished from any and every creature and placed in the category of the divine Being. The same texts can, of course, be utilized to prove the Trinity itself. For us it now suffices that Christ is placed by Paul within the Blessed Trinity. We may classify the pertinent passages under three headings.

1. Christ is named with the Father as *one source of grace* in the opening salutation of almost all Epistles: "Grace be to you and peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3; 2 Cor. 1:3; Eph. 1:2; Phil. 1:2; Philm. 1:3). With slight modifications the same formula is found in 1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:2; 1 Tim. 1:2; 2 Tim. 1:2; Tit. 1:4. Similar formulas occur elsewhere in the body of some Epistles: Eph. 6:23; 1 Thess. 3:11; 2 Thess. 2:16. In Gal. 1:1 Paul derives his apostolate not from any man, but from the Father and Christ as *one source*.

2. While the Holy Ghost is absent from these passages, He is introduced elsewhere, especially where Paul describes *the work of the three divine Persons in our salvation*: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God (the Father) and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all" (2 Cor. 13:13). "For the Spirit Himself unites with our spirit to bear witness that we are sons of God; and if sons, heirs also" (Rom. 8:16-7). "There are diversities of charisms, but the same Spirit; and there are diversities of ministries, but the same Lord;

and there are diversities of operations, but the same God, who worketh all in all" (1 Cor. 12:4-6).²⁷

To the three divine Persons together Paul ascribed his *apostolate*: "The minister of Christ Jesus among the Gentiles, administering the Gospel of God, that the oblation of the gentiles, sanctified in the Holy Ghost, may be made acceptable" (Rom. 15:16). "He who confirms us with you unto Christ, who also anointed us, is God; He, too, has sealed us and given us the pledge of His Spirit in our hearts" (2 Cor. 1:21-2). The divinity of the three Persons is also contained in 1 Cor. 2:13-6, where the Holy Ghost, God (the Father), and Christ are joined in the preaching of the Apostles.²⁸

3. Since Paul believed in Christ as one of the three divine Persons, we need not be surprised that he did not hesitate to address to Him *doxologies*.

The doxology is a form of praise. There are two kinds: one is an independent formula of benediction and begins in Hebrew with ברוך; in Greek, with εὐλογητός, as has been said; the other is a brief hymn and begins with the dative of a relative or demonstrative pronoun. The first kind, very frequent in the O.T., occurs also in the N.T.; it is not reserved to God (e.g., Mt. 21:9). The second kind is exclusively reserved to God: αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (Rom. 11:36); ᾧ ἡ δόξα etc. (Gal. 1:5); τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἡμῶν ἡ δόξα (Phil. 4:20). Cf. Eph. 3:21; 1 Tim. 1:17; 6:16; 1 Petr. 5:11; Apoc. 7:12.

Now in two passages Paul makes Christ the object of a doxology of the *second* kind: "the Lord . . . to whom (ᾧ) be glory forever and ever. Amen" (2 Tim. 4:18); "Jesus Christ, to whom (ᾧ) be glory forever and ever. Amen" (Hebr. 13:21).²⁹ Whence we conclude that Paul does not reserve the doxology to the Father and that if Rom. 9:5 is regarded as a doxology (Franzelin), it may yet refer to "Christ according to the flesh."

In this connection we must say something about the "great doxology" in Rom. 16:25-7: "Now to Him who is able to strengthen you . . . to the only wise God, through Jesus Christ, be honor forever and ever. Amen" (μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα).

Its genuinity need not detain us. Though it is missing in a few manuscripts, the weight of Greek codices and ancient versions is decidedly in

²⁷ Cf. Prat, II, pp. 132-137; Allo, 1 Cor., pp. xxxi, 323.

²⁸ Cf. Prat, II, pp. 136-138; Cornely, Rom., pp. 749-752; Lagrange, Rom., pp. 350-351; Allo, 2 Cor., p. 29; Grandmaison, III, p. 418.

²⁹ Cf. Prat, II, pp. 121-122, 130. After translating ᾧ by "to Him" in the last passage, Windisch (p. 109) finds it easy to refer the doxology to God. But ᾧ is critically certain.

its favor.³⁰ But the first question is as to the exact text: Is the ὁ after Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ genuine? Cornely (*Rom.*, p. 792 n.) says that the witnesses in its favor outnumber the others so much that it must be regarded as original. Merk retains it, though noting αὐτῷ as a variant reading in some papyri, as is his custom; Nestle notes a divergence among the critics, but he, too, retains it. But then comes the second question: To whom does it refer? To "the only wise God" or to "Jesus Christ"? And here the authorities disagree. Cornely (*Rom.*, p. 801), following St. Augustine, places it right after "God," so that the doxology would read: God, to whom, through Jesus Christ, etc. But Sanday-Headlam (p. 436) judge such a grammatical construction "insufferably harsh," and deem it "the easiest course to omit ὁ ". The Westminster Version likewise calls ὁ "redundant" and omits it. Lagrange calls it "inutile et troublant" and advises the exegete to proceed "comme s'il n'y avait pas ὁ "; still, he retains it in his translation. It is omitted by Spencer, in the Confrat. Translation, etc.

Still, we can say one thing: If the "great doxology" in *Rom.* 16:25-7 is not directly addressed to Jesus Christ, He is at least included in it ("through").

3. *Kyrios*

A title, rarely used in the Synoptic Gospels, occurs some 200 times in the Pauline Epistles; it is that of *Kyrios*, Lord, the name which none can utter except in the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. 12:3), the "name above every name" given to Christ on account of His sublime self-abasement (Phil. 2:9-10; Eph. 1:21). Paul never ceased to proclaim himself "the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ"; to Him as the Lord he attributed his vocation and all grace, Him he preached wherever he found an audience, to Him he prayed, from Him he expected his eternal reward.

But what did this title mean to Paul? W. Bousset³¹ tried to establish the thesis that the title *Kyrios*, as applied to Christ, was derived from the Hellenic religion, where it originally meant the divine worship bestowed on Oriental kings. Bousset's thesis has been proved to be utterly unhistorical. Christian faith, including the divinity of Christ, arose in Aramaic and Hebrew environment and was settled long before it spread to the Hellenes.³²

³⁰ Cf. Rosadini, II, pp. 152-153; Cornely, *Rom.*, pp. 791-794; Liddon, *Rom.*, p. 305; Sanday-Headlam, p. lxxxix.

³¹ *Kyrios Christos*, 1913.

³² Cf. Machen, pp. 291-317; Lebreton, I, p. 370; Grandmaison, III, pp. 396-402. Klausner (p. 484) still adheres to Bousset's theory, though he is of the opinion that

But leaving aside the question of its origin, there can be no doubt that to Paul the title *Kyrios* as applied to Christ meant *true God*.

First of all, we know that the Septuagint used this word to translate the Hebrew *Yahweh* (or rather *Adonai*, which the Jews substituted, from the third century B.C. on, for the sacred name out of reverence).³³ Hence, on seeing that title applied to Christ in Paul's letters, the first meaning that would occur to the early Christians, who read the O.T. in Greek, would be divinity in the strictest sense of the world.

Moreover, to Christ as the Lord Paul ascribes *predicates* that are strictly divine. As Lord He created all things (1 Cor. 8:6); as Lord He sends sufferings for a temporal punishment (1 Cor. 11:30-2), and He can also relieve from suffering (2 Cor. 12:8-9); inasmuch as He is Lord, we are His in life and death (Rom. 15:8-9); the Lord is our last judge (1 Cor. 4:4-5). In Phil. 2:10 Paul demands that *every knee should bend* at the name of Jesus, an action symbolic of divine worship. Now, that name was not exactly "Jesus," which Christ bore also in the days of His humiliation, and which was then common in Judea. Paul rather saw Christ's true dignity in the name "Lord": "every tongue should confess Christ the Lord." Finally, in 1 Cor. 1:2 Paul salutes all "those who *call upon the name* of our Lord, Jesus Christ." Now "calling upon a name," according to O.T. usage, was tantamount to acknowledging and worshipping as God (Gen. 4:26; 12:8; 13:4, etc.).³⁴

But the best proof is that to Christ the Lord Paul applies O.T. *passages* which originally referred to *Yahweh*. What the prophet Joel (3:5) said of *Yahweh*, Paul says of Christ the Lord: "Whoever calls upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved" (Rom. 10:13). "Rien de plus fort pour prouver la divinité de Jésus" exclaims Lagrange (*Rom.*, p. 259).³⁵ Pertinent, though a trifle more complicated, is Paul's argumentation in 1 Cor. 2:16: "For who has known the mind of the Lord that he might instruct Him? But we have the mind of Christ." In the first part of this verse, which is taken from Is. 40:13, "the mind of the Lord" is the mind (wisdom) of *Yahweh*. Paul argues that what was said of the "mind of *Yahweh*," also holds for the "mind of Christ," viz.,

for Paul Christ was not yet completely God. Paul's adoration amounted *almost* to deification (pp. 485, 597).

³³ Cf. Knabenbauer, *Phil.*, pp. 221, 222-223; d'Alès, p. 70; Levesque, pp. 530-531.

³⁴ Cf. Cornely, *1 Cor.*, p. 16; Allo, *1 Cor.*, pp. 2-3; Lechler, p. 330; Zorell, *s.v.* *ἐπικαλέω*; Simón, II, pp. 368-369.

³⁵ Cf. Rosadini, II, pp. 197-198.

that only the "spiritual man" can judge it rightly. Paul's argument loses its force unless Christ's divinity is supposed.³⁶

While Klausner (p. 480) reproaches Paul for preaching Christ as Lord, since the Jews apply the name "Lord" to the one and only God, we conclude with Fr. Prat (I, p. 128): "To confess that Jesus is the Lord, is a condensed confession of faith and an epitome of the creed; for that is equivalent to confessing that He is the Messiah, that He is the Son of God, that He is God."

The exegesis of a few other texts containing the name "Lord" is, however, less clear. In 1 Cor. 1:31 "Let him who takes pride in the Lord," Paul quotes (in his own way) Jer. 9:23-4, where the "Lord" is Yahweh. But does Paul leave the quotation in its original sense (S. Thomas), or does he mean Christ by "the Lord" (Chrysostom)? Both interpretations are possible; neither imposes itself.—Allo (1 Cor., p. 171) adds 1 Cor. 7:17, where he claims that *κύριος* and *θεός* are treated as synonyms.—d'Alès (p. 71) sees an excellent expression of the divinity of Christ as the Lord in 2 Cor. 3:17-8; but the text is obscure and many are the explanations.³⁷

III. DIVINE ATTRIBUTES

In this section we shall pass in review some longer texts taken from various Epistles, in which Christ receives attributes such as no Jew would have dared, in Paul's day, to apply to any being inferior to the true God.

1. Phil. 2:5-11

v. 5. "Have this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus, v. 6. *who, though existing in the form of God (ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων), did not consider being ranked with God (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ) as a thing to be clung to, v. 7. but emptied Himself (ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν), taking the form of a slave (μορφὴν δούλου) and being made in the likeness of men. And being found in fashion as a man (σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος), v. 8. He humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to death on the cross . . . , v. 10. At the name of Jesus every knee should bend of those in heaven, on earth and under the earth, v. 11. and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, for the glory of the Father."*

³⁶ Cornely, 1 Cor., p. 72; Gutjahr, p. 66; Bousset, 1 Cor., pp. 73-74; Simón, II, p. 174.

³⁷ Cf. Allo, 1 Cor., pp. xxix-xxx. Nor does 2 Cor. 8:9 suffice by itself, as E. Jacquier (*Actes des Apôtres*, p. 615) seem to suppose.

To begin with, the connection with what precedes is excellent, though we must not take the passage as meant to teach the Philippians anything new about Christ Jesus. Paul exhorts them to peace, humility, mutual charity: "Let each one regard the other as his superiors, each one not looking to his own interests, but to those of others" (v. 3-4). To give force to this admonition, he proposes Christ to them as an *example*: "Have this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus."³⁸

In what, according to Paul, does this example consist? Briefly put in this: Although Christ was originally in the form of God, yet He emptied Himself, taking on the form of a slave; wherefore God has exalted Him. But let us examine the unique passage more in detail.

1. "*Being in the form of God*" means having the divine nature. This is not so clear from the word *μορφή*, which by itself is ambiguous and may signify shape, external appearance, condition, state.³⁹ But it flows (a) from its conjunction with *θεοῦ*, in whom there is no distinction between external appearance and internal nature; (b) from Christ's equality with God (*ἴσα θεῷ*) which can only come from identity of nature; (c) especially from its parallel with "form of a slave," which certainly denotes human nature.⁴⁰

But does the second argument really hold? Does *εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ* mean "to be equal to God"?

Not directly. Paul might have said *εἶναι ἴσον* (cf. Jo. 5:18), but he employed the adverb *ἴσα*, and the phrase directly signifies "to be on a footing of equality," "to be in the same rank and condition." Tertulian translated it "*pariari Deo*." But since Paul certainly would place no one in the same rank with God except He have the divine nature, "to be equal to God" gives the *sensus consequens*.⁴¹

Though the exact meaning of the rest of v. 6 (*οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο*) is much disputed,⁴² the context makes the whole so clear that all ancient Greek interpreters referred it to Christ's divinity. They saw no real

³⁸ Cf. Schumacher, II, pp. 33-43, 62-95; Knabenbauer, *Phil.*, pp. 209-210, 223; Grandmaison, III, pp. 421-424.

³⁹ Cf. Prat, I, pp. 315, 457-458.

⁴⁰ Cf. Knabenbauer, *Phil.*, pp. 210-211, 214-216; Murillo, pp. 263-264; Franzelin, pp. 53-54; Rosadini, II, p. 199; Galtier, p. 11; Lebreton, I, p. 418; Levesque, pp. 577-578; Vincent, pp. 57-58; 79-82; Lightfoot, *Phil.*, pp. 125-131; Simón, II, pp. 365-366.

⁴¹ Cf. Schumacher, II, pp. 320-327; Prat, I, pp. 316, 422-463; Knabenbauer, *Phil.*, pp. 216-217.

⁴² Cf. Lebreton, I, pp. 418-420; Prat, I, pp. 460-463; d'Alès, p. 72; Vincent, p. 58; Lightfoot, *Phil.*, pp. 131-135; Simón, II, pp. 366-367; Gruenthaner, in *American Eccl. R.*, June, 1944, pp. 408-413.

difficulties in this text, and after a short explanation and sometimes without any explanation at all, they triumphantly quoted it against all kinds of heretics. Fr. Prat, who notes this (I, p. 313), rightly adds that our modern difficulties are the result of our mania for neglecting the obvious meaning of a text, though its obscurities do not affect the signification of the whole.

2. "*He emptied Himself, taking the form of a slave,*" that is, becoming man.

But in what did this "emptying" consist? Does Paul here say or imply that in the Incarnation the divine nature disappeared or was changed? Some have read this into Paul's words. In trying to explain them, Protestant theologians of the 19th century evolved the "kenotic theory." One of its forms is that of Thomasius: In the Incarnation, the Logos laid aside the attributes of omnipresence, omnipotence and omniscience, while retaining the ethical attributes of love and holiness. Gess proposed another form: In the Incarnation, the Son of God deprived Himself of His self-consciousness as Logos, but regained it partially in Jesus' baptism, fully at the resurrection. W. Wrede (p. 88) speaks of a "substantial change."

But reading Paul's words in the context should disabuse anyone of such ideas. Paul evidently meant that Christ emptied Himself of that to which He did not cling obstinately, and that is *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*. By becoming man Christ freely relinquished that *external glory and honor* which was His due to God.⁴³

3. "*Every knee should bend at the name of Jesus, and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord.*" Paul here evidently refers to Is. 46:23, where Yahweh claims these same signs of submission for Himself and for Himself alone ("Ego Deus et non est alius"). Would a strict monotheist like Paul have dared to demand that the same honor be bestowed on Christ unless He, too, was, in his eyes, God? And if he had regarded Christ as a creature, no matter how exalted, could he have said that confessing Christ to be Lord would redound to God's glory.⁴⁴

Klausner (p. 480) is particularly incensed at these last words of Paul: "Paul does actually transfer to Jesus as Messiah the kneeling and bowing before God of the Prophet Isaiah—whereas the Jews think so

⁴³ Cf. Schumacher, II, pp. 341-388; Prat, I, pp. 463-465; Rosadini, II, p. 200; Galtier, pp. 12-13; Murillo, pp. 201-204; Grandmaison, II, pp. 315-322. As regards the *three steps of humiliation* here delineated, cf. *Confrat. Comm.*, in loc.

⁴⁴ Cf. Rom. 14:11; Eph. 3:14. Though there is some evidence for *ἐξομολογήσεται* (will confess), yet Merk and Nestle read *ἐξομολογήσεται* (should confess)—in harmony with "should bend".

much of these wonderful words of the prophet that they have introduced them into their cherished prayer *Alelu*."

The Fathers made extensive use of this text to refute all christological heresies. For it places in Christ a duality of nature together with a unity of Person. The same Person who existed first in the form of God, assumed the form of a slave. From the 4th century on this was expressed in an almost stereotyped formula: *Manens quod erat, assumpsit id quod non erat*.

2. Col. 1:13-18

v. 13. God the Father "*transferred us into the kingdom of the Son of His love* (τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ). v. 15. *He is the image* (εἰκὼν) *of the unseen God, first-born of all creation*. v. 16. *For in Him were created all things, those in heaven and those on earth, things seen and things unseen, whether thrones or dominations or principalities or powers—all creation is through Him and unto Him*. v. 17. *And Himself is prior to all, and in Him all things subsist*. v. 18. *Again, He is the head of His body, the Church, that in all things He may have first place*."

Canon Liddon (*Div.*, p. 321) calls this "perhaps the most exhaustive expression of our Lord's Godhead which is to be found in the writings of St. Paul." Meinertz (p. 19), too, calls it one of the most important christological texts in the Pauline Epistles. For while using at times the terminology of the Alexandrian philosophers, Paul heaps upon Christ titles, privileges, prerogatives that set Him apart from every creature and rank Him with God Himself.⁴⁵

Let us examine the single predicates.

1. In v. 13 Christ is called the *Son of God's love* or *God's beloved Son*, an expression more solemn than ὁ ἡγαπημένος in Eph. 1:6, and perhaps identical with μονογενής and πρωτότοκος. Paul opposes God's own Son to the inferior angels whom the false teachers wanted to foist on the Colossians (2:18). Cf. Hebr. 1:1-2:8.⁴⁶

2. Christ is the *image of the unseen God* (v. 15).

The term εἰκὼν means more than a resemblance (ὁμοίωμα). It is a *real being*, which reproduces a model or archetype. In Hebr. 10:1, εἰκὼν, the reality of the N.T., is opposed to σκιά, the shadow of the O.T. Therefore, as the "unseen God" is real, so is His εἰκὼν (cf. Col. 2:17). Moreover, although εἰκὼν has no article here, yet the whole

⁴⁵ Prat, II, pp. 128-129; Lebreton, I, p. 396; Colon, col. 2451, 2457-2458.

⁴⁶ Knabenbauer, (*Col.*, pp. 294-295) refutes St. Augustine's and Lightfoot's interpretation which would make of ἀγάπη the divine substance or essence.

context forces us to say that Christ is the unique and *perfect* image of the unseen God. Cf. v. 19 and 2:9.⁴⁷ Of course, being a perfect image, the Son is as invisible and inaccessible as the Father; but He has been made visible and accessible in the Incarnation, whereas the Father becomes accessible only through the Son: "Philip, he who sees me, sees also the Father" (Jn. 14:9). Cf. Jn. 6:46; 1 Tim. 6:16.⁴⁸

3. Christ is the *first-born of all creation* (πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως).

Since there is a good deal of dispute about this attribute, let us distinguish between its negative and its positive interpretation.

St. Paul certainly did not mean to say that Christ was merely the first or highest of all creatures, *primus inter pares*, as the Arians later said and as some rationalists say today. Apart from the further description, we may argue with Chrysostom that if that had been Paul's idea, he should have used πρωτόκτιστος. Paul always uses the verb κτίζω or its derivatives where he speaks of creatures, and the Alexandrians called their Logos πρωτόκτιστος. But Paul says πρωτότοκος. Hence already St. Justin paraphrased Paul's words thus: the first-born of God and prior to all creation.

As for the positive interpretation, there is no unanimity. Some read into the word πρωτότοκος nothing more than priority to creation; others interpret it as primarily referring to the eternal generation from the Father; others again see in it the idea of sovereignty over creation. It is not easy to say which of these three interpretations is to be preferred, though E. A. Cerny, S.S.,⁴⁹ has shown that the earliest interpretation was "begotten before all creation." Perhaps we may join up the three interpretations and say: According to Paul: Christ, being the Son of God, is not only prior to creation, but also its sovereign.⁵⁰

4. *All things were created* in Christ, through Christ, for Christ (v. 16).

That "all things" here means "all without exception," is clear from the obvious sense of the words, but much more from the inclusiveness of the three further divisions: a) "in heaven and on earth," which for a Jew (cf. Gen. 1:1) certainly comprised all creation; b) "things seen and things unseen," again an exhaustive division; c) even the most excellent of invisible creatures: thrones, dominations, principalities, powers (cf. Eph. 1:21). And if any doubt should be left, Paul removes

⁴⁷ Cornely, *2 Cor.*, pp. 114-115; Simón, II, pp. 362-363; Lechler, p. 320.

⁴⁸ Lebreton, I, pp. 397-398; Murillo, pp. 271-272; Colon, col. 2454-2455.

⁴⁹ *Firstborn of Every Creature* (Baltimore: 1938).

⁵⁰ Cf. Prat, II, pp. 113-114; Murillo, pp. 270-271; Galtier, p. 14; Lebreton, I, pp. 399-400; Simón, II, p. 363; Meinertz, p. 20; Colon, col. 2455-2456; Knabenbauer, *Col.*, pp. 296-297, 300; Strack-Billerbeck, p. 626; Liddon, *Div.*, p. 322; Lightfoot, *Col.*, pp. 212-216; Lechler, p. 321.

it by repeating the absolute universality: "All creation is through Him and for Him."

But what was *Christ's share in creation*? Paul expresses it by three prepositions: *ἐν*, *διὰ* and *εἰς*. It is not quite clear whether *ἐν* should be regarded as generic (*Confrat. Comm.*), to be further specified by *διὰ* and *εἰς*, or as a special, viz., *exemplary* cause of creation. While the preposition *διὰ* means a sort of instrumental cause, it need not mean an instrument in the strict sense of the word; but Christ *co-operated* in God's creative action. Lastly, Christ is also the *final* cause of creation: *εἰς αὐτόν*, for which the Vulgate has "in ipso." Cf. Rom. 11:36; 1 Cor. 8:6; 15:24, 28; Hebr. 1:2-3; 2:10.⁵¹

From all of which it follows that Christ Himself is not a creature. If He were, either He would have helped in creating Himself (an absurdity), or He would not have helped in creating all things.

J. Weiss (p. 372) argues that by saying *εἰς αὐτόν* Paul contradicts himself, since according to Rom. 11:36 and 1 Cor. 8:6 all things are "unto God," and according to 1 Cor. 15:28 God will finally be all in all. But the contradiction vanishes if Christ is God.

5. Christ is *prior to all* (*αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων*). One might see in this statement no more than a recapitulation of vv. 15-16. Not so. Paul here asserts not merely Christ's priority or pre-existence, but His *eternity*. St. Basil thus explains the passage: "The Apostle having said: All was created by Him and for Him, he should have added: And He was before all things. But he says: He *is* before all things, implying that He always is, whereas creation happened in time." We may therefore join up this text with what Christ Himself said: "Before Abraham was, I am" (Jn. 8:58).⁵²

6. *All things subsist* (*συνέστηκεν*) in Christ. If He were to withdraw His sustaining hand from creatures, they would fall back into nothing.

7. Christ has *first place* (*πρωτεύων*) in all things. In the context, this implies three things. Christ had first place in the order of nature inasmuch as He co-operated with the Father in *creation*. He also had and has first place because He is the *conservator* of all creation. But as

⁵¹ Franzelin, pp. 26-27; Lebreton, I, pp. 395, 400; Felder, I, pp. 335-336; Murillo, p. 269; Simón, II, pp. 363-364, 396-397; Knabenbauer, *Col.*, p. 298; Lightfoot, *Col.*, pp. 220-221.

⁵² Cf. Lebreton, I, p. 402. Lightfoot, accepting this interpretation, insists that the Greek text should therefore be written *αὐτός ἔστιν*, not *αὐτός ἐστιν*. But the editors of the text have not taken kindly to the suggestion.

head of the mystical body, He now has first place in the order of grace; He bestows all grace, supernatural life, eternal glory.⁵³

3. *Hebr. 1:2-6*

v. 2. *In a Son, whom He appointed heir of all things, by whom He also made the world;* v. 3. *who, being the brightness of His glory and the image of His substance, and upholding all things by the word of His power . . . sitteth at the right hand of the Majesty on high.* v. 5. *To which of the angels has He ever said: Thou art my Son, this day I have begotten thee?* v. 6. *And again, when He brings the first-born into the world, He says: And let the angels of God adore Him.*

Apart from homiletic excursions on unbelief and faith, the particular doctrine emphasized in *Hebr.* is the *superiority of the new covenant* over the old. The proof for this superiority Paul sees in the *dignity of Christ* and the excellence of His redemptive sacrifice. Nor is Paul's purpose merely to proclaim Him superior to the celestial spirits (as Ménégos, Windisch, etc., thought), but also to prove His *equality with the Father*.⁵⁴

This is done in the first chapter, which is, therefore, of capital importance for our discussion. The fact is that Paul there bestows on Christ a number of attributes which imply nothing less than divinity. Fr. Lebreton (I, p. 445) calls them "*si magnifiques et si éclatants que le prologue de saint Jean ne les dépassera pas,*" noting at the same time the almost verbal agreement with Col. Pfleiderer (II, p. 61), who denies that Christ is God and that *Hebr.* was written by Paul, yet admits that in it the Son of God is placed above everything human, and that He is conceived as "a specifically divine being."

Let us look at the attributes one by one.

1. Christ is called the *Son (of God)* in vv. 2, 5 and 8 (as later again in 3:6 and 5:8). In v. 5 Paul evidently wants to assert His physical sonship, since the Father not only calls Him Son, but also says that He begot Him. In v. 6 He is designated as the "firstborn." As regards v. 8, see above.

2. Christ is *heir of all things* precisely because He is the Son and the first-born. St. Thomas cautions us to distinguish the two natures in Christ. As God, He is not "appointed" (made, constituted) heir; He is heir from all eternity; but as man, He was appointed heir.⁵⁵

⁵³ Cf. Knabenbauer, *Col.*, pp. 300-301.

⁵⁴ Cf. Lebreton, I, p. 449.

⁵⁵ Cf. Rosadini, *Notae exeg.*, p. 28; *Confrat. Comm.*

3. The world was created through (διὰ) Him. Paul does not say that Christ created the world (τοὺς αἰῶνας); he says that the Father created the world by or through the Son. The Father is the principal cause, but the Son co-operated with Him in creation.

4. Christ is the *brightness of God's glory* (ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης) and the *image of His substance* (χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ).

Though the two terms ἀπαύγασμα and χαρακτήρ also belonged to the vocabulary of Alexandrian philosophy, notably of Philo, yet this description is evidently taken from the Book of Wisdom (7:26). Wisdom is there said to be "the brightness of eternal light, the unspotted mirror of God's majesty, the images of His goodness." Paul applies these ideas to Christ.

Now in the first part, the word "God" is not in the Greek text, but αὐτοῦ, which refers back to ὁ θεός in v. 1, belongs here, too. Moreover, ἡ δόξα corresponds to the Hebrew כבוד which, according to O.T. usage (Exod. 13:21-2; 14:19, 20), means God Himself (like שם name,⁵⁶ or like "the Majesty on high"). Christ, then, is not an inferior being reflecting God's glory (as H. J. Holtzmann and J. Weiss interpreted it); He is *God's very brightness, radiation, and splendor*. The Nicene Council expressed the same idea in the beautiful formula φῶς ἐκ φωτός, and the Fathers of the 4th century made ample use of this Pauline text to defend the consubstantiality, eternity, and necessity of the Son; for the splendor of God's glory is evidently as necessary and eternal as God Himself.

But while the first predicate shows that the Son originates from the Father and is inseparable from Him, the second prevents us from identifying the two Persons. The Son is not the Father. The Son is the image of the Father, as the figure on the coin χαρακτήρ is of the matrix.⁵⁷

5. Christ *sustains* (φέρων) *all things*. St. Gregory of Nyssa takes this as referring to creation, which is not likely, since Paul has already spoken of that in v. 2. But owing to its *universality* (τὰ πάντα), Christ's sustaining or conserving action implies divine power. Cf. Col. 1:17.⁵⁸

6. Christ now *sitteth at the right hand of the Majesty on high*, that is, He participates in the same royal dignity and power that the Father possesses. For this is the meaning of "sitting at the right hand." He

⁵⁶ Cf. Knabenbauer, *Phil.*, pp. 220, 223; Grandmaison, III, pp. 422-423.

⁵⁷ Cf. Lebreton, I, pp. 447-449; Murillo, pp. 275-276; Levesque, p. 528; Rosadini, *Notae exeg.*, pp. 29-30.

⁵⁸ Cf. Colon, col. 2482-2483.

is, therefore, essentially above all angels, who "stand" or "lie prostrate" before the throne of God.⁵⁹

7. Let all the angels *adore Him* (προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ). In the context, *προσκυνεῖν*, otherwise susceptible of wider meanings, can only mean divine worship. This is also clear, because in Ps. 96, from which this is most probably a quotation, the passage refers to Yahweh. According to Paul, then, what was declared to be due to Yahweh in the O.T. is due to Christ.⁶⁰

After passing in review all these passages from the first chapter of Hebr., Fr. Lebreton concludes (I, p. 459): "On se demande ce que l'auteur eût pu ajouter pour exprimer entre le Père et le Fils la communauté de nature et de privilèges." Fr. Lémonyer (*Theology of the N.T.*, p. 153) even regards as "of but secondary interest" those few passages in which Christ is directly called God by Paul, when compared with the rich Christology contained in the lengthier passages quoted from Phil., Col. and Hebr.

IV. PRE-EXISTENCE

That, according to Paul, *Christ existed somehow before* "being born of a woman is so evident that few rationalists dare to deny it. Perhaps the most incontrovertible texts are 2 Cor. 8:9 "for your sake He became poor, though He was rich," and Phil. 2:8 "He emptied Himself." Since there was no period in Christ's earthly life when He was rich, the first passage can only refer to a pre-existing life; also, unless some sort of pre-existence be supposed, it would be absurd to say that He emptied Himself on becoming man.⁶¹

But after granting this much, rationalists begin to speculate in quite arbitrary fashion as to the *kind of pre-existence* this could have been or Paul could have meant. Some surmise that Christ's soul existed prior to His human conception; others speak of some nebulous kind of ideal life in the divine intellect; others again think that Christ pre-existed as the "typical" man (like Plato's universal man); they want to read this into Rom. 8:3 ("sending His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh"), where the Greek text has *ἐν ὁμοιώματι*, so that Christ had been clothed in sinful flesh before being sent. The Tübingen School, misinterpreting 1 Cor. 15:47-8, where the "second man" is said to be "from heaven"

⁵⁹ Cf. Rosadini, II, p. 204; Colon, col. p. 2483.

⁶⁰ Cf. Denzinger, n. 878; Levesque, p. 586; Pohle-Preuss, pp. 79-80; Knabenbauer, *Pss.*, p. 353; Rosadini, *Notae exeg.*, pp. 35-36; Strack-Billerbeck, p. 677.

⁶¹ Cf. Schumacher, II, pp. 104-132.

and "heavenly" (not in the Greek text), pictured Christ as pre-existing in the form of a "celestial" or "spiritual" man.⁶²

But leaving aside baseless speculations about Christ's pre-existing soul or His ideal life, it is clear that Paul nowhere says or hints that Christ pre-existed as man of any description. Neither Rom. 8:3 nor 1 Cor. 15:47-8 insinuates anything of the kind. Rom. 8:3 may be compared to Gal. 4:4, where Paul says that "God sent His Son born of a woman," though the meaning is "by being born of a woman"; or *ἐν* may stand for *ἐκ*, as it does elsewhere in the N.T. (e.f., Lk. 9:46; Jn. 5:4; 13:35; Acts 11:11).⁶³ In 1 Cor. 15:47-8 the adjective "heavenly" either means the terminus a quo of the Incarnation, or, according to the context, the reason for the glory of Christ's risen body, which is the hypostatic union.⁶⁴

But Paul himself tells us clearly enough how he conceived Christ's pre-existence. It was that of the eternal Son of God, "*in the form of God.*"

True it is that Jesus Christ is properly only the God-Man, the Word Incarnate. Yet the Son of God, prior to the Incarnation, is called Jesus Christ by anticipation. For the same divine Person is from all eternity, existed as the historical Christ, and now sits at the right hand of the Father (Hebr. 1:2-3). Fr. Prat puts it briefly thus: "Paul is speaking of the *Person of Jesus Christ*, and, as usual, refers to this single subject statements which may belong either to pre-existence, to the state of humiliation, or to the glorified life" (I, p. 312).⁶⁵

As against this simple answer, however, much is made by rationalists of all shades of Rom. 1:4, from which they deduce that Christ was predestined (*ὁρισθέντος*, *praedestinatus*) to *become Son of God* only after and through the resurrection.

Now while the translations and interpretations of Rom. 1:1-5 are many, yet can we confidently assert that nothing was farther from Paul's mind. When we recall all those passages in which he speaks of Christ's pre-existence and His divine sonship, the objection collapses under its

⁶² Cf. Zahn, II, pp. 92-98; Holtzmann, I, pp. 477-480; Baur, II, pp. 262-276; Weizsäcker, I, pp. 144-146; Weinel, pp. 317, 321; Pfleiderer, I, pp. 131-146; Wendt, pp. 350-352.

⁶³ Cf. Lagrange, *Rom.*, p. 193; Simón, II, p. 296; Cornely, *Rom.*, p. 400.

⁶⁴ Cf. Colon, col. 2452; Prat, II, pp. 114-116; Cornely, *1 Cor.*, pp. 500-502; Schumacher, I, pp. 193-229; II, pp. 245-266; Gutjahr, p. 408; Lechler, pp. 335-336; Galtier, p. 9; Allo, *1 Cor.*, pp. xlviii-xlix, 427-429; Pesch, IV, n. 36; B. A. Stegmänn, O.S.B., *Christ, the Man from Heaven* (Washington: 1927).

⁶⁵ Cf. *DThC*, VII, col. 595-602; Prat, I, pp. 312-314; Murillo, pp. 267-268; Schumacher, II, pp. 96-103; Cornely, *1 Cor.*, p. 276.

own weight. In Rom. 1:3 itself Christ is already God's Son before being born according to the flesh. Nor does *ὁρισθέντος* exactly mean "fore-ordained," but rather "constituted" or "manifested."⁶⁶

V. OBJECTIONS

As our article does not cover the whole dogma of the divinity of Christ, so this last section does not intend to answer the difficulties which have been brought forward by rationalists and liberal Protestants against the dogma itself.⁶⁷ We are content with answering those objectors who maintain that Paul did not hold this dogma, or that it is not contained in his Letters.

1. E. Ménégoz argued that Paul and the rest of the Apostles, being as rigorous *monotheists* as Moses and the Prophets, could not admit another deity beside the one true God; that to them would have been polytheism and sheer idolatry. J. Weiss (p. 365), on the other hand, thinks that for Paul as well as for the early Christians Christ was really a "second God," but that they did not see the absurdity of such a concept.

But we deny that professing Christ to be God and the Son of God, is polytheism, or that the Son of God is "another God." Nor did Paul think so. Writing to the Corinthians, whom he had converted from polytheism, he says: "For us there is only one God, the Father . . . and only one Lord, Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. 8:6). In the last analysis, our contention is this: believing in the Blessed Trinity is not polytheism. We believe in it, because it has been revealed. We do not pretend to understand this mystery, but we defy anyone to prove it impossible.⁶⁸

2. Others admit that Paul called Jesus Christ God once or twice, though never without an epitheton. Why not oftener, they ask, and why never without an epitheton if he really believed Him to be God?

Tertullian and Chrysostom answered this argument by saying that Paul wanted to avoid even the appearance of polytheism. A better answer is perhaps that Paul, as a rule, reserved the simple name "God" (*θεός* or *ὁ θεός*) to the Father, but that to exclude anything like personal identity of Father and Son, he added an epitheton when calling Christ God.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Cf. Galtier, pp. 30-32; Lagrange, *Rom.*, pp. 6-7; Cornely, *Rom.*, pp. 38-40, 43-46; Simón, II, pp. 239-240; Lebreton, I, pp. 409-410; Sanday-Headlam, pp. 8-9. As for the positive explanation of this complicated text, cf. Prat, II, p. 426; Billot, pp. 351-353.

⁶⁷ Cf., e.g., Wendt, pp. 368-383.

⁶⁸ Cf. Lebreton, I, p. 369; Levesque, pp. 536-537.

⁶⁹ Cf. Galtier, p. 20; d'Alès, p. 70.

This may also serve as a rejoinder to Prof. B. Jowett who says: "Had St. Paul ever spoken of Christ as God, he would many times have spoken of Him as such, not once only, and that by accident."⁷⁰ As regards this last point, we grant that Paul nowhere sets out to prove the divinity of Christ for its own sake.⁷¹ But what does that show? Merely that this dogma was accepted by all those to whom His Epistles were addressed. We may also draw a parallel between John and Paul. No one denies that John wanted to prove the divinity of Christ in his Gospel, yet the predicate "God" is applied to Him there only three times (Jn. 1:1; 1:18; 20:28).

3. Some have argued that for Paul *θεός* or *ὁ θεός* is so definitely a *proper name* of the Father that he could not have intended to apply it to the Son. To prove the antecedent they quote 1 Cor. 8:6 and 12:4-6.⁷²

But the context of 1 Cor. 8:6 furnishes a sufficient answer. Paul there stresses the difference between pagans and Christians. The pagans worship many gods and many lords, but the Christians acknowledge only one God and one Lord. Paul's idea is not at all to reserve the first title to the Father, nor the second to the Son. Moreover, Paul says that "all things are through Him," clearly a profession of divinity.⁷³ As for 1 Cor. 12:4-6, a classical proof-text for the Trinity, a comparison with parallel passages suggests the answer. Paul uses none of the three titles *θεός*, *κύριος*, *πνεῦμα* as exclusively proper to one of the three divine Persons. Also the Father is called *κύριος*, if not in 1 Cor. 3:5 or 7:17, certainly in quotations from the O.T. Christ is called *πνεῦμα* in 2 Cor. 3:17, and His divine nature seems to be referred to as *πνεῦμα αἰώνιον* in Hebr. 9:14.⁷⁴

4. Nevertheless, there are some expressions in Paul's writings which seem to clash with belief in Christ's divinity. Numerous are the texts in which he speaks of the "*God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*" (Rom. 15:6; 2 Cor. 1:3; 11:31; Col. 1:3; Eph. 1:3). Again, God or the Father is referred to as "the God of our *Lord*" (Eph. 1:17); like-

⁷⁰ *The Epistles of St. Paul* (2nd ed., London: 1859), II, p. 277.

⁷¹ Hence the title of Levesque's article "Comment saint Paul prouve la divinité de Jésus-Christ", listed in our bibliography, is a bit misleading. But the author explains it correctly (p. 528).

⁷² J. Weiss, p. 373.

⁷³ Allo (*1 Cor.*, p. 201) notes that 1 Cor. 8:6 is the *earliest written* witness to the belief in the divinity of Christ, and yet the belief is not treated as something new.

⁷⁴ Cf. Galtier, p. 20; Cornely, *1 Cor.*, pp. 77, 226-228, 364-366; *2 Cor.*, pp. 103-105; Prat, II, pp. 133-134, 435-441; Lebreton, I, pp. 370, 412; Allo, *1 Cor.*, pp. 57, 171; Zorell *s. v. αἰώνιος*.

wise, the words of the psalmist, "*God, thy God, has anointed thee*" are applied to Christ (Hebr. 1:9), and Christ Himself, appropriating the words of the psalmist, addresses the *Father as God* (Hebr. 10:7).

As regards the first class of texts, Allo (2 *Cor.*, p. 7) suggests that the genitive (of our Lord) possibly depends only on Father, not on God—which would, of course, remove all difficulty. But grammatically it is more probable that the genitive depends on both Father and God. This is also the more common interpretation and really involves nothing heretical. Let us remember that Christ Himself speaks of "His God" and "His Father" in Jn. 20:17 (cf. Mt. 27:46; Mk. 15:34). The genitive involves a *dual relation*, which springs from Christ's dual nature. The humanity of Christ was created by God, and Christ as Son of God proceeds from the Father.⁷⁵ This explanation may also be extended to Eph. 1:17 and much more to quotations from the O.T. (Hebr. 1:9; 5:8; 10:7).⁷⁶

Still, one might push the difficulty by pointing to 1 Tim. 6:15-6, where, in opposition to Jesus Christ, God or the Father is called "the blessed and *only Sovereign*, the King of kings and Lord of lords, etc." But if we look at the context, we shall see that Paul merely says what Christ Himself said (Acts 1:7) about the time of the parousia set by the Father.⁷⁷

But does not Paul say that after the last judgment Christ will be *subject to God* (1 Cor. 15:28)?⁷⁸ Yes, but Christ is there spoken of as the head of the Church militant, and as such He was always subject to God. After the last judgment, He will hand His kingdom over, as the Church triumphant, to God the Father, so that "God (i.e. the Blessed Trinity) will be all in all."⁷⁹

5. Finally, to prove that Paul really regarded Christ as a mere man and a creature, some quote the following three passages: 1 Tim. 2:5 "There is one God and one mediator of God and man, the *man* (*ἄνθρωπος*) Christ Jesus"; Hebr. 2:11 "Both He who sanctifies and they who are sanctified, are *all from one* (*ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντες*)"; Hebr. 3:2 "Jesus, who is faithful to Him who *made Him* (*τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν*).

⁷⁵ Cf. *Confrat. Comm.*, p. 442.

⁷⁶ Cf. Cornely, *Rom.*, pp. 734-735; 2 *Cor.*, pp. 18-19; Lagrange, *Rom.*, p. 345; Knabenbauer, *Eph.*, p. 58; *idem*, *Ps.*, p. 161; Lebreton, I, p. 457; Ceuppens, p. 401; Rosadini, *Notae exeg.*, p. 106; Gutjahr, p. 495; Lechler, pp. 332-333.

⁷⁷ St. Thomas, *Contra Gent.*, IV, 8; Knabenbauer, 1 *Tim.*, pp. 282-283.

⁷⁸ Weinel, pp. 322-323; Zahn, pp. 98-99; J. Weiss, p. 363.

⁷⁹ Cf. Lebreton, I, p. 394; Cornely, 1 *Cor.*, pp. 473-475; Gutjahr, pp. 388-390; Allo, 1 *Cor.*, pp. 409-410; *Westminster Version*, *in loc.*

But if we examine the context of each of these three verses, such an idea will appear alien to Paul's mind. In 1 Tim. 2:5 Paul had good reason for stressing Christ's humanity, viz., because Christ is mediator precisely in and through His manhood. In fact, if Paul had regarded Christ as a mere man, there would have been no reason here for emphasizing His humanity; the emphatic expression "the man Jesus Christ" becomes intelligible only if Christ was to Paul more than man, viz., the God-Man.⁸⁰—In Hebr. 2:11 the stress lies on the work of redemption and sanctification; the Redeemer and the redeemed must be of the same nature (Hebr. 2:17-8).⁸¹ Finally, in Hebr. 3:2 Moses and Christ are contrasted as heads of their respective families: as Moses was appointed head of the Jewish family, so God constituted Christ the head of the Christian family. Paul is not concerned here with Christ's physical origin.⁸²

CONCLUSION

Proving that Paul believed in the divinity of Christ, is not exactly the same as proving that Christ is God. It constitutes only one of the premises for that conclusion. Another premise must be added, which will differ according as one proceeds dogmatically or apologetically.

Dogmatically we can argue that Paul (or whoever is the author) wrote the Epistles quoted in our article under the influence of *biblical inspiration* (Denzinger, n. 784, 1787), which guarantees absolute inerrancy. Therefore, whether Christ's divinity is asserted in them explicitly or implicitly, whether it is clearly enunciated or merely insinuated, whether it is mentioned once or a hundred times—Christ is God. It is on the strength of this argument that theologians, as a rule, prove the divinity of Christ from the Pauline Epistles, and they can be content with citing one or the other clear passage.

Another dogmatic basis for the same conclusion is *Paul's apostleship*. It is the common teaching of theologians that the Apostles were infallible in their preaching, not only collectively, but also individually.⁸³ From which it follows that if Paul really preached the divinity of Christ as part of the Christian doctrine, Christ is God.

But our procedure will differ if Paul's testimony is made the basis of an *apologetic* argument. Paul's belief, taken by itself, is hardly a

⁸⁰ Cf. Knabenbauer, *1 Tim.*, p. 210; Meinertz, p. 36.

⁸¹ Cf. Lebreton, I, p. 451; Simón, II, p. 403.

⁸² Still, one could admit with Zorell (*s. v.* ποιέω) that Paul here meant creation.

⁸³ Cf. Ottiger, *Theol. fund.*, II, pp. 7, 19-23; Bainvel, *De Mag.*, pp. 138-139; Straub, *De Ecclesia Christi*, I, pp. 150-156.

sufficient proof for the conclusion that Christ is God. No doubt, for Paul himself, that faith was the basis of his miraculous conversion, of his love for Christ crucified, of his unshaken constancy amid the labors and trials of his apostolate. But this conviction might possibly be explained otherwise than by its objective truth. The force of the apologetic argument is increased if it is shown (as can be done easily and as was pointed out in the course of this article) that Paul's faith was that of the *whole primitive Church*. Very much to the point is what Fr. Prat writes (I, pp. 311-2) with regard to Phil. 2:6 quoted above: "It is amazing to come upon this sublime doctrine, thrown off merely by the way in an exhortation, without any latent notion of controversy, as if it were a question of an ordinary dogma which had been known and believed by all of them for a long time, and which it is sufficient to recall to make it the foundation for a moral admonition."⁸⁴ Even so, other facts and factors will have to be invoked to make the argument conclusive.

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⁸⁴ Cf. Grandmaison, III, pp. 396-402.

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THE PROPHECY CONCERNING JUDA:

GEN. 49:8-12

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As has been frequently remarked and is easily discernible, there is an eliminative plan in the Book of Genesis. Moses, in general lines, is tracing the history of the chosen people. The messianic promise is made first to the whole human race (Gen. 3), which one day will participate in the messianic blessings. The special messianic blessing, however, is passed on to and through an ever narrowing portion of mankind. Thus, of the three sons of Noe, Sem receives the blessing; and of his descendants, Abraham is blessed. Then comes Isaac, to the elimination of Ismael. Of Isaac's sons, Jacob alone receives the blessing. With Jacob, however, there is no further elimination; his whole progeny directly share in the blessing, and form the chosen people of God.

The son first born to the father had special rights. One such was the right to the inheritance of a double portion of his father's goods (Deut. 21:15-17). Moses presupposes the existence of this law before his time. He confirms the law and adds a further specification. Before the Mosaic legislation it seems that the first-born exercised the office of priesthood. A special blessing was due the first-born, and among the descendants of Abraham in direct line this included the messianic blessing.

Jacob on his deathbed (Gen. 49) blesses his sons, and prophesies the lot of their descendants in days to come. The earlier patriarchs passed on the special messianic blessing to the first-born, either by nature or by right through divine ordinance. This latter was the case in Isaac's blessing of Jacob. Although with Jacob there is no further eliminative process, still it was through the direct line that the Messiah was to come. Jacob, by divine inspiration, passes over the three oldest sons in order, and confers the special blessing on his fourth son, Juda. The double portion, however, due to the first-born, he transfers to Joseph in the persons of Ephraim and Manasses (Gen. 48; 1 Par. 5:1).

In the list of Genesis 49, the six sons of Jacob by Lia are first considered. Jacob gives the reason why the first three in succession do not receive the special blessing; Ruben, because he had defiled his father's wife; Simeon and Levi, because of their excessive vengeance exercised through religious trickery (Gen. 34). The fourth son, Juda, though not without grievous fault, was basically of a good disposition. This can be seen in his acknowledgment of guilt (Gen. 38), in his saving of Joseph from death (Gen. 37), and in the noble sentiments of piety

manifested at the trial in Egypt (Gen. 44). It is upon him that Jacob confers the messianic blessing.

Massoretic Text:

- 8 יהודה אתה יודוך אחיך ירך בעורף איביך
 ישתחוּ לך בני אביך
 9 גור אריה יהודה מטרף בני עליה
 פרע רבץ פאריה וכלביא מי יקימנו
 10 לא-יסור שבט מיהודה ומחשק מבין רגליו
 עד צריבא שילה ולו יקהת עמים
 11 אסרי לגפן עירה ולשרקה בני אתנו
 פבס ביין לבשו וברם-ענבים סותה
 12 חכלילי עינים מיין ולבן-שנים מחלב

First we shall consider the text itself in its literal meaning; then the fulfillment of the prophecy.

- v. 8 Juda thou! Thee shall thy brethren praise.
 Thy hand shall be upon the neck of thy enemies;
 The sons of thy father shall worship thee.

In this verse all the versions are in agreement with the Massoretic text.

יהודה אתה יודוך אחיך In Genesis 29:35, the origin of Juda's name is given. Lia says, "Now will I praise the Lord: and for this she called him Juda." The name Juda signifies *praised*. It is derived from the Hophal form of ירה. Keil (*Biblischer Commentar*) and others say that the name signifies *he concerning whom Yahweh is praised*. This is true in regard to the significance of the imposition of the name, but the name itself simply means *praised*; there is no element of Yahweh in the name.

אתה is emphatic; but it is not merely to reënforce theך following יודו. Here there is a play on the meaning of the name of Juda. The thought is: "Thou, Juda, i.e., Praised, art well named—thy brethren shall praise thee." *Nomen est omen*. From the meaning of Juda, Jacob shows that the future lot of his tribe will correspond to his name; for the Tribe of Juda will be most honored among the tribes and receive their reverence. This play on the meaning of the name is also present in some of the other blessings, e.g., v. 16, *Dan shall judge*. Koenig (*Die Genesis*) translates: *Juda, du bist es, den deine Brueder loben werden*.

Thy hand shall be upon the neck of thy enemies. This denotes the generally victorious position of the Tribe of Juda in regard to opposing enemies. The picture itself is taken from actual combat, i.e., the pursuing and overtaking of the fleeing enemy. Here, then, the strength and victory of Juda are given as a reason for the praise to be given to the Tribe of Juda.

The sons of thy father. The twelve sons of Jacob were from four different mothers. Here Jacob says that all his sons, by whatever mother, shall worship Juda. *Worship* השתחוו, προσκυνέω, throughout the whole O. T. signifies the act of reverencing a person of high degree. Only in the N. T. did the word προσκυνέω gradually take on the signification of reverence due to God alone. It was with similar words, "Be thou lord of thy brethren, and let thy mother's children bow down before thee" (Gen. 27:29) that Jacob himself had received the messianic blessing, which he now passes on to Juda.

To understand the literal meaning of this whole prophecy, one must keep in mind that it has reference to the future lot of the Tribe of Juda as a whole. This is evident from Jacob's own words in v. 1., "Gather yourselves together that I may tell you the things that shall befall you in the last days," as well as from the comparison with the prophetic blessings bestowed upon the other sons as given in this same chapter. Again, one must remember that the realization of the prophecy is not to be effected immediately or in the near future, but in days to come. V. 8, then, foretells that in days to come the Tribe of Juda will enjoy pre-eminence among the other tribes, owing especially to valor and success in battle. The other tribes will hold Juda in honor and pay reverence to it. Moses in blessing the Tribe of Juda (Deut. 33:7) again brings out the thought of valor and victory for Juda: "This is the blessing of Juda. Hear, O Lord, the voice of Juda, and bring him in unto his people: his hands shall fight for him, and he shall be his helper against his enemies."

v. 9 A lion's whelp is Juda.

From the prey, my son, hast thou gone up;

And lying down, didst repose as a lion, or a lioness.

Who will dare to rouse him?

In figurative language this verse expands on the preceding, especially on *thy hand shall be upon the neck of thy enemies*. There is some variety between the Massoretic Text and the versions in this verse. The LXX has ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης. This does not presuppose a different reading from the MT. The LXX took טרף in the sense of *leaf* or *bud*, and עלית in the sense of *grow up*. Other ancient versions rightly understand טרף as *prey*. Throughout the Hebrew Scriptures the use of טרף is inseparable from lion, and always means prey. The sense of leaf or bud ill becomes comparison with a young lion. The Vulgate stands alone with *ad praedam*. It does not represent the original; on the other hand it need not necessarily presuppose a different reading. It may be that Saint Jerome is giving his interpretation, taking מן as causal. The picture presented to us in the first half of v. 9 is that of a lion prowling in

the valley or plain, catching the prey, and then ascending to its lair, leisurely to digest it.

The second half of v. 9 describes the lion getting down on all fours (כָּרַע bending the knees), in its characteristic repose, to digest the prey undisturbed. לְבִיָּא is translated *lioness*. The places where this word occurs are the following: Gen. 49:9; Num. 23:24; 24:49; Deut. 33:20; Os. 13:8; Joel 1:6; Nah. 2:12-13; Is. 5:29; 30:6; Job 4:11; 38:39; Ps. 57:5 (MT). The LXX never translates this with a word that definitely indicates lioness; usually the word is *σκύμνος*, as in our passage, sometimes the generic *λέων*. The form of the word is masculine, but the gender seems to be common. In Balaam's prophecy concerning Israel (Num. 24:9) there is an almost perfect verbal parallel to Gen. 49:9; but no further light as to the gender of לְבִיָּא can be gathered from it. Nah. 2:13 certainly suggests lioness. Here the LXX has *λέουσιν*. But in Ez. 19:2 even with the pointing לְבִיָּא the LXX has *σκύμνος*. *τί ἡ μήτηρ σου; σκύμνος ἐν μέσῳ λεόντων ἐγενήθη*. It is hard to decide with certainty whether לְבִיָּא in Gen. 49:9 is to be understood as lioness or not; the ancient versions are divided in their understanding of the word. Most scholars, however, take it as lioness. The underlying idea of the comparison is the fierceness of the lioness if she is disturbed when feeding her young. This certainly lends force to the thought intended in v. 9, and fits in well with the context.

There is the idea of development of Juda's strength contained in v. 9, but this is contained in the image itself and is not to be sought by taking עָלָה in the sense of *to grow up*.

v. 10 The sceptre shall not recede from Juda,
Nor the staff from between his feet
Till he come to whom it is due,
For whom the nations shall yearn.

LXX οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδά,
καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ,
ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ,
καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.

A variant reading of the LXX is *ᾧ ἀπόκειται*. Except for *προσδοκία* the LXX presupposes the same consonantal text as the MT.

Patrizi takes שבט to mean tribe in our context. But this meaning does not fit into the context. With מן following, it cannot mean tribe in this verse; the same meaning is excluded by the parallel member. Besides meaning *tribe*, שבט has the generic meaning of *rod* or *staff*, and specifically is used to signify a rod on which one leans, a rod of chastisement, the crook of a shepherd, a spear (from the shaft), the staff of a ruler,

such as a chief or king. The last mentioned is also taken metaphorically to signify the dignity, office or prerogative itself. Since this שבט is predicated as being inherent in the tribe as such, it is to be taken metaphorically to signify the prerogative of rule or autonomy in some form or other. In this meaning we retain sceptre in the translation. There is no specific determination of this שבט. It is not said or implied that there will be an unbroken line of kings actually reigning up until Christ; nor is it said that this שבט will shine with undimmed lustre until that time. In the course of the ages this שבט of Juda may be realized in many different ways. Symmachus well translated with the generic ἐξουσία. Some of the versions (Aquila) keep sceptre; others (LXX) make the idea more concrete in the person of the one in whom this authority will be vested. This translation is justified, since, as a rule, there will be one who exercises supreme authority; but since it is a question of the tribe as such, and does not necessarily point to any individual, it is better to keep שבט in its generic metaphorical meaning.

סור means recede. The sceptre shall not recede from the Tribe of Juda. This is all that is said. It is not affirmed that the sceptre will shine with equal glory at all times.

מחקק Poel participle of חקק. This word is onomatopoeic as the English *hack*. It means to *cut in* or *hew*, also *engrave*; and since laws in ancient times were engraved in stone, etc., it came to mean to decree, ordain. The Poel has this last meaning; and the participial form is used for lawgiver, judge, scribe, etc. It also has the meaning of sceptre, e.g., Num. 21:18; Ps. 60:9; 108:9. The LXX translates ἡγούμενος; the Vulgate *dux*; Aquila ἀκριβαζόμενος; Onkelos ספרא. The perfect parallelism with the first part of the verse suggests the translation *staff*, as some scholars hold. This seems to be the meaning especially when one considers מבין רגליו *from between his feet*. This pictures a ruler with the emblem of authority resting between his feet. In ancient times the sceptre was quite long. There are representations of this in ancient Oriental monuments. Some take מבין רגליו purely as a parallelism with מיהודה. Practically it is parallel, but the meaning of the expression must not be passed over. The Peshitto and Aquila (ἀπὸ μεταξὺ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ) translate word for word from the Hebrew. Onkelos and the Targum of Jerusalem have מבני בנויה; Jonathan has מורעיה *from his seed*. Underlying both the LXX (ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ), and the Vulgate (*de femore ejus*) is the idea of generation. Taking מחקק in the concrete as a person, they translate מבין רגליו *from his thighs*, meaning the descendants of Juda. The only place where the Hebrew phrase occurs in this respect is Deut. 28:57 מבין רגליה and refers to the afterbirth "that came forth from between her thighs". The LXX has διὰ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτῆς;

the Vulgate *de medio femorum eius*. The phrase properly refers to a woman and can hardly be transferred to a man. Passages such as Gen. 46:26; Ex. 1:5, cannot well be appealed to, where we have the word ירך and the verb יצא. Substantially, as far as the idea of descendants go, all the versions agree with the Hebrew, but all do not come to this idea by interpreting the phrase in the same way. The Samaritan Pentateuch stands alone with מבין רגליו i.e. *banners*. The perfect parallelism between *sceptre from Juda—staff from between his feet*, commends the translation we have given. In so far as this phrase in itself goes, it does not make much difference to the general interpretation, since all understand the descendants of Juda; but if one translates מחקק in connection with it as *dux*, in some respect it does affect the interpretation and fulfillment. For this latter idea points more directly to an individual, whereas the tribe as a whole and the prerogative that will remain with it are meant.

Till he come to whom it is due. This is the most important clause in the whole prophecy. In English, *till* or *until* more often than the Hebrew ערבי connotes cessation when the terminus indicated is reached. In Hebrew, the action described in the principal clause may cease or may not cease with the *verification* of the action described in the secondary clause. An example of the first is where Rachel says (Gen. 24:19) "I will draw water for thy camels also till they all drink." An example of the second is Gen. 28:15 "Neither will I leave thee, till I shall have accomplished all that I have said." What signification, or rather implication, has ערבי in v. 10? The answer to this question is important in understanding the verification of the prophecy.

In general, there are two answers to this question among Catholic exegetes, all of whom, of course, hold יבא שלה to refer to the Messiah. Some say that here is foretold that the sceptre will not recede from Juda until the Messiah comes, but then it will recede from Juda. Others say that it will not recede from Juda until the Messiah comes, nor will it recede then or ever. The first group do not say that it will remain with Juda right up until the very coming of the Messiah, but that it will recede sometime previous to his coming. When the sceptre recedes the promised Messiah is at hand according to this prophecy of Jacob. They are not all in accord in determining just how long before his coming Juda will lose the sceptre. They vary the length of time according to their opinion as to what they consider the fulfillment of this prophecy. It must be admitted that the early Christian writers held this opinion, and, almost without exception, say that the sceptre passed from Juda when Herod the Idumean became king. As a principle, one must also admit that the fulfillment of prophecy throws light on the prophecy itself,

and helps us to understand how the prophecy is to be understood. Still, here one must proceed with caution, and not let subjective opinion as to fulfillment lead one to interpret the prophecy in that light.

Those who hold that here is foretold that the sceptre will pass have in their favor the early Christian writers, who understood it so. With all due deference to those who held this throughout the ages, and still hold it, there are some potent considerations which incline one to accept the interpretation that the prophecy does not at all imply that the sceptre, or what is signified by the sceptre, will ever entirely pass from Juda. First of all, it is not said that *it will pass* but that *it will not pass until* which may very well signify a continuance of the sceptre of Juda in the person of the Messias. Moreover, in this prophetic blessing there is no indication of threat. The exordium and the whole tenor of the prophecy seem to indicate a blessing pure and simple. Furthermore, there seems to be a fundamental identity between the sceptre of Juda and that of the Messias. There is no opposition in this prophecy between Juda and the Messias; in fact, it is a messianic blessing and promise to Juda. The context seems to indicate that Juda will retain the sceptre and hand it over, as it were, to the Messias when he comes. It is this sceptre of Juda that belongs to the Messias by native right. Now if what is meant by sceptre were utterly to recede from Juda before the coming of Christ, how could it be said and intimated that this sceptre is due the Messias or in store for him? Even the early Christian writers include Christ in vv. 9-10, or speak of him almost exclusively. Such considerations have led prominent exegetes, as Murillo and Sales, to hold or incline to the opinion that no ceasing of the sceptre from Juda is intimated in this prophecy but rather the contrary.

There can be no reasonable doubt that שֵׁנָה is the original reading. It is vouched for by forty Hebrew MSS. and by the Samaritan Pentateuch. The important ancient versions, such as the LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, the Itala and Syriac, as well as the Targumim of Onkelos and Jerusalem, presuppose this reading. So also all the Greek Fathers, and the Latin who use the Itala. The traditional interpretation of שֵׁנָה, both Jewish and Christian, is equally well established. It is translated as from שֵׁנָה. The ש is understood as another form of שָׁנָה ; שֵׁנָה, the preposition *to* or *for*; ה, the pronominal suffix, third person, singular, masculine. This same suffix ה occurs twice again in v. 11. Onkelos and the Jerusalem Talmud translate דְּרִילָה. Of the LXX there are two readings, τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ and ᾧ ἀπόκειται (*for whom it is reserved*), Theodotion has τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, Symmachus and Aquila, Jewish translators of the early Christian centuries, have ᾧ ἀπόκειται. Aquila, as is known, slavishly reflected the Hebrew

original in his translation. $\tilde{\omega}$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ is accepted by Saint Justin in the Dialogue (nn. 120.121). The Syriac also translated in the same way, as can be seen in the citations of Saint Ephrem. The Greek and early Latin Fathers, as beforesaid, understand it in that sense.

This makes the Vulgate reading *qui mittendus est* all the more striking. If we were to see in this a literal translation on the part of Saint Jerome, we should have to suppose that he read or understood some form of the verb שָׁלַח . This in itself would be possible. He sometimes complains of weakness of vision and the smallness of Hebrew characters. In this case, however, it is very unlikely. Jerome was certainly acquainted with the traditional reading and interpretation. In the *Quaestiones in Genesim* he does not treat v. 10 directly, but in v. 17 he refers, in passing, back to it, and says “. . . ut veniat cui repositum est et ipse erit expectatio gentium.” Again in his commentary on Ezechiel (Lib. V, c. 17) he has “. . . defecerat enim princeps de Juda, et dux Israel, donec veniret cui repositum est. . . .” It is more likely then that Saint Jerome here, as elsewhere, e.g., Ag. 2:8, is bringing out the messianic thought more strikingly. This rendering may have been suggested to him by the similarity of form with the verb שָׁלַח , but is no indication that he had it in the MS before him or considered it the correct reading.

There are many other interpretations of שָׁלַח , some retaining the messianic sense, others rejecting it. Hummelauer understands שָׁלַח (שְׁאֵלָה) from שָׁאַל to *petition*. He takes it in the concrete *petitus, the one prayed for*. This keeps the original reading and gives an excellent messianic sense, but goes contrary to the uniform traditional interpretation of שָׁלַח .

Koenig understands a noun שָׁלַח *rest* (*bis Beruhigung eintritt*). שָׁלַח might possibly have such a meaning, considered in itself, though it does not occur elsewhere in the Scriptures. It rejects the messianic sense and the traditional interpretation.

Ehrlich understands שָׁלַח Sela, Juda's son, understanding the expression *forever*, for Sela never came to Thamar. Koenig says that such would be an unbelievable expression.

Others keep שִׁילָה of the MT and say that here the city of Silo is indicated. They understand *until Juda comes to Silo* (Strack). This is judged inept by Gunkel and Holzinger, and out of harmony with the context by Dillmann, since specific names of cities do not occur in this pericope. The Jewish translation (1917) has *as long as men come to Shiloh*. Some Jewish commentators who follow the MT take שִׁילָה as a name of the Messias. Reinke (Catholic) (*Die Weissagung Jacob's* Muenster: 1849) strongly defends the reading שִׁילָה but takes it in the

sense of peace-bringer (Friedebringer) as a name of the Messias. In the rabbinical writings it is so used. שִׁלָּה, however, in the O. T. never occurs with this meaning. They derive it from שִׁילֹן.

Others arbitrarily change the consonantal reading. Thus they understand שָׁלֵם *peace*; שָׁלִיט *the powerful one*; שְׂאִילָה *he, for whom* Juda prays.

One reason alleged by those who reject שָׁלָה is that the abbreviated form ש occurs in later books. This is not so. In Judges 5:7 and 6:17 it certainly occurs and probably in Genesis 6:3. It has even been conjectured that the abbreviated form is the more ancient and that אֲשֶׁר is a further evolution of the form ש in use among the Assyrians (śá) and Phoenicians. Besides, a fundamental canon of text criticism is that the more difficult reading, other things being equal, is to be preferred to a simpler reading.

Enough has been said to establish the critical reading and its uniform traditional interpretation. A verb denoting possession of some kind must be supplied. The ᾤ ἀπόκειται of the ancient versions supplies the verb, *for whom it is in reserve or store*. Ezechiel 21:32 עֲרִבָא אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט is a parallel expression to Gen. 49:10, only here the noun is expressed, as it had not been mentioned before. In the last clause of v. 10 the MT has *and to him the obedience of peoples*. יִקְהָה obedience, is here in the construct state with euphonic dagesh forte. Onkelos has וְלִיה יִשְׁתַּמְעוּן *will obey him*; the Targum of Jerusalem וְלִיה עֲתִידִין דִּישְׁעַבְדּוּן *will be made subject to him*; Aquila has οὐστέτμα; the Arabic translation of Saadiah Haggaon and the Samaritan translator of the fourth century also have *gather together*; the LXX, Symmachus, Theodotion have προσδοκία; the Vulgate, *expectatio*; the Syriac also has the meaning of awaiting. All the versions which have the idea of *awaiting* or *gathering together* seem to presuppose some form or derivative of the verb קָוָה. This would demand in the text from which they translated a ו instead of an ה. The number and independence of most of these translations would justify the abandoning of the present MT reading. As far as meaning goes there is not much difference. They can all be included in the words of Isaias 42:4 "And the islands shall wait for his law." That is the thought of all the texts.

עַמִּים *peoples*. Since this verse is messianic, and in consideration of the messianic promises of Gen. 12:3; 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; 28:14, the עַמִּים of this verse must be understood of the peoples of the earth. The plural עַמִּים is also used of the heathen peoples who are to enter into the messianic kingdom in Ps. 45:6, 18; 47:2, 10; Is. 2:3; and in general of heathen peoples in Deut. 28:10; Is. 10:13; 11:10; 14:6; 17:12, etc. Some—those who do not admit the messianic sense of v. 10—understand under עַמִּים the tribes of Israel.

Jewish tradition and the whole of Christian tradition throughout the ages hold this verse to be messianic. For the early Jewish tradition it is sufficient to glance at the Targumim. Onkelos has *till the Messiah comes to whom belongs the kingdom*; the Targums of Jonathan and Jerusalem have *till the time when the king Messiah will come*. Even later Jewish exegetes, following the MT, take שִׁילָה as the name of the Messias.

Christian tradition is unanimous in accepting the verse as messianic. Some writers bring this out in their exegesis of Genesis; others cite it in treating of various places of Scripture where one would not expect to find such reference.

Among the Latin Fathers and writers one may consult:

Tertullian: *Adv. Marcionem* L. IV c. 11 and 40

Cyprian: *Letter 63* (Ad Caecilium)

Paulinus Mediolanensis: *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum* c. 3

Rufinus: *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum* L. I

Jerome: *Quaestiones in Genesim*

Commentarium in Ezechielem L. V, c. 17

Commentarium in Ep. ad Eph. L. II, c. 3

Commentarium in Ep. ad Rom. (attributed to Saint Jerome)
c. 15

Hilary: *Tractatus in LIX Ps.*

Leo The Great: *Sermones* 33 (32) *In Epiphaniae Sol.* 3

Sermones 35 (34) *In Epiphaniae Sol.* 5

Ambrose: *Liber de Joseph Patriarcha* (n. 13)

De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum (c. 4)

De Institutione Virginis c. 12 (n. 77)

Augustine: *Enarrationes In Ps.* 44 (n. 13)

In Ps. 75 (n. 1)

De Civitate Dei L. XVI, c. 41

Contra Faustum Manichaeum L. XII, c. 42

L. XXII, c. 85

Gregory The Great: *Homiliae in Ezechielem* L. I Homilia 1

Moralium L. XVIII in caput XXVIII B. Job.

In I Regum Expositio L. I, c. 1; L. IV, c. 3;

L. VI, c. 3.

There is also a work *Liber de Benedictionibus Jacob* attributed to Saint Jerome as well as Augustine. Migne considers it to belong to Eucherius Lugdunensis in its present form.

Among the early Greek writers and Fathers one may consult:

Justin: I *Apologia* (nn. 32, 54)

Dialogus cum Tryphone (n. 120)

Irenaeus: *Adv. Haer.* L. IV, c. 10

Clement of Alexandria: *Paedagogus* L. I

Origen: *Homiliae in Genesim*, *Homilia 17 De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum*

Chrysostom: *Homiliae in Genesim* *Homilia 67*

Eusebius of Caesarea: *Demonstratio Evangelica* L. I, c. 3; L. II, c. 15;
L. III, c. 2; L. VII, c. 3; L. VI

Athanasius: *Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi Dei* (n. 39)

Epiphanius: *Adv. Haer.* L. I (*Haereses*, nn. 20, 66)

Basil: *Epistola 236 (Ad Amphiloichium)*

Commentarium in Isaiam (Attributed to Saint Basil) c. 9. He quotes
v. 10 verbatim and says that the messianic
explanation is unanimous.

Cyril of Jerusalem: *Catecheses* 12 (De Christo Incarnato)

Theodoretus: *Quaestiones in Genesim* 110. Elsewhere very often:
MPG 80, nn. 902. 1031. 1098. 1107;
81, nn. 253. 557. 848. 938;
83, nn. 15. 24. 431. 979.

Cyril of Alexandria: *Glaphyrorum in Genesim* L. VII

Contra Julianum L. VIII

Ephrem the Syrian may also be consulted in his commentary on Genesis.

v. 11:

Tying his foal to the vine, and the colt of his ass to the choice vine;
He shall wash his robe in wine, and his garment in the blood of grapes.

v. 12:

Dark are his eyes from wine, and white are his teeth from milk.

There is no difficulty of textual criticism in these two verses. Some (as Murillo) consider the Messiah, mentioned in v. 10, as the subject of these two sentences. Grammatically, of course, this could well be; but if the context of these blessings is considered, it seems that the subject of these verses is the Tribe of Juda as such. V. 10 which speaks of the continuance of the שבט in the Tribe of Juda till the Messiah comes, does not break the continuity of the blessing which refers to the Tribe as such. In the blessings of the other sons, their future position and lot in the land of Canaan is evidently referred to. It would be going against the context not to consider these two verses in the same way. These verses, then, envision Juda's lot and position in the land of Canaan. They express the fertility of the portion that shall fall to him. This is brought out in characteristic Semitic hyperbole.

אִסְרִי is participle with paragogic yod. בְּנִי is the construct state of בֶּן, as is evident from the laws of parallelism. It is not to be translated

fili mi as in the Vulgate. שרפה is a choice vine, probably from the color of the grapes. פסות aphaeresis from פסות

By this figure, in hyperbolic fashion, the abundance of vineyards in Juda's portion is brought out. He, with reckless abandon as it were, ties his beasts of burden to the vines, and washes his clothes in the abundance of wine at his disposal. There is no question of actual washing in wine, but this merely expresses the great fertility of his vineyards.

The LXX translates v. 12

Χαραπιοὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὑπὲρ οἶνον καὶ λευκοὶ οἱ ὀδόντες
αὐτοῦ ἢ γαλα

The Vulgate

Pulchriores sunt oculi eius vino et dentes eius lacte candidiores.

Grammatically v. 12 can be translated in the comparative sense, as do the LXX and the Vulgate. They can also be translated in a causal sense, as do many modern exegetes. Which translation is to be preferred? If we consider the ancient versions and especially the early Christian writers, the comparative meaning is preferred; but an examination of the context seems to favor the causal meaning. The Targum of Onkelos in vv. 11 and 12 brings out the idea of abundance of wine from the vineyards and the flourishing condition of milk-giving animals due to green pastures. V. 11 speaks of abundance; v. 12 speaks of Juda's partaking of this abundance. If one takes the Messiah as being the subject of these verses, he will naturally accept the comparative sense, which would bring out the beauty of the Messiah; but if one considers Juda as the subject, as the context seems to demand, then the causal sense is the correct translation. The *wine* of v. 12 refers to the wine of v. 11, and a pari the milk of v. 12 refers also to abundance of natural products of the land as brought out in v. 11.

How is v. 12 to be translated? ככלילי is a hapax legomenon in this adjectival form. ככללות as a noun, also occurs only once (Prov. 23:29). In both these cases it refers to a coloring of the eye as a result of drinking wine. Prov. 23:29 has ככללות עינים, which the LXX translates *πελιδνοὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί*, and the Vulgate *suffusio oculorum*. In v. 12 Aquila translates *κατάκοροι*, *satiated with color*. In Prov. 23:29, this is taken in a derogatory sense; but the expression itself may admit of degrees, implying the partaking of wine unstintingly, without necessarily implying the effects of drunkenness. Since in v. 12 this coloring of the eye is contrasted with the whiteness of teeth, one may well translate *dark* without further determination. Teeth do not become white from drinking milk; but the laws of parallelism and a certain analogy justify

the comparison. We need not look for meticulous congruity in comparisons of the Bible. What v. 12 says is that Juda will partake of the abundant natural products of the portion that will fall to him. That is the literal sense of this verse.

THE FULFILLMENT OF THE PROPHECY

First of all, as we said above, Jacob states that these things will come to pass **בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** *in diebus novissimis*. We may translate *in days to come*, implying quite some time before their fulfillment. The blessings envision the future distribution of the tribes in the land of Canaan.

Vv. 8, 9. These verses speak of the eminent, praiseworthy state of the Tribe of Juda in relation to the other tribes. This is due to the valor and victory of Juda against opposing enemies. These enemies will fear Juda and will not rouse him to battle with impunity. Juda, it is true, enjoyed a prominent position in the camps of the desert. He was also a first-line fighter and the first to take possession of his lot. This may have been a preparation for his later eminent position, but it is not the fulfillment of vv. 8, 9. At this time, under Joshua, and during the entire period of the Judges, with the ark at Silo, the Tribe of Ephraim was the most prominent. This can be seen in the Book of Judges. But as the psalm says, "And he rejected the tabernacle of Joseph: and chose not the tribe of Ephraim: But he chose the tribe of Juda, mount Sion which he loved" (Ps. 77:67, 68), it was at the time of the Philistine wars that Juda came into its own in the person of David, the great king who defeated all his enemies and established the kingdom. This primacy of the Tribe of Juda, though not retained in all its Davidic and Solomonic glory, was still kept to a greater or lesser degree. After the captivity, the remnants of the Hebrew people become identified, as it were, with the Tribe of Juda and bear the name of Jew.

V. 10. As mentioned before, this prophecy refers to the Tribe of Juda as such; so when it is said that the sceptre and staff shall not depart from Juda, this refers to a prerogative of the Tribe. The words *sceptre* and *staff* are to be taken metaphorically for *rule* or *autonomy* of some kind. This does not specify any further. It is not said that there will always be kings in Juda or that Juda will always reign over all the other tribes. In going through the history of Juda we see that the **שֹׁבַט** never utterly passed from Juda. It was most glorious under David and Solomon; still glorious in the succeeding centuries. While the northern kingdom had many revolutions, decayed, and was led captive, Juda continued in peaceful succession of kings long after the dissolution of the northern tribes. Then we have the sad Babylonian captivity. The glory was dimmed, but Juda still retained its national and religious entity, and,

in general, was governed by its own laws. Juda, it is true, remained a vassal state, had to pay tribute, but, in general, was unmolested and managed her own affairs. This condition also obtained under the Ptolemies and Seleucids. At times the Jews were oppressed, to be sure; they had their ups and downs, but they still continued to be governed by their own laws. In the time of the Machabees, the reins of government were held by Levites. But even then it cannot be said that what is understood by שִׁבְט passed from Juda. After the exile, the whole Hebrew people became identified with Juda and were called Jews. The שִׁבְט still remained in the bosom of Juda and did not recede, though a Levite was at the head of the government. With the intervention of Pompey, and even with the foisting of Herod on the Jews, the שִׁבְט did not utterly pass from Juda, but its glory was dimmed as never before, for not only was Juda a vassal state, as happened before in her history, but a foreigner was foisted upon the Jews as their king. It is still true, however, that they retained their national entity, had their own laws and lived by them. That is sufficient to say that the שִׁבְט had not utterly passed from Juda. It is at this juncture that he comes to whom the שִׁבְט belongs by native right. He takes this שִׁבְט from the hands of Juda, and rules not only over those Jews who accepted him or acknowledged that the שִׁבְט belonged to him, but over the pagan peoples as well, who waited for the law of Christ and subjected themselves to Him in His kingdom, which is the Church. So in Christ, the Lion of the Tribe of Juda, the sceptre does not pass from Juda but continues on forever.

That, I think, is the fulfillment of v. 10. At the same time, however, respect must be had for the opinion of the early Christian writers and the exegetes throughout the ages who held and still hold the time indication explanation of this prophecy. As regard to fulfillment, they say that the sceptre passed from Juda when Herod the Idumean became king. Then the Messias was to come. From the context of the prophecy itself one could not get that meaning.

Vv. 11, 12, which in hyperbolic fashion describe the fertility of the land that will fall to Juda, were fulfilled in the distribution of the land of Canaan among the tribes. Even today there are some excellent vineyards in that section of Palestine. Sorec in ancient times was named for its excellent choice vines.

THE EXEGESIS OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS

In order properly to appreciate the exegesis of the early Christian writers and Fathers, it must be kept in mind that they explain Old

Testament prophecies not as isolated texts of Scripture, but as of one piece with all the other prophecies, taken both in their literal and typical senses. In other words, they have access to the fuller sense of Scripture; they see the whole pattern before their eyes in the full light of the Gospel. This explains why in certain passages of Scripture they see much more than appears if the single texts are considered by themselves. At the same time, however, it is true that sometimes they exceed proper limits, in so far as they give a particular allegorical explanation which seems farfetched. In such cases, what they say may be true and beautiful, but we cannot be sure that the Holy Spirit connected such a meaning directly with Scripture. Some such allegorical explanations may be justified as the sense of Scripture, but only in so far as they particularize the general typical sense that is really contained in the Scripture.

In the particular passage under discussion, we have to consider vv. 8, 9 and vv. 11, 12. With regard to v. 10, there is not much to be said in this respect, for all agree as to the general messianic explanation. There is difference of opinion among exegetes as to whether the sceptre is ever to recede from Juda or not, but this has already been treated at length.

In vv. 8, 9 we find that many apply these words to Christ. Some consider first the reference to the Tribe; others seem to pass over that and explain the words as applying to Christ. In regard to this it can be said that Christ is not to be excluded from these verses. Although in the first perspective they apply to the Tribe of Juda as a whole, they apply, even in the literal meaning, in an eminent way to Christ, whom St. John calls the Lion of Juda, which has evident reference to this text. Thus, they well apply the praise on the part of the brethren, the triumph over enemies to Christ. Here also might be mentioned Christ's own words "And he who falls on this stone will be broken to pieces; but upon whomsoever it falls, it will grind him to powder." With regard, however, to the death, the lying in the tomb, the Resurrection and Ascension, this is true as a particularization of the victory and triumph of Christ; but when they go into allegorical elements about the lion's whelp (Christ), which, when born, sleeps for three days (Christ in the tomb), then through the roaring of the lion (the Father) wakes up, we cannot be sure that such allegorical elements have any special typically messianic meaning.

Vv. 11, 12. Those who hold that these verses refer to Christ directly, explain them in a literal metaphorical meaning. Even such as Rufinus, who reluctantly admits of the possibility that literally they may refer to the fertility of Juda's land, pass over Juda and more at length give the messianic explanation.

These words do have a messianic meaning, but a typical one. In their literal meaning in the context they refer to the fertility of Juda's portion. It is certain that the blessings of the messianic kingdom are not infrequently portrayed under the type of material blessings. The blessings of Juda's portion are a figure of the spiritual blessings to be enjoyed by those who acknowledge the sceptre of the Messias. What the early exegetes say about Christ and the Church, about his washing the Church in His blood, etc., is true and contained in the typical sense, in so far as they particularize the spiritual blessings or bring out the source of these blessings; but that the Holy Spirit attached a particular meaning to the allegorical elements as explained by the early writers, we cannot be sure. Such explanations are beautiful and edifying, but we cannot be sure that it is the sense directly intended by the Holy Spirit.

In particular with regard to v. 12, though the explanation given is beautiful, and in itself true, I do not think it is based on the literal sense. Even granting that the words refer literally to Christ, as some hold, in the allegorical explanation of the *eyes* and *teeth*, as given by the early writers, we have no guarantee that such is the meaning attached to the words by the Holy Spirit.

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ST. AUGUSTINE'S DEFENSE OF THE HEXAEMERON

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2: DISCOVERY OF THE *KEPHALAIA* OF MANES.

Having already stated briefly the Manichean cosmogony as transmitted to us in the writings of Augustine, we shall now proceed to reconstruct this same cosmogony as it is described in the original documents of the *Kephalaia* uncovered in Egypt within the past fifteen years.

The story of the discovery of these documents is a very interesting one, and seems, in fact, like a fairy tale out of the *Arabian Nights*.⁶⁴ In 1930, Carl Schmidt, the learned professor of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin, while on his way to Palestine with a research party, stopped off in Cairo, and, during his sojourn there, visited several antique shops kept by dealers who were already well known to him.⁶⁵ In one of these shops, he chanced to pick up a book of papyri written in some strange language, yet so closely resembling Greek that he was able to make out the word *Κεφάλαιον*. Hardly believing his eyes, he quickly glanced through the book and immediately noted throughout the manuscript the recurrence of words which were obviously meant to be a rendition of the characteristic, introductory clause of Manes:⁶⁶ "The en-

⁶⁴ C. Schmidt und H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten* (Berlin: 1933), p. 3.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁶ Manes, the founder of Manicheism, was born at Mardinu, Babylonia, in the year 215/16, during the reign of Artabanus, the king of Parthia, an ancient, independent kingdom northwest of Persia. This kingdom of Parthia was conquered in 227 by the Persians under King Ardashir. That same year (227), the "Paraclete" first visited Manes and revealed to him the mystery of light and of darkness, the mystery of the wars and battles between these two, the mystery of the formation of Adam, etc. Toward the end of the reign of King Ardashir (211/12-40), Manes set out upon his world-mission and sailed to India. In the year 240, Sapor I succeeded his father, Ardashir, as king of the Persians, and Manes returned to Persia, where the new King (240-73), received him with favor and listened to his teaching. Later, Manes left Persis and traveled to Babylon, Messene, and Shushan. Subsequent to this, he spent many years traveling among the Persians and the Parthians, at times even reaching Adiabene and the frontiers of the Roman Empire. (Cf. *Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Band I: *Kephalaia* (chapter) 1, pp. 14-16). In his thirty-odd years of traveling through the regions of Asia, Manes labored prodigiously, preaching his doctrines and writing his "sacred" books. He returned to Persia during the reign (274-77) of King Bahram I, where he fell into royal disfavor, and, having been betrayed by hostile rivals, he was, by order of the King, flayed alive, his head struck off, and his corpse impaled on the city-gates at Dschundisābūr in the year 275/76.

lightener spoke again to his disciples . . ." It was unbelievable—here were the famed *Kephalaia* of Manes!

Upon making inquiries, Schmidt learned that a wooden chest had been found that same year by some excavators in the ruins of an old house in Medînet Mâdi, the ruins of an ancient city to the southwest of Fayoum in central Egypt⁶⁷ and to the northwest of present-day Gharak. This chest contained papyrus-books, which were offered to an antique dealer in Fayoum, who bought them for a trifle. This dealer divided the treasure into three parts, sharing it with two other dealers, one of whom had his shop in Cairo. This dividing of the manuscripts was indeed providential, for it furnished the occasion of the learned professor's startling discovery.

When Schmidt reported his discovery to his associates in Berlin, these latter were frankly skeptical about the whole affair. Any misgiving he may have had, however, about the authenticity of the documents, was completely dissipated when he learned that a part of the same original collection (that part owned by the dealer in Fayoum), had been purchased exclusively by Chester Beatty, the well-known London collector.⁶⁸ He was later successful in tracing all the remaining papyrus-books of the original set and was then able to bring them to Berlin.

The entire collection comprises seven books: three in the Berlin section, four in the London. Those of the Berlin collection are: the *Kephalaia*, the *Epistles of Manes*,⁶⁹ and a *History of the Manichean Religion*. Those in the London section are: the *Book of the Psalms*, the *Homilies*, a *Commentary on the Living Gospel*, and a fourth book not yet deciphered. Of these seven books, the first two: the *Kephalaia* and the *Epistles*, are undoubtedly works of Manes himself; the other five are probably writings of his disciples.⁷⁰

The manuscripts, when found by Schmidt, were in a very poor condition, due both to natural causes and to unskillful handling on the part of the excavators as well as of the antique dealers. In the delicate task of restoring them, Schmidt enlisted the aid of H. Ibscher of the State Museum in Berlin, a man world-famous for his skill in the treatment and preservation of papyri. To assist in the work of deciphering them, he was likewise fortunate in enlisting the aid of H. J. Polotsky, a gifted

⁶⁷ C. Schmidt, *Neue Originalquellen des Manichacismus aus Aegypten* (Stuttgart: 1933), p. 4; *id.*, *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 8.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶⁹ All the epistles begin in this fashion: "Manes, the apostle of Jesus Christ. . . ." (*Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 25); cf. Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 13, 4: MPL 42, 283.

⁷⁰ *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 33; *Neue Originalquellen*, pp. 7 and 14.

linguist well grounded in the knowledge of Coptic and other Oriental languages. These three, in July, 1931, began their work of collaboration in preparing the documents for publication.⁷¹

The manuscripts, apparently, came originally from the library of one of the Coptic leaders of the Manichean sect,⁷² of one, namely, engaged in the spread of his religion in Egypt. The language of the manuscripts is a local dialect, not of the region around Medinet Mâdi, where they were found, but of the province of Assiut in upper Egypt; this is a Coptic dialect of the sub-akhmynish variety. They must, then, have originated near present-day Gau el Kebir (the ancient Antioeopolis), some 27 miles south of the town of Assiut and about 50 miles north of present-day Sohag.⁷³ Here one of the pioneer apostles of Manicheism must have translated into the vernacular the original books of the Master.

Manes visioned his sect as a world-religion. A supreme egotist—he knew, from his studies, that Jesus had conquered the West with His Gospel and Parables; that Paul had done likewise with his Epistles; so, too, Marcion, with his Antitheses; and Bardesanes, finally, with his Psalms—and so he (Manes) incorporated into his system a gospel, parables, epistles, psalms, and the gnostic antithetical dualism.⁷⁴ He realized, too, that a “world-religion” had greater prospects of successful propagation if its medium of dissemination was Latin and Greek. His mother-tongue, on the contrary, was a Babylonian-Aramaic dialect, related to Syriac;⁷⁵ accordingly, he had his works translated into Latin and Greek. He reflected, moreover, that the common people might not be conversant with the classical tongues, so he set up an organization that called for his emissaries to translate the “sacred” library of the sect into the vernacular of the regions in which they established their centers of propagation.

The province of Assiut was the starting-point for the propagation of Manicheism in Egypt. The author of the *Acta Archelai* (a document, reputedly of the early part of the fourth century, valuable for the history of Manicheism), writes⁷⁶ of a certain Scythianus, a Saracen apostle of the sect, who married a slave girl from the upper Thebaid. His Egyptian bride persuaded Scythianus to settle in her native land, where he continued his profession of teacher. One of his pupils was Terebinthus, of whom it is reported that he wrote for Scythianus four books: the *Mysteries*, the *Kephalaia*, the *Gospel*, and the *Treasure*.⁷⁷ Neither Terebin-

⁷¹ *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 9.

⁷² *Neue Originalquellen*, p. 6.

⁷³ *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 9.

⁷⁴ *Neue Originalquellen*, p. 28.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷⁶ *Acta Archelai* 52: MPG 10, 1518.

⁷⁷ *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 12.

thus nor Scythianus, however, could have originally composed these works, for, from other sources, it is known, with certainty, that they are the products of Manes.

Epiphanius (315 *ca.*-403), who borrows extensively from the *Acta*, repeats⁷⁸ the legend of Scythianus and Terebinthus, and adds that Scythianus and his Egyptian bride settled in Hypsele. This was a town which, in ancient times, lay about four miles southeast of the town of Assiut; here the sub-akhmynish dialect was spoken.

Regardless of what may be judged of the relative merits of the various interpretations given to the legend of Scythianus and Terebinthus, the following points are uniformly related: a Saracen apostle of Manicheism came to the Thebaid after his marriage and brought the books of Manes with him. Here these were translated first into Coptic and later into the sub-akhmynish dialect—the dialect, namely, of the region that served as a center for the spread of Manicheism in Egypt.⁷⁹

Alexander of Lycopolis (Assiut), at the beginning of the fourth century, wrote⁸⁰ that a certain Papos, an exegete and interpreter of the teachings of the sect—and one mentioned by name in one of the epistles of Manes to Sisinnios,⁸¹—was one of the early emissaries of Manes into Egypt. The *Acta Archelai*,⁸² too, mention a certain Thomas as another early Manichean envoy into Egypt. Serapion, also, who, as bishop, ruled Thmuis in the district of Alexandria from the year 339, gives, in his polemic *Against the Manicheans*, eloquent testimony to the infiltration of the doctrines of the sect into the life of the Egyptians.⁸³ In fact, the early champions⁸⁴ of Christianity waged war valiantly against the followers of Manes. And, indeed, ever since some Coptic translations of Christian polemics against the Manicheans were unearthed,⁸⁵ it has been the well-founded hope of interested scholars that Coptic translations of original Manichean writings, too, might be uncovered in Egypt, the land well-known, for centuries, as a fecund source of great discoveries of early papyri.

The discovery by Schmidt of Coptic manuscripts of the works of Manes is an outstanding contribution to the Western World's first-hand knowledge of the teachings of Manicheism. After a critical study

⁷⁸ Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses* 66: MPG 42, 29.

⁷⁹ *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 13.

⁸⁰ Alexander of Lycopolis, *De placitis manichaeorum* 2: MPG 18, 413.

⁸¹ *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 15.

⁸² *Acta Archelai* 53: MPG 10, 1520.

⁸³ Serapion of Thmuis, *Adversus manichaeos*: MPG 40, 899.

⁸⁴ *E.g.*, Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 348), *Catechesis* 6, 21-24: MPG 33, 573-80.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 16.

based on the language and the material make-up of the manuscripts, Schmidt, Polotsky, and Ibscher conclude⁸⁶ that they were executed in the second half of the fourth century, about one hundred years after the death of Manes (275/76). Their date of composition, then, makes them contemporaneous, in Egypt, with Augustine in Africa.

Among the sub-akhmynish manuscripts found in Medinet Mâdi, the *Kephalaia* hold first rank. In fact, the discovery of these *Kephalaia* fills up what had been a distressing void in the list of primary sources on Manicheism. They had been, for quite some time, but vaguely known. It had been accepted that Manes wrote such a work, yet knowledge of it was meager, its identity never clearly established, and its contents, for the most part, a matter of mere conjecture. Beausobre and Alfarc mention the title; but the former relates that he never saw even a fragment of the opus, while the latter makes some shrewd guesses as to its nature.⁸⁷

From an analysis of the text and its language, there would seem to be no reasonable doubt but that these manuscripts are a translation of that original work of Manes, which in Greek bore the title: *Κεφάλαια τοῦ διδασκάλου*: "The *Kephalaia* of the Teacher (Master)."⁸⁸ As well as can be determined at this time, the last chapter (*Kephalaion*) bears the number 172, and the manuscripts number more than 520 pages. Up to the present, 95 of the *Kephalaia*, numbering 244 pages, have made their appearance in print.⁸⁹

A fair estimate of Ibscher's painstaking work in the treatment of the manuscripts may be had through a comparison of the newly found docu-

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 34 and 83.

⁸⁷ Is. de Beausobre *Histoire critique de Manichée et du manichéisme*. (Amsterdam: 1734 et 1739), t. 1, p. 427; P. Alfarc, *L'évolution intellectuelle de saint Augustin*, t. 1, *Du manichéisme au néoplatonisme* (Paris: 1918), pp. 80 and 140; *id.*, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, t. 2: *Étude analytique* (Paris: 1919), pp. 9, 11, 12, 21-34.

N. B.—Mention of the *Kephalaia* is made by the following: *Acta A-chelai* 52: MPG 10, 1518; Alex. of Lycop., *De plac. man.* 5: MPG 18, 417; Titus of Bostra [who died under Valens (328-78)], *Adversus manichaeos* 3, praef.: MPG 18, 1209; Cyril of Jerus., *Cat.* 6, 22: MPG 33, 576; Epiph., *Adv. haer.* 66: MPG 42, 33; Theodoret of Cyr (393?-458?), *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* 1, 26: MPG 83, 381; Timothy of Constantinople, *De receptione haereticorum*: MPG 86, 21; Severus (Patriarch of Antioch from 512 to 518), *Homily* 123. For this last-named, see P. Alfarc, *Les Écritures man.*, t. 2, pp. 26-27; also F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme*, II: *Extrait de la 123 homélie de Sévère d'Antioche* (Bruxelles: 1912), p. 99.

⁸⁸ *Ein Mani-Fund*, pp. 17-18.

⁸⁹ *Manichaeische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Band 1: *Kephalaia*, Lieferungen 1-10 (Stuttgart: 1935-39).

ments, as shown in the photostatic copy which appears in the book,⁹⁰ with the finished product of the printed copy. Unfortunately, there are many gaps or "lacunae" in the manuscripts, especially in the early pages, due to the deplorable state of the newly discovered documents—a condition caused by the rough treatment accorded the original papyri; but as a whole, the work of Ibscher is decidedly well done. Polotsky effects the translation of the Coptic dialect into German. His work, too, is superb; he more than translates—he actually places the lines of the German rendition in juxtaposition with those of the Coptic. Wherever there is doubt of the exact German word for the Coptic, he uses the Greek equivalent of the latter.

It is from the *Kephalaia*, namely, the first book in the Berlin collection, written by Manes himself, translated from the Greek into the sub-akhmynish dialect of the Coptic,—the original property of a Copt, discovered by Schmidt, treated and made readable by Ibscher, and deciphered by Polotsky (and Boehlig),—that we have been enabled to compile the essential points of the Manichean cosmogony.

3: MANICHEAN COSMOGONY ACCORDING TO THE *KEPHALAIA*

The *Kephalaia* show Manes in the role of teacher, explaining, instructing, and interpreting, in a conversational manner, the doctrines of his religion to his twelve disciples,⁹¹ gathered together in a sort of college. He uses a form of address similar to that found in ancient Christian writings of the second century.⁹² He employs, too, the catechetical method, giving the answers to questions proposed by his disciples—his purpose being, ostensibly, that of introducing his followers into the "mysteries" of his religion, which they are later to propagate. Individual chapters are devoted to individual mysteries.

The first "Kephalaion", in its introduction, where it deals with the two eternal principles, is practically illegible. However, from a scattered word or phrase here and there, it is clear that its first part deals with the two Realms, Light and Darkness, eternally in conflict. From this introduction and the following "Kephalaia", we may thus reconstruct Manes' account of this conflict and the subsequent establishment of the universe.

In the battle between the two Realms, the Realm of Darkness waged war against that of Light.⁹³ Rising to the combat, the Father of Majesty,

⁹⁰ *Ein Mani-Fund*, Tafel I.

⁹¹ Cf. Augustine, *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 38.

⁹² Schmidt, *Neue Originalquellen*, p. 9.

⁹³ *Kephalaia*, introd., p. 4.

the eternal King of the Realm of Light,⁹⁴ evoked the Mother of the Living, who, in turn, evoked the First Man,⁹⁵ the Father's gladiator.⁹⁶ Putting on his armor (i.e., his five sons, the good elements: light, air, water, fire, and wind),⁹⁷ the First Man went forth to give battle⁹⁸ to Hyle,⁹⁹ the Ruler of the Kingdom of Darkness,¹⁰⁰ who had initiated the assault on the Realm of Light. Hyle was accompanied by his five sons, the evil elements: darkness, evil wind, evil water, evil fire, and smoke.¹⁰¹ The war was on!

In the battle that ensued, the First Man and the five good elements were vanquished and, as a result, were devoured by the archons of the Land of Darkness, and thus were imprisoned in the matter of their conquerors.¹⁰² And so light was mixed with darkness, air with smoke, good water with evil water, good fire with evil fire, and good wind with evil wind.¹⁰³ The First Man and the five good elements subsequently languished in captivity until the Father of Majesty, at the earnest entreaty of the First Man, sent other forces to liberate them.¹⁰⁴

The second emanation from the Father of Majesty was the Friend of the Lights.¹⁰⁵ The latter evoked the Great Architect,¹⁰⁶ who in turn evoked the Living Spirit.¹⁰⁷ Donning the three garments of wind, of fire, and of water,¹⁰⁸ the Living Spirit went to the aid of the First Man and the five good elements imprisoned in the archons of the Land of Darkness, i.e., in Hyle and the evil elements.¹⁰⁹ After rescuing the First Man, the Living Spirit led him back to the Father of Majesty and to the Mother of the Living in the Kingdom of Light.¹¹⁰ Then the same Spirit, aided and abetted by his five sons: *Φεγγοκάτοχος*, Rex Honoris, Adamas, Rex Gloriosus, and *Ἰμοφόρος*,¹¹¹ formed ten heavens and eight

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, chapter 7, page 34; 16, 51; 19, 60.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 9, 39; 16, 49; 18, 58; 24, 71.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5, 28.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 4, 25; 10, 43; 23, 69; 51, 127.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 18, 58.

⁹⁹ *Keph.* 4, 26; 6, 31; 24, 74; 27, 78.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 5, 29.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 4, 25; 18, 58; 23, 69.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 16, 50.

¹⁰³ *Keph.* 54, 131.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 17, 56; 18, 58; 39, 102.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 7, 34; 16, 49.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 11, 44; 16, 49; 24, 72; 28, 79.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 16, 49; 24, 72.

¹⁰⁸ *Keph.* 30, 83; 42, 107.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 32, 85.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9, 39; 17, 56; 19, 60; 39, 102; 53, 129.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 4, 25; 32, 85; 38, 91.

earths out of the evil elements¹¹² which had devoured the good elements; by so doing, he imprisoned them in this visible world of ours.¹¹³ In these heavens and earths, he arranged everything in its place according to the amount of light it contained. Out of the purest fire he made the sun, out of the most limpid waters he made the moon, the two great light-ships in the heavens,—whose work was to liberate the particles of light still imprisoned in matter in the heavens and on the earths, and to conduct them back to the Realm of Light.¹¹⁴ The stars, which he placed in the heavens, were lesser lights whose function was to distinguish the times.¹¹⁵

When the Living Spirit had thus arranged all things in the heavens, he descended from the regions on high down to the earths below.¹¹⁶ Of these eight earths, four were places of darkness, and the other four were mixtures of light and darkness.¹¹⁷ Upon these earths, he arranged, in order, the trees and all things rooted in the earth, as well as those things that were to creep on the earth.¹¹⁸

Rex Gloriosus, helping the Spirit, mounted his three wheels (of fire, of water, and of wind), upon the earths and held all things in place.¹¹⁹ And Ὠμοφόρος was to support on his shoulders the disk (universe) which the Living Spirit had made.¹²⁰

Up to this point, there was no life on the earth.¹²¹ After the First Man and the Living Spirit, the Third Messenger,¹²²—i.e., the second Father, who is the image of the Father of Majesty,—now appeared on the scene.¹²³ He came to wage a third war against the evil archons who were again rebelling.¹²⁴ He advanced to a further stage the establishment of the universe, setting in motion the three wheels of Rex Gloriosus and in this way sending life to the earth and the upper worlds.¹²⁵ He evoked the Virgin of Light,¹²⁶ and both dwelt in the great light-ships:

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 19, 60; 44, 115; 47, 118; 54, 131.

¹¹³ *Keph.* 16, 51.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, cc. 42-43, pp. 107-113.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 44, 114; 46, 117-118; 47, 118; 48, 122.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 48, 120.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 47, 118.

¹¹⁸ *Keph.* 48, 121-22.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 36, 88; 38, 91; 44, 113; 70, 172.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 33, 86.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 48, 121-22.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 18, 59; 34, 87.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 7, 35; 10, 43; 12, 45; 20, 63; 24, 72.

¹²⁴ *Keph.*, 18, 59; 34, 87.

¹²⁵ *Locis cit.*; *ibid.*, 70, 172.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 7, 35.

he in the sun (living fire), she, with the First Man, in the moon (living water).¹²⁷ The office of the Third Messenger was the perfecting of future men, i.e., it consisted in liberating enslaved particles of light from their imprisonment within the powers of evil, and conducting them in the light-ships back to the Realm of Light.¹²⁸

The larger animals originated in the five worlds (dens) in the Kingdom of Darkness. Therein, the five evil elements spontaneously bubbled forth, forming five trees. Out of these five trees (in some way not clearly indicated), five species of creatures, called demons, were fashioned—each species corresponding respectively to each of the five worlds in the Kingdom of Darkness where they dwelt. Each species was composed of male and female.¹²⁹

The five worlds in the Kingdom of Darkness correspond to the five evil elements: darkness, evil water, evil wind, evil fire, and smoke. In the world of darkness, whose ruler is a dragon, serpents and creeping things originate. The world of evil water has a king, resembling a fish, from whom all swimming things are derived. The world of evil wind possesses a king who resembles an eagle, and all flying things come from him. The world of evil fire has a king like to a lion, who is responsible for the origin of all four-footed animals.¹³⁰ In the world of smoke, biped animals originate from the demons proper to that world; here, too, actual man (to be distinguished from the First Man) derives his origin.¹³¹

During the violent revolution which occurred when the Third Messenger, coming to do battle with the rebellious archons,¹³² set in motion the wheel of wind, the wheel of water, and the wheel of fire (i.e., the three wheels of Rex Gloriosus), all the above-described (abortive) offspring in the five worlds of the Kingdom of Darkness crashed down upon the earth.¹³³ The presence here on earth of these five species of animals is thus accounted for, and, since each species consists of male and female, these animals reproduce their own kind of offspring.

The archons of evil, demons of the world of smoke, produced Adam and Eve, the first man and the first woman.¹³⁴ Sin, which sprang from the evil archons (of whom Hyle is one), went forth to meet the Exalted

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, 20; 5, 28; 14, 47; 20, 63-64; 29, 82.

¹²⁸ *Keph.*, introd., p. 4; 35, 87.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 6, 30; 23, 68.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 6, 33; 27, 77-78; 38, 91; 69, 167.

¹³¹ *Locis cit.*; *ibid.*, 55, 135.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 16, 52; 18, 59.

¹³³ *Keph.*, 4, 27; 34, 87; 56, 137.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 38, 93; 55, 135.

One (the Third Messenger), when the latter came to do battle against the powers of darkness. Struck by the beauty of the Third Messenger, Sin fashioned a tree and issued from it as its fruit.¹³⁵ This fruit contained the image of the Exalted One, of whom Sin had caught a glimpse. The archons consumed this fruit and the light of the image contained therein. This light they gave to Saclas, one of their princes, who thereupon formed Adam and Eve in the flesh. For this reason, Adam is said to be made after the image of the Third Messenger. And, in making Adam and Eve, male and female, Saclas was enabled to accomplish the imprisonment in the flesh of all the particles of light which his companion archons had given over to him for just that purpose.

Adam and Eve contained more light than present-day men and women and were stronger in their bodies. This greater richness in light and in corporal strength accounts for the fact that they lived so long—so much longer than men and women live today—and begot more offspring.¹³⁶ They and all their progeny individually constitute a battlefield for the contest between the forces of good and those of evil. In this conflict, the forces of good tend to lead man unto Life while the evil archons strive to drag him down to death.¹³⁷ And, though harassed by the strife within him, he must never lose hope; Jesus will come to carry him in the great light-ship back to glory in the Realm of Light.¹³⁸

* * * * *

The foregoing is a reconstruction, in brief, of the Manichean cosmogony as known from all available¹³⁹ numbers of the *Kephalaia* of Manes. No doubt, succeeding numbers will enrich us with more details concerning Adam and his vicissitudes. There is, however, sufficient material at hand in the available numbers to furnish us with a basis for comparison between the Manichean cosmogony, in the original, and the account of it which Augustine transmitted to us.

VI

1: COMPARISON BETWEEN AUGUSTINE'S ACCOUNT AND THAT OF THE KEPHALAIA.

The similarity, doctrine for doctrine, between Augustine's account of the Manichean cosmogony and that cosmogony as described in the Coptic manuscripts of the *Kephalaia* is so striking that one is forced to admit that, in the main, both are in entire accord.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 17, 56; 24, 74; 56, 137-38.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 57, 146.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 64, 157.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 18, 59.

¹³⁹ *Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Band I: *Kephalaia*, 95 chapters, 244 pages.

If we examine carefully the two accounts, making allowance for the occasional differences in the terms employed, it will become at once apparent that Augustine omits no important feature in his description of the system—a fact all the more remarkable when we reflect that the Manicheans were more loquacious in attacking others than in explaining their own position,¹ and that it was not the aim of Augustine to give a detailed picture, as in a history, of the various features and ramifications found in the teaching of Manes. His avowed aim was to single out the errors of these teachings for a refutation so complete as to preclude any further defense of, or belief in, them.

In this work of refutation, it should be natural to expect Augustine to limit himself to the more important teachings and the errors these implied. Certainly it would have been entirely foreign to his scope to enter into a maze of minor details having no particular bearing on the main points of controversy.

As a matter of fact, however, Augustine goes much further than in fairness and justice, considering the aim he had proposed for himself, might have been expected of him, for in his account is included not only every essential detail, but every really important feature as well.

We have said that Augustine has omitted in his account no important feature. It is true, of course, that certain points of minor moment are not mentioned, but these can by no means be called important features and, without them, the Manichean system is still intact. Often, too, the omission is not a complete one, the same thing being expressed in other words or implied in things already stated.

Thus, for instance, Augustine makes no mention of the Mother of the Living, the intermediary emanation between the Father of Majesty and the First Man, yet he does state the important fact that the First Man emanated from the Father of Majesty, the function of the Mother of the Living in this emanation being entirely inconsequential.² On the same score may be explained his failure to mention the Friend of the Lights and the Great Architect, the intermediary emanations between the Father of Majesty and the Living Spirit, for these intermediaries, too, as far as our present knowledge goes, played an altogether unimportant role in the Manichean system. Here, in passing, we may note that the Living Spirit is called, by Augustine, the Powerful Spirit.³

¹ *De ut. cred.* 1: MPL 42, 66.

² *Cont. Faust.* 2, 3; 11, 3 et 20, 9: MPL 42, 210; 246 et 375; *Cont. ep. Man.* 12-13: MPL 42, 181-3.

³ *Cont. Faust.* 20, 9: MPL 42, 375.

Again, he omits any mention of the name of the Third Messenger, although he does note some facts and functions of the latter,⁴ and even alludes to a similar appellation when he calls the Holy Spirit the Third Majesty.⁵ It was the function of the Third Messenger to wage war on the rebellious archons, to advance to a further stage the establishment of the universe, and, finally, to command Rex Gloriosus to set in motion the three wheels of fire, water, and wind, and thus to cause life to begin on the earth and in the upper worlds. But this omission, too, may be adjudged an unimportant one since, on the other hand, Augustine does mention the really important features found in the description of the work in which the Third Messenger was to aid. He tells⁶ us that Rex Gloriosus set in motion the three wheels, though, it is true, he does not indicate that this was done at someone else's command.

Moreover, when we remember that everything had already been arranged in order by the Living Spirit and that Rex Gloriosus had already mounted his wheels upon the earth before the Third Messenger appeared upon the scene, we can easily perceive that, very probably, the functions of the latter were considered by Augustine,—and properly so,—as those of the Living Spirit and of Rex Gloriosus already stated, and hence Augustine was guilty of no great fault in failing to mention him.

Prescinding, then, from occasional details purely minor in character, we feel justified in asserting that the similarity in all its important features between the Manichean cosmogony as related in the original documents (the *Kephalaia*) and the same system as described by Augustine is so remarkable that, upon careful examination, one appears to be practically a repetition of the other. In truth, a studied comparison between the two accounts shows them to be entirely in accord.

Here, however, by way of illustrating Augustine's fidelity in transmitting the important features of this cosmogony, we should like to single out two particular points. The first has to do with the Manichean doctrine on the origin of the larger living animals, so typical an example of the exuberant phantasy and fertile imagination of Manes that one doubts whether it could come from any other source.

According to Manes,⁷ the larger living animals originated in the five worlds within the Kingdom of Darkness, corresponding to the five evil elements: darkness, smoke, evil fire, evil water, and evil wind. In the world of darkness, serpents were produced; in the smoke, bipeds, in-

⁴ *De nat. bon.* 44 et 46: MPL 42, 568-9.

⁵ *Cont. Faust.* 20, 2: MPL 42, 369.

⁶ *Ibid.* 15, 6 et 20, 10: MPL 42, 309 et 376.

⁷ *Kephalaia* 6, 33; 27, 77-8; 38, 91; 69, 167.

cluding man; in the world of fire, all quadrupeds; in the world of water, all swimming things; and in that of wind, all flying things. The animals of the five worlds were male and female and resembled their respective kings. These leaders were formed from five trees which, in their turn, had been formed from the five evil elements that had bubbled forth spontaneously. It is not made clear, however, in the text, just how these first bodies issued from the trees.

This, then, is Manes' account in the *Kephalaia* of the origin of the larger animals—an account which savors of a vivid imagination gone wild.

The account given by Augustine⁸ is practically the same as that described in the *Kephalaia*, with the exception that instead of the term "world", found in the text of Manes, he employs the term "dens" or "caves".

Unless he were positively sure that Manes had actually taught this weird doctrine of the elements' bubbling forth into trees, out of which came the different species, male and female,—as a practised controversialist he would never have dared to attribute it to the Persian and his followers, as he does in the following passage from his argument against the Manichean teaching on the uncleanness of flesh: "Indeed, they [the Manicheans] think the first bodies of the Princes of Darkness arose, as do worms, from trees born in the same place [viz., in the Kingdom of Darkness]; moreover, they think the trees arose from those five elements."⁹ In fact, not only does he state Manes' doctrine, but he even seeks to illustrate it with the example of worms which are born, as he declares,¹⁰ not of carnal copulation, but in apples, in trees, and in the earth itself. Had he not been thoroughly familiar with Manichean teachings, it would have been dangerous for him, in his controversies,

⁸ *De haer.* 46: MPL 42, 35; *Cont. ep. Man.* 15 et 28: MPL 42, 184 et 194.

⁹ *Cont. Faust.* 6, 8: MPL 42, 235: "Nam ipsa prima corpora principum tenebrarum, ex arboribus ibidem natis tanquam vermiculos opinantur exorta; ipsas autem arbores ex quinque illis elementis." In a note on chapter 6, page 30, of the *Kephalaia*, where this text is cited, the ablative *vermiculos* is erroneously substituted in place of the accusative *vermiculos*. Zycha (CSEL 25, 297), cites the text as related above; however, he makes note of the variant *vermiculis*. Yet, this variant is founded on the authority of no MS. It is found only in an edition of Augustine's works published in Basel in 1506 by John Amerbach. (To collect his material, Amerbach employed a certain Dodone, a canon regular of Friesland, who visited libraries in Germany, France, and Italy to copy from MSS.) Since this variant is not based on the authority of any MS whatsoever, it cannot be accepted. The text, then, must be read with *vermiculos* in accordance with the reading found in Migne.

¹⁰ *De mor. man.* 16: MPL 32, 1366.

even to touch upon this highly involved and delicate point. Instead of sidestepping the issue, however, he attempts to explain away the obscurity in the procession of bodies from trees,—which is more than Manes himself attempts in the parallel place in the *Kephalaia*.

The second instance we have chosen to illustrate the reliability of Augustine in transmitting the main features of the Manichean cosmogony deals with the five gods, the sons of the Living Spirit.

In the work¹¹ of Schmidt and Polotsky, these five sons are mentioned according to their Latin names: Splenditenens, Rex Honoris, Adamas, Rex Gloriosus, Atlas Maximus,—the very names employed by Augustine.¹²

Here we should like to dwell a moment on the name Splenditenens, which, to our mind, has a very important bearing on our contentions. Baur, in his monumental work,¹³ states that the name Splenditenens is entirely *original* with Augustine. So too, Forcellini, in his work¹⁴ dealing with unusual words in Latin literature, gives credit for it exclusively to Augustine.

Baur further observes that Φεγγοκάτοχος, the exact Greek equivalent of Splenditenens is found only in Cotelier. This observation is confirmed by the Greek lexicon,¹⁵ which, for Greek literature, covers the same field as does that of Forcellini in Latin letters. According to the author of this lexicon, the only occurrence of the word Φεγγοκάτοχος is in a work ascribed to Clement of Rome.¹⁶ In the text of this work, the word is misspelt, and Cotelier corrects it in a footnote. Moreover, it would seem that in the various edited works of Augustine, Splenditenens is never taken as the name of a god. In fact, wherever it appears, it is always written with a small initial, despite the fact that it frequently stands alongside of Atlas, which is capitalized.¹⁷ This would seem to furnish some foundation for the suspicion that even the copyists of the manuscripts of the works of Augustine, and the editors, too, were unaware that the word Splenditenens was to be taken as the name of a god.

Everything would seem to indicate, however, that Augustine did know Splenditenens as the name of a god, and, indeed, as the name of that god

¹¹ *Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten*, p. 75.

¹² *Cont. Faust.* 15, 6: MPL 42, 309.

¹³ F. Chr. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem* (Tuebingen: 1831), p. 79.

¹⁴ Aegid. Forcellini, *Totius latinitatis lexicon* (Prati: 1871) s.v. "Splenditenens."

¹⁵ Α. Κωνσταντινίδου, *Λεξικὸν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, (Ἀθήναις: 1910), s. v.

"Φεγγοκάτοχος."

¹⁶ Clement of Rome?, *Recognitiones*: MPG 1, 1461, note 72.

¹⁷ *Cont. Faust.* 15, 5 et 6; 20, 9: MPL 42, 307 et 309; 374-5.

who is designated in the original manuscripts by the Coptic equivalent of the Greek appellation. How else are we to explain the complete accord in the listing of the names of the five gods both by Augustine and by Manes?¹⁸ In fact, considering all the circumstances, it does not appear unlikely that Augustine had at hand a Latin translation of the writings of Manes and made use of the terminology found therein.¹⁹

It remains for us now, briefly, to consider the charge of Beausobre, who questions the authority of Augustine and the reliability of his testimony concerning the Manichean teachings, basing his charge on the fact that Augustine during the nine years of his membership in the Manichean sect was only an auditor and, as such, could have had no access to its books, which, in accordance with the rules of Manicheism, were reserved exclusively for the use of the elect, who were expressly forbidden to confide them to the auditors.²⁰

Beausobre further alleges that Augustine's knowledge, in any event, could not have been derived from Manichean writings, since these were written in Syriac, Persian, or Greek—languages unknown to Augustine. It follows, therefore, according to Beausobre, that as Augustine's knowledge was not derived from any reliable sources, it cannot, in consequence, be considered trustworthy.

In answer to the charges of Beausobre, we may be permitted to observe that, while it may be true that Augustine, as an auditor in the ranks of Manicheism, had no access to the books of the sect, our concern is not with the auditor Augustine, but rather with the Augustine who wrote against the sect. It may be true that he, as an auditor, did not have in his possession the writings of Manicheism, but, on the other hand, he wrote nothing against the Manicheans while still one of their number. It may be true, too, that he made no use of the Manichean sources written in Syriac, Persian, or Greek, but it seems quite gratuitous to infer from this fact, if fact it be, that there were no other sources to which he might have had recourse for his knowledge.

Here we are interested in the fact rather than in any speculation by which it may be explained. Whatever may be said by way of explanation, the fact itself seems clearly obvious that Augustine, at the time in which he wrote against the Manicheans, was quite familiar with their writings, and most likely had before him a Latin translation of them.

¹⁸ *Cont. Faust.* 15, 6: MPL 42, 309; and *Keph.* 38, 91.

¹⁹ Cf. P. Alfarc, "Un manuscrit manichéen," *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, VI (mars, 1920), 62 ff.

²⁰ Is. de Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du manichéisme* (Amsterdam: 1734 et 1739), t. 1, p. 426; t. 2, p. 399 ff.

In fact, his familiarity with the books of Manicheism is attested by the frequent mention he makes of them in the course of his writings.²¹ Moreover, in two of his works,²² he quotes in Latin the words of Manes at such great length that no other plausible explanation seems possible.

This conclusion is confirmed, too, by the remarkable parallel between Augustine's account of the details of Manichean theory and the description of those same details as found in the Egyptian manuscripts—a parallel which is readily explained if we admit that he had at hand²³ a faithful translation, at least, of the Manichean writings. This is the obvious explanation, and any other would be difficult to sustain with reasonable hopes for success against the weight of evidence found in the facts we have just cited.

As a further instance of the striking parallel between the content of Augustine's writings and that of the Egyptian manuscripts, we may refer to the names of the five gods, the five sons of the Living Spirit, as listed in the *Kephalaia*,²⁴ and the same list as set down by Augustine in *Contra Faustum*.²⁵ In the former, the five names are listed in the short space of twelve lines; in the latter, and in even less space, the names of the very same five gods are listed in Latin, and in the *exact, same order*. This remarkable agreement in detail is but another confirmation of Augustine's knowledge and of the reliability of the sources at his command. He had an accurate knowledge of the doctrines of the sect, a knowledge which Beausobre²⁶ would deny to him,—but which the Manichean Fortunatus conceded in the following statement: "Because I know you were in the midst of us, those things [just described by you] are the principal teachings [Kephalaia?] of our faith."²⁷

Besides the necessary knowledge, Augustine also had the veracity required in one who is to be considered an authority. It is unfair to say, as Alfarc does,²⁸ that Augustine, the rhetorician of Carthage, believing in Manicheism, should be accepted as an authority, rather than Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo, criticizing it. The mind of the rhetorician of Carthage was by no means at ease during his nine years in the ranks

²¹ *Cont. Faust.* 13, 6; 15, 5: MPL 42, 285; 307; *Cont. Fel.* 1, 14: MPL 42, 529; *Conf.* 5, 3 et 6-7: MPL 32, 707 et 710-11; et alibi.

²² *Cont. ep. Man.* 12, 13, 15, 28: MPL 42, 182-4, 194; *De nat. bon.* 44 et 46: MPL 42, 568 et 569-70.

²³ *De mor. man.* 12: MPL 32, 1356.

²⁴ *Keph.* 38, 91.

²⁵ *Cont. Faust.* 15, 6: MPL 42, 309.

²⁶ *Histoire critique de Manichée*, I, 426; II, 399 ff.

²⁷ *Cont. Fort.* 1, in initio: MPL 42, 113.

²⁸ *L'év. int. de saint Augustin*, I, 92 f.

of the sect, and his fellow members, unable to dissipate his doubts, begged him to wait for Faustus, who, when he came, would surely explain away the harassing difficulties. Faustus finally did come, but he showed himself to be as powerless as the others; his special virtue lay merely in his ability to say the same things only in a more pleasing way.²⁹ Would one, then, consider Augustine in this unsettled frame of mind as an authority on the teachings of the sect? His first anti-Manichean work was *De moribus Ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus manichaeorum*, which he wrote, not as a member of the sect, but after his conversion to the true faith, when his mind was calmer.

It is true that Augustine, as Bishop of Hippo, was severe on the Manicheans, yet, in his severity, he did not cease to be a true authority in the matter of his knowledge of their doctrines, and of his faithfulness in recording these. It must be remembered that the Bishop of Hippo took seriously the responsibility attendant upon the care of the souls assigned to his charge, and this sense of responsibility explains his rigor in stamping out Manicheism in Africa, and his ardor in writing against its tenets. It was two years after his episcopal consecration that he wrote *Contra Faustum*, the work in which we find such remarkable agreement between his account of the Manichean cosmogony and that of the original documents of Medinet Mâdi—in particular, the striking similarity in the doctrine of the origin of the larger animals, and in the listing of the five sons of the Living Spirit. This striking similarity between *Contra Faustum* and the *Kephalaia* proves, beyond doubt, that the Bishop of Hippo possessed an accurate knowledge of the Manichean teachings and transmitted them faithfully. He obtained his knowledge from reliable sources, probably a Latin translation of the writings of Manes. In view of all this, then, the charges of Beausobre and Alfarcic and all those who, with them, may be inclined to challenge the authority of Augustine in this field, seem to be without any solid foundation in fact.

In bringing to an end this section of our study wherein we have attempted to compare the account of the Manichean cosmogony given to us by Augustine and that of the Egyptian manuscripts, we feel justified in concluding that those documents not only fail to detract in any way from the authority and reliability of Augustine's testimony on the teachings of Manes, but on the contrary, are an eloquent confirmation of the value of that authority. In the light of this confirmation, therefore, the charges of Beausobre, Alfarcic, and others who would question that authority, are revealed as even more untenable.

²⁹ *Conf.* 5, 3, 6-7: MPL 32, 707, 710-11.

2: CONCLUSIONS.

Here, by way of concluding our study, we should like to make a few brief remarks about the findings of our investigation. At the outset, we considered Augustine's defense and interpretation of the Mosaic narrative of the work of the six days of creation against the Manicheans.

As is well known, Augustine, in interpreting Sacred Scripture, did not make use of the Hebrew text; he employed, rather, Latin versions, some of which he corrected from the Greek.³⁰ The text of the version he used in his *De Genesi contra manichaeos* is substantially the same as the text of those versions cited in other works. The variations in the text may be classified under three general heads: (a)—changes in word order; (b)—additions and omissions of words, phrases, and clauses which do not affect the meaning of the passage; (c)—additions and omissions, which, while affecting the meaning, do not alter materially the sense of the passage as a whole.³¹ The text reveals, on the whole, a freer and more idiomatic translation than, for example, that cited in *De Genesi ad litteram*, but, on the other hand, the translation is in keeping with the character of the work in which it is cited.

In *De Genesi contra manichaeos*, Augustine uses the allegorical method of interpretation—and this for two reasons: he had at the time no better method at his command and, secondly, he considered this method better adapted to the mentality of his adversaries. In his allegorical interpretation of the significance of the seven days, he pushes, perhaps, this method to exorbitant limits; yet, in this, he should not be criticized too harshly. We should remember that it was his aim to demonstrate that the Mosaic narrative, besides being historical in character, was also prophetic. In this fashion he sought to reprove the Manicheans for not accepting the Prophets.³²

The scope of *De Genesi contra manichaeos* was not so much to expound the literal sense of the first chapters of the Mosaic narrative, as to defend that account against the calumnies of the Manicheans, who ridiculed, for example, the anthropomorphisms employed in the Old Testament to aid in the understanding of difficult truths. Accordingly, Augustine, in developing the spiritual significance of the facts narrated, emphasized the method of allegorical interpretation; wherefore, his comments on the history of creation are not to be judged according to the definite rules of strict exegesis, nor is fault to be found with his spirit of

³⁰ *Epist.* 261: MPL 33, 1077.

³¹ Cf. J. S. McIntosh, *A Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis*, pp. 71 ff.

³² *De Gen. contra man.* 1, 23: MPL 34, 193; *De Gen. ad lit.* 8, 2: MPL 34, 374; *Cont. Faust.* 12, 7-8: MPL 42, 257-8.

allegory which becomes more pronounced in the final chapters of the first book of *De Genesi contra manichaeos* as well as in some of the second. In passing judgment upon the method employed, we repeat that the important thing to remember is that the work is not a strict exegesis, but rather a defense against the attacks of adversaries notorious for their wild flights of fantasy; and, as such, the method employed serves its purpose.

In the course of our study, we described the cosmogony of Manicheism as transmitted in the anti-Manichean works of Augustine, and that same system as set down in the original *Kephalaia* of Manes. The striking similarity between these two accounts, as we have noted in our critique, confirms the fact that Augustine's recording of these doctrines on the origin of the universe is in accordance with historical truth.

We need not here repeat what we have stated in our critique, where we pointed out the remarkable similarity—particularly in the teaching on the origin of the larger animals and in the listing of the five gods—between Augustine's account and that related in the Coptic manuscripts. This similarity proves beyond doubt that Augustine had an accurate knowledge of the teachings of the sect, and confirms his authority on the subject. This authority, in the strict sense of the term, stands vindicated against the charges of Beausobre, Alfarcic, and all others who would question it.

Considering the striking similarity between the *Kephalaia* and *Contra Faustum*³³ in listing, in the exact, same order, the names of the five sons of the Living Spirit, it seems plausible to suppose that a common source was used for both. Could it be that Augustine had a Latin version of the original writings corresponding to the Coptic translation? In the *Confessions*,³⁴ he states that Latin translations of Manichean books existed among the members of the sect. Moreover, his mention³⁵ of the valuable and precious codices of the Manicheans takes on an added significance in view of what Schmidt, Polotsky, and Ibscher say concerning the originally beautiful make-up of the newly discovered Egyptian documents.³⁶

Finally, we may call attention to the importance of the name *Splenditens*, the first in Augustine's list of the names of the five gods, the sons of the Living Spirit. As we already remarked, this name is entirely original with Augustine and was meant by him to indicate that god who

³³ *Keph.* 38, 91; *Cont. Faust.* 15, 6: MPL 42, 309.

³⁴ *Conf.* 5, 6: MPL 32, 710.

³⁵ *Cont. Faust.* 13, 6 et 18: MPL 42, 285 et 294.

³⁶ *Ein Mani-Fund*, pp. 43 and 82.

is designated in the Coptic manuscripts by the Coptic transliteration of the Greek *Φεγγοκάτοχος*. The import of the name seems to have been underestimated by copyists and editors who invariably wrote it with a small initial instead of a capital. Even Monceaux, whose work in the restoration of the Chapters of Faustus³⁷ is the outstanding contribution in that field up to the present, fails to mention the name at all. The proper understanding of the importance of the name Splenditenens, then, may well give a new impetus to a more searching study of Augustine's anti-Manichean works, and may, equally well, form the basis for a more complete restoration of the Chapters of Faustus from the *Contra Faustum* of the great Tagastan. The name, and all that it may imply, certainly, at any rate, does prove that Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo, had an accurate knowledge of the cosmogony of Manes, which he transmitted with fidelity to posterity.

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³⁷ P. Monceaux, *Le manichéen Faustus de Milev, restitution de ses capitula* (Paris : 1924).

THE DIVINE SONSHIP OF MEN IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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The relationship of father and son is predicated of Yahweh and Israel in a number of Old Testament passages, in diverse contexts and with various modes of expression. In this article I propose, as a step towards the elucidation of the concept of divine paternity and sonship, to enumerate these passages as completely as possible with exegetical remarks which seem necessary or advisable. The first and largest group of texts is that in which the relation is applied to Israel or to Israelites merely as such.

Ex. 4:22-23:

And you shall say to Pharaoh: "Thus says Yahweh: 'Israel is my son, my first-born. And I have said to you: Dismiss my son, that he may serve me; and you have refused to dismiss him. Behold, I will kill your son, your first-born.'"

In those verses, which the critical school assigns to J, Yahweh directs Moses how he shall speak to the Pharaoh. The people as a whole is called the son of God, and this before the covenant of Sinai was struck. The addition of "first-born" emphasizes both the special affection of Yahweh for Israel and the special dignity of the people; it is predicated absolutely, with no relation to non-Israelite peoples.¹ I hope to show subsequently that this sonship is based on the covenant of Sinai, anticipated in the present passage, and therefore cannot include non-Israelites. But this exclusion is negative rather than positive, nor is it definitive; the pre-Mosaic covenants have a broader scope and show that divine sonship is to be eventually a universal gift. This also will be discussed more at length in a subsequent passage.

Deut. 14:1:

You are sons to Yahweh your God. You shall not cut yourselves, nor shall you shave your foreheads in mourning.

Driver says of this verse:²

"What is affirmed in Ex. 4, 22f. of Israel as a nation is here transferred to the individual Israelites; they are Jehovah's children; and while on the one hand they are the objects of his paternal care and regard, they owe to

¹ This is also the opinion of Lagrange ("La paternité de Dieu dans l'ancien Testament," *Revue Biblique* 5 (1908), p. 483. König prefers to understand "first-born" in a relative sense (*Theologie des alten Testaments*, p. 251).

² *Deuteronomy*, p. 156.

him on the other hand filial love and obedience, they should conform their character to his, and do nothing unworthy of the close and intimate relation in which they stand towards him."

I can hardly improve on this splendid comment, which shows how much religious meaning is packed into this simple text. We may note that divine sonship is proposed as an ethical motive here in the same way that holiness is proposed in the following verse, 14:2, and in Lev. 19:2; 20:26: "You shall be holy, because I Yahweh am holy."

Deut. 1:31:

Yahweh carried you, as a man carries his son.

The power and providence of Yahweh which brought the Israelites safely through the desert is here likened to the affectionate care of a father for his son. It is one of the most tender images used in the Old Testament to illustrate the love of Yahweh for His people, and I find it difficult to understand how any one can see in this passage nothing but an allusion to the "paternal power."³

Deut. 8:5:

As a father chastises his son, so Yahweh your God chastises you.

Again the paternal affection of Yahweh is brought out. The father who has a genuine love for his son instructs and corrects him and does not hesitate to use strong measures to form in him an upright character. Whatever evil Yahweh inflicts upon Israel is remedial and motivated by this paternal love.

Deut. 32:6:

Do you deal thus to Yahweh, O people foolish and not wise?

Is not he thy Father who created thee, is it not he that made and established thee?

Deut. 32:18-19:

Of the Rock that begot thee, thou art unmindful;

And thou dost forget El, who was in travail with thee;⁴

Yahweh saw, and spurned;

By reason of his anger against his sons and daughters.

The fatherhood of Yahweh in this passage is not based on the creation of man, but on the creation of Israel as a nation; and the peculiar malice of the sins of Israel is stigmatized as treachery to Israel's father.

³ Cf. the comments of Batiffol, *L'enseignement de Jésus*, pp. 94-96.

⁴ The difficult תשי of 18b, according to Driver, can be only the pausal form of תשי from שיה; but he finds the jussive inexplicable, and it certainly cannot be translated as a jussive in the context.

Os. 2:1 (Heb.):

And it shall be, instead of its being said to them:

"You are not my people;"

It shall be said to them:

"Sons of the living El."

Exegetes are divided on the position of this verse, and some think it should follow 2:25, on the ground that the transition is too abrupt. Robertson Smith's remark is pertinent: "The unity of his (Osee's) book is maintained through the sudden transitions and swift revulsions of feeling characteristic of his style.⁵ Few, however, question the genuinity of the verse. The sense in which Israel is the son of Yahweh is indicated by the parallelism; Israel is the people of Yahweh.

Os. 11:1:

For when Israel was a child, I loved him;

And out of Egypt I called my son.

It is rendered by George Adam Smith: "I called him to be my son," by van Hoonacker: "I addressed appeals to my son." In any sense, the passage shows the connection between the divine sonship of Israel and the antecedent gratuitous election of Yahweh. Van Hoonacker notes that the quality of filiation is *supposed* in Israel; what the passage emphasizes is the fact that Yahweh has exhibited evidences of His love for His son *from the beginning*.⁶

Is. 1:2:

Hear, ye heavens, and give ear to me, O earth:

For Yahweh says:

"I have brought up sons, and reared them;

And they have rebelled against me."

Is. 30:1:

"Ah, rebellious children!"—the oracle of Yahweh:

"Who take counsel, but not of me;

Who weave a web, but not according to my mind;

Who add sin upon sin."

These two passages, like Deut. 32:6, 18-19, speak of the sons of Yahweh as disobedient to their God, who as a father gave them all that they possess. It is through His generous providence that they have grown to maturity; and the malice of their treachery is pointed out.

Is. 43:6-7:

I will say to the north, "Give";

And to the south, "Do not withhold";

⁵ *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 160.

⁶ *Les douze petits Prophètes*, p. 104.

Bring my sons from afar,
 And my daughters from the end of the earth:
 Every one that is called by my name,
 And whom for my glory I have created,
 I have formed,
 Yea, I have made.

Since in this passage Yahweh is addressing Israel, it seems that the sons and daughters who are called from afar are not the nations, but the Israelites who are scattered abroad. Yahweh promises them that they will return to Jerusalem; the basis of their assurance is the fact that they are the sons and daughters of Yahweh, whom He has made that they may be His glory. They may have perfect confidence in His paternal fidelity. In this context it is obvious that the title of son is based on their creation as His people, which He has formed for a special purpose, His glory. The impression is inescapable that here Yahweh does not look at Israel as a collective unity, but that His glance rests on each one of that people, men and women, who are spoken of as sons and daughters.

Is. 63:16:

For thou art our father;
 For Abraham hath not recognized us;
 Israel hath not acknowledged us;
 Thou, Yahweh, art our father, our avenger;
 From everlasting is thy name.

In this prayer for his people the prophet does not appeal to carnal descent from the patriarchs; those faithful servants of Yahweh would not acknowledge these rebellious children as their own.⁷ But Yahweh, who has begotten a people for Himself by His covenant, will be faithful to His promises to His children; He cannot be deaf to an appeal which addresses him with simple trust as "Our Father."

Is. 64:7:

And now, Yahweh, thou art our father;
 We are clay,
 And thou hast formed us;
 The work of thy hands are we, all of us.

The prophet again grows so bold as to address Yahweh as "Our Father." Whatever be the sins of the children, Yahweh is their father; it is He that has chosen them and formed them into a people.⁸

⁷ Knabenbauer's interpretation seems inadequate: "Nos nesciunt, quia nulla per se est in inferis cognitio rerum humanarum" (*Comm. in Isaiam Prophetam*, II, p. 497).

⁸ These two texts at least must have escaped the notice of Origen, quoted by Jules Lebreton: "Origen, who knew the Holy Scriptures better than any one, long

The conception of the father-son relation of Yahweh and Israel in these two passages is certainly larger than it is in the preceding passages, which do not appeal to Yahweh's mercy on this ground; and in this sense there may be a development. But to affirm that the notion of the fatherhood of Yahweh was late in arising⁹ does not square with the texts already quoted and to be quoted. These two texts are an application of a truth clearly enunciated long before: the fatherly love of Yahweh for His people.

Jer. 3:19:

And I said:

"How shall I place thee among the sons,
And give thee a desirable land,
The inheritance of the hosts of the nations?"

And I said:

"Thou shalt call me, 'My Father,'
And thou shalt not turn from following me."

The context offers several critical difficulties: exegetes dispute whether this verse should follow immediately upon 3:5 or 3:13. The opinion is quite general that vv. 14-18 are out of place. In the first supposition 3:19 is addressed to all of Israel, in the second to the northern tribes. This does not affect our study. The LXX (Vatic.) reading of εἰς ἔθνη for בְּנִים may be ignored. Driver's explanation appears quite probable: "How gladly would I put thee among the sons!"¹⁰ For our purpose the general sense is clear enough: the infidelity of Israel is contrasted with Yahweh's election of Israel as son, which carries with it the gift of the land of inheritance and the obligation of walking after Yahweh.

Jer. 31:9:

In weeping will they come,

And in supplications will I conduct them;

I will lead them through the torrents of water in the right way,

And they will not stumble therein.

For I am a father to Ephraim,

And it is he that is my first-born.

ago remarked in his commentary on the Our Father: 'It would be worth while to search the Old Testament, if somewhere there we could find a prayer in which God is addressed as "Father"; for our part we have searched as carefully as we are able, and up to the present we have found none. We do not mean that God is not called Father, and those who believe in Him, the children of God; we only say that we have found no prayer in which man dares to address God by the name of Father, as our Redeemer here teaches us to do.' (*The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ our Lord*, Eng. Trans., II, p. 67.)

⁹ As George Adam Smith does (*The Book of Isaiah* II, p. 454).

¹⁰ *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*, p. 18.

Jer. 31:20:

Is not Ephraim a dear son to me,
 Yea, a child of delight?
 For as often as I meditate (threats) against him,
 I still cherish his memory.
 Therefore my pity is moved towards him,
 I will have great compassion on him.

Some difficulty might arise from the fact that Ephraim is called the first-born of Yahweh after the long schism which ended with the destruction of the northern kingdom; but this difficulty vanishes if we abandon the presupposition that sonship can be predicated only of the whole collective unity of Israel. Ephraim was a part of Israel, and as such shared the prerogative of first-born son. The assurance here expressed is based on the fatherly love of Yahweh. Yahweh is the father of Ephraim, He cannot cast him off; indeed, He cannot even forget him, in spite of his sins. Few Old Testament passages express the love of Yahweh for Israel with more exquisite tenderness.

Ps. 103:13-14:

As a father hath compassion on his sons,
 So Yahweh hath compassion on them that fear him.
 For he knoweth of what we are made,
 He remembereth that we are dust.

This psalm is a song of gratitude for the mercy of Yahweh towards His sinful children. They may be assured of His mercy because He is their Father, who will never forget that they are the work of His hands, dust, pitiful indeed compared to His eternal majesty. V. 14 is an obvious reference to Gen. 2:7, and 3:19; but that the sons here are exclusively Israelites appears from the parallel phrase, "them that fear him."

Ps. 73:15:

If I say, "I will speak thus,"
 Behold, I betray the generation of thy sons.

In Ps. 73 the poet wrestles with the problem of evil; sinners prosper in their wickedness, and the just suffer. Do they serve Yahweh in vain? To say this would be treachery to His sons. Doubtless the poet identifies the just with the Israelites; but he is thinking of them not as Israelites, but precisely as just; and it is as just that they are called "the generation of thy sons."

Mal. 1:6:

A son pays honor to his father,
 And a servant to his lord;

If I am a father, where is my honor?

If I am a lord, where is my reverence?

It is evident that the last of the prophets is not so much teaching the fatherhood of Yahweh as supposing it. Israel is reminded that the privilege of divine sonship carries with it corresponding obligations. Yahweh expects special honor from His sons. The same thought is expressed in Deut. 14:1; 32:6 and 18-19; Is. 1:2; 30:1.

Mal. 2:10:

Have we not all of us one father?

Hath not one El created us?

Why doth a man deal treacherously with his brother,

And thus violate the covenant of our fathers?

Here the prophet draws a new application from the truth of the fatherhood of Yahweh: the solidarity of Israel. Because they are sons of one Father, their sins against their brothers have a peculiar malice.¹¹ The prophet addresses the Israelites and is concerned only with the sins of Israelites against each other; for this reason the creation referred to is that of Israel is a chosen people. This appeal would obviously have no force unless each individual addressed regarded himself as an adopted son of God.

Ecclus. 4:10 (Heb.):

Be a father to orphans, and a husband to their mother;

And Elyon will call you son, and will show favor to you, more than your mother.

Ecclus. 23:1:

Lord, father and master of my life,

Abandon me not to their counsel;

Let me not fall into their hands.

Ecclus. 23:4:

Lord, Father and God of my life,

Give me not a lifting up of the eyes,

And turn away desire from me.

Ecclus. 51:10 (Heb.):

I praise Yahweh, my Father, my Lord;

For thou art a strong one, my salvation.

In 51:10 the LXX reads "I called upon the Lord, the Father of my lord." In these texts the writer invokes God as his father in requests

¹¹ Knabenbauer and Halévy alone among the moderns understand "father" here of Abraham. The arguments of Knabenbauer are not impressive (*Comm. in Prophetas Minores* II, pp. 547-548. The exact reference to Halévy is not available).

for protection against his enemies and for assistance against the sins of pride and covetousness, and thanks Him for the paternal care which he has experienced. The writer supposes that the fatherhood is a personal relation between God and himself; it is assured by fidelity to the divine law, and is a prerogative of the just.

Wis. 2:13:

He proclaims that he has the knowledge of God,
And calls himself the son of the Lord.

Wis. 2:16:

We are reckoned by him as of no value,
And he abstains from our ways as from uncleanness;
He blesses the last end of the just,
And boasts that God is his Father.

Wis. 2:18:

If the just be the son of God, He will defend him,
And save him from those who attack him.

These verses occur in the discourse which is put into the mouth of the wicked. They reason that they must enjoy all the pleasures of the world, since death is the end of all. The just man, who by his life and words contradicts their whole philosophy, must be treated as an enemy. The just claims God as his Father. In these passages it seems clear that the title is proper to the just precisely because of his justice. The enemies are not the heathen, but unbelieving Israelites; hence it is not principally as sons of the covenant that the just are called the sons of God. God is his father as one whom he knows intimately, who is expected to protect and reward him. The title therefore is personal and not collective. Cornely's note on 2:13 is excellent up to a point:

"Disputant interpretes, utrum appellatio *παῖς Κυρίου* aptius *puer* vel *servus* an *filius Domini* reddatur; quae quaestio parvi quidem videtur momenti, quum utraque appellatione haud raro in Scripturis simul et dependentia a Deo et familiaritas cum eo (licet non eodem gradu) exprimatur; nihilominus nequaquam est negligenda.¹²

It certainly is a question of no small moment. The concepts of slave and son are diametrically opposed in any society, as they were in ancient society; and to distinguish them as "non eodem gradu" is a masterpiece of cautious assertion. Both concepts may be applied to the relations between man and God; but there is a vast difference between the religious application of the two concepts. In Gal. 4:1 ff. St. Paul identifies the slave and the son under only one aspect, that of independence of

¹² *Comm. in Librum Sapientiae*, p. 95.

action; in all other respects he pushes the contrasting analogies to the limit. And it should be recalled that the old dispensation is called slavery in contrast with the new. But when Cornely goes on to understand in this passage as servant, and on the basis of this questionable stand $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ in this passage as servant, and on the basis of this questionable allusion to Is. 53 to interpret the passage as messianic, I cannot follow him. The fatherhood of God alluded to in 2:16, and the use of $\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in 2:18 make Cornely's interpretation of $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ very unlikely.

Wis. 5:5:

How is he numbered among the sons of God,
And his lot is among the holy ones.

This verse, also, is put into the mouth of the wicked in the discourse which expresses their discomfiture when they see the just vindicated and rewarded in the judgment. The reward of the just is to be admitted among the angels and saints who constitute the company of God. There is no reason for restricting "sons of God" here to the angels.¹³

The texts considered so far have reference to Israel or to Israelites. In the following group of texts the idea of son of God is applied to individuals of a particular class or position.

Ps. 2:7:

I will speak according to the decree of Yahweh:
He hath said to me:
"Thou art my son,
This day I have begotten thee."

This verse is spoken by the divinely chosen messianic king. The Messiah is the son of God in the sense that he has been constituted king by God. As such he shares in the power of God, he is the representative of the divine authority.

The same is to be said of Ps. 110:3, "In splendoribus sanctorum ante luciferum genui te" (Vg, following LXX), if the Vg rendition of this very difficult text be accepted.

Ps. 89:27-28:

He will cry to me: "Thou art my father,
My El, and the rock of my salvation."
And I will make him my first-born,
Exalted above the kings of the earth.

There is no generally accepted date assigned to this psalm. I suggest that the tone of the psalm, which celebrates the promises to David and

¹³ Substantially the same interpretation is proposed by Goodrick, *The Book of Wisdom*, pp. 155-156.

contrasts them with Israel's sorry state at the time of the writer, indicates a date shortly before or shortly after the fall of the kingdom and dynasty of David. The verses quoted apply to David, who invokes Yahweh as his father, and is adopted by Yahweh as His first-born. From the context it appears that David is entitled the son of God in virtue of his position as a prince to whom by Yahweh's free and loving choice the authority of Yahweh is communicated. With his position there comes the special affection and protection of Yahweh; but his fundamental title to sonship is his election by Yahweh to share His power. The concept is exactly analogous to that of the sonship of Israel.

2 Sam. 7:14:

I will be his father, and he will be my son; but if he sin, I will correct him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men.

1 Chron. 22:10:

He will build a house to my name; and he will be my son, and I will be his father; and I will establish the throne of his kingdom over Israel forever.

These parallel passages contain the oracle of Yahweh to David concerning his son Solomon. In each passage Solomon is called the son of Yahweh. In the first passage, however, Yahweh avers that, in spite of this special relation, Solomon, if he sins, will be punished no less severely than the rest of men. In the second passage a promise is attached that Solomon's kingdom will endure forever.

It seems that in these passages Solomon is not called the son of Yahweh because he is a divinely appointed king (the sense proposed in the preceding text), the representative of the authority of Yahweh, but because of the special affection which Yahweh holds for him because of David his father; not his royal prerogatives, but his descent from David is envisaged. If this be true, these passages are not to be cited as parallel to Ps. 2:7, as is frequently done¹⁴ the sense of "son of God" is different in the two passages. The reason for postulating this distinction is the great difference between the position of David and that of Solomon in the religious history of Israel. David is not called the son of God simply as king, but as the divinely appointed king, the founder of the royal house and the depository of the promises. He stands in a special covenant relation with Yahweh; and while the covenant is made with his whole line, it is communicated to its members through David its head. Neither is Solomon called the son of God simply as king, nor

¹⁴ Cf. Kautzsch, *Biblische Theologie des alten Testaments*, p. 230.

does his religious position approach that of David. His principal claim to divine affection is that he is the son of David; the divine promises come to him through the divine covenant with David, his throne is the throne of David, and Yahweh accepts him as son because he is the son of David. This distinction is also supported by the observation of Lagrange that the privileged position of David gives him the first rank among kings as Israel has the first rank among nations. Lagrange denies that there is any evidence that the king as such enjoyed the title "son of God" either among the Israelites or among other Semitic peoples.¹⁵

The pre-eminence of David may also be illustrated from 1 Kings 11:11-13:

And Yahweh said to Solomon: "Because this has happened to you, and you have not kept my covenant and my statutes which I commanded you, I will surely tear the kingdom from you and give it to your servant. But in your days I will not do it, because of David your father; from the hand of your son I will tear it. Yet I will not tear the whole kingdom; one tribe I will give to your son, because of David my servant, and because of Jerusalem, which I have chosen."

The same ideas are repeated in the words of the prophet Ahias to Jeroboam in 1 Kings 11:31-39.

Ps. 82:6-7:

Though I said: "You are *elohim*,

And sons of Elyon, all of you,"

Like men you will die,

And you will fall as any prince.

These words are addressed by Yahweh to the assembly of *elohim* of v. 1. The identity of these *elohim* or sons of Elyon has been the subject of considerable debate. The opinion is not uncommon that the *elohim* of this psalm are the gods of the heathen, who are rebuked by Yahweh for their injustice to His chosen people in their captivity.¹⁶ But such express and open polytheism is not to be supposed in any Old Testament document, especially in one as late as this psalm would be in this opinion. Kautzsch observes that any possibility that the *elohim* are human judges is wrecked by v. 7; only those can die "like men" who are themselves immortal. He ignores, however, the possibility of rendering v. 7 "You will die like ordinary men"—a translation which harmonizes much better with 7b.

¹⁵ "La paternité de Dieu dans l'ancien Testament," RB 5 (1908), p. 487.

¹⁶ Cf. Kautzsch, *Biblische Theologie des alten Testaments*, p. 357.

The *elohim*, then, must be regarded as human judges; for the angels are never represented as invested with judiciary power. The poet pictures Yahweh as descending into the midst of the assembly of judges and delivering His verdict in their presence. There is no reason for regarding them as the rulers and magistrates of the heathen nations among whom the Israelites dwelt in captivity.¹⁷ They must, therefore, be unjust judges who are themselves Israelites; and this interpretation is confirmed by many parallel passages in which the prophets attack the same evil practices in Israel which are inveighed against in this psalm.¹⁸ The meaning of *elohim* and its parallel, "sons of Elyon," seems to be best rendered by "divine." Judges are divine because they share the authority of Yahweh and in His name deal justice to men.

From this brief glance at the texts it follows that, considering Deut. 14:1; Is. 43:6-7; Mal. 2:10; Ps. 73:15, and the texts of Ecclus. and Wisdom, it is simply false to assert that the paternity of God and the sonship of men are found in the Old Testament in a merely collective and national sense; and that, considering Deut. 8:5; Os. 11:1; Is. 63:16; 64:7; Jer. 3:19; 31:20; Ps. 103:13-14; and the texts of Ecclus. and Wis., it is equally false to assert that it is found only in a juridical sense, referring only to the paternal rights and power, and in no way to the paternal affection.¹⁹ Nor is it altogether accurate to say that the idea is one of relatively late development, since these texts are not found exclusively in post-exilic literature, even in the critical chronology. On the contrary, the idea is of much wider religious significance and application than many writers have been ready to admit. It is hoped that a fuller treatment of this religious significance can be given in a subsequent article.

A few observations on the occurrence of the idea of divine sonship in the religions of the ancient East will show the contrast between these religions and the religion of the Old Testament. The Egyptian Pharaohs often speak of themselves, or are spoken of, as the sons of Ra or Amon.²⁰ This usage merely expresses the belief found among most ancient peoples that the ruling house of a nation traced its line back to a god.²¹ The

¹⁷ So Briggs, *The Book of Psalms* II, p. 215.

¹⁸ Coleran cites Is. 5:3-7 and 22-24; 10:1-4; Jer. 22:1-9 ("The Sons of God in Gen. 6, 2," *Theological Studies*, 2 (1941), p. 497.

¹⁹ Such observations may be found in many works on exegesis and biblical theology. Cf. for example Batiffol, *L'enseignement de Jésus*, pp. 94-96, and Kautzsch, *Biblische Theologie des alten Testaments*, p. 230.

²⁰ Cf. Breasted, *Dawn of Conscience*, pp. 82, 86, 88, 90, 281, 286, 288, 289.

²¹ Cf. Eichrodt, *Theologie des alten Testaments* I, p. 236.

titles of "father,"²² or "father of the land,"²³ by which the Sumerians and the Babylonians addressed their gods, are probably to be explained by those texts in which the god is invoked as "the god who has begotten me" (i.e. made me)²⁴ or as "father, who begetteth gods and men."²⁵ But the writer of these prayers appears in some instances, at least, to mean more, as when he invokes Nannar of Ur as "Merciful, gracious father, who holdeth the life of the whole land in thy hands."²⁶ Such an invocation breathes a genuine spirit of filial trust. When the Babylonian speaks of himself as the son of his god, it is more probable that he thought of himself as under the special protection of the god, or as having been made by the god, although Pinches attempted to explain this phrase as equivalent to pious or just, a sense in which the phrase is found in the Old Testament.²⁷ But it should not be forgotten that beneath all these usages is the belief found in all Oriental cosmogonies that man is ultimately begotten of the gods by some kind of physical generation or production. It is only in the transcendental monotheism of the Old Testament that man is made of the slime of the earth in the image and likeness of God—a paradox too little observed by many historians of religion.

Two Old Testament passages also come into consideration here:

Jer. 2:27:

Saying to a stock, "Thou art my father,"

And to a stone, "Thou hast begotten me."

This allusion to Canaanite rites is to be explained according to those rites; and here there is no unanimity. Cornhill with others thinks that the text alludes to the *asherah* and *massebah*,²⁸ against König and Condamin,²⁹ who regard the stock and stone as wooden and stone images. Condamin asserts that no physical relation with the divinity is implied, but that the invocations address the god as protector and benefactor.

²² Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* I, pp. 394, 437; II, pp. 1, 16, 54.

²³ Jastrow, *ibid.*, II, pp. 1, 51, 53.

²⁴ Jastrow, *ibid.*, I, p. 432.

²⁵ Breasted, *ibid.*, p. 339.

²⁶ Jastrow, *ibid.*, I, p. 437.

²⁷ *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, p. 86. Jastrow notes of such phrases (I, pp. 359, 431) that the god mentioned is the guardian god.

²⁸ *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 26.

²⁹ König, *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen religion*, p. 329; Condamin, *Le livre de Jérémie*, p. 19.

But he does not seem to take sufficient account of the second member of the verse.

Dan. 3:25 (Heb.) :

(Nebuchadnezzar) answered and said: "Behold, I see four men loosed, walking in the midst of the fire, and they are not harmed; and the appearance of the fourth is like to a *bar elahin*."

These words put in the mouth of a Babylonian king can allude only to the innumerable demonic spirits, physically generated from the gods, of Babylonian religion. There is no parallel to Babylonian demonology in the Old Testament.

These observations cannot pretend to be complete; but they are sufficiently so to show that the divine sonship of the Old Testament is not borrowed from the ancient religions of the East. It is a peculiar creation of the religion of the Old Testament, and is to be understood in the light of that religion.

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TEXTUAL DIRECTIVES OF THE ENCYCLICAL *DIVINO AFFLANTE SPIRITU*

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A very striking feature of the recent Papal letter, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, is its close external resemblance to the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*. In purpose, plan, and development, the two letters are conspicuously alike. Both were written to commemorate the anniversaries of two Leonine Encyclicals, which today provide leading directives in their respective fields: *Quadragesimo Anno* celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the immortal social Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*; the present Encyclical, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of *Providentissimus Deus*, which Pius calls "the supreme guide in biblical studies."¹ This similarity in occasion issues naturally into a single method of development. The two recent letters first review, in summary form, the successful results of Pope Leo's recommendations; then, they re-enunciate and ratify the principles which he first formulated; finally, they propose to consolidate and perfect Leo's work by clearly indicating what seems necessary in the present day and by issuing appropriate directives pointed to fresh and lasting results for the future.

Naturally enough, it is the timely features in these anniversary Encyclicals which provide chief interest. What problem do they solve? What new emphasis do they place? What present directives do they recommend? These are a few of the questions which engross the attention of an earnest student in reading these Papal letters. Accordingly, in this discussion of the biblical Encyclical, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, we will consider especially the opportune recommendations to which our Holy Father here gives fresh emphasis. Following his suggestions, we shall find "new incentives and fresh courage"² for the task before us.

The present paper will discuss only the first of these Pontifical recommendations. This directive is of special interest to us, since, by its very nature, it applies chiefly to qualified and professional students of biblical science. Briefly worded, the proposal is this: all exegetes have an obligation to secure more facile and more certain access to the original texts of the Bible. In the words of our Holy Father, "It is the duty of the exegete to lay hold, so to speak, with the greatest care and reverence of the very least expressions which, under the inspiration of the Divine Spirit, have flowed from the pen of the sacred writer, so as to arrive at

¹ *Acta Apost. Sedis*, 35 (1943), 298 (N.C.W.C. tr., para. 2).

² *Ibid.*, 306 (N.C.W.C. tr., para. 13).

a deeper and fuller knowledge of his meaning.”³ These incisive words contain implicitly those essential features which figure in the Pope’s more lengthy counsel. As the Pontiff explains more fully, ready and secure access to the original texts involves the use of two indispensable means: facility in all pertinent branches of philology and competence in textual criticism. Each of these is essential to a deeper and fuller knowledge of the Word of God. Therefore, each of these deserves our present attention, if we are to appreciate the full force of this first recommendation presented by *Divino Afflante Spiritu*.

1. NEED OF FAMILIARITY WITH BIBLICAL LANGUAGES

The first requirement which the Pontiff urges is familiarity with the original biblical languages. Pope Pius does not mince words in stressing this need: the exegete, he says, must “diligently apply himself . . . to support his interpretation by the aids which all branches of philology supply.” Otherwise, “the biblical scholar, who by neglecting them would deprive himself of access to the original texts, could in no wise escape the stigma of levity and sloth.”⁴

This urgent recommendation does not sound a note of novelty. Rather it rings with the echoing complaints first uttered by St. Jerome⁵ and St. Augustine,⁶ who deplored so bitterly the injuries inflicted on the sacred text by translators unskilled in the aids offered by philology. This directive is marked, too, by a token of recognition for all those scholarly achievements in the field of Scripture, which stem from the Humanistic Renaissance and the fresh impetus which it gave to the sciences of antiquity and letters. It is another Papal approval of the institutes inaugurated by Pope Clement V and renewed by Pope Pius XI, both of whom established chairs of Oriental studies at Rome and encouraged similar foundations in other universities. In fact, this recommendation does but repeat the insistent demands issued by Leo XIII in his *Providentissimus Deus*, by Pius X in the *Quoniam in re biblica* and the *Vinea electa*, and by Pius XI in His *Bibliorum scientiam*. It is a re-enunciation of the pressing plea, frequently urged by these previous Pontiffs, that Catholic scholars should be equipped with that proficiency in biblical languages which is needed to interpret aright the message of God.

³ *Ibid.*, 307 (N.C.W.C. tr., para. 15).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 306-307 (N.C.W.C. tr., para. 16, 15).

⁵ Cf., e.g., Jerome, *Præf. in IV Evang. ad Damasum*; MPL 29, 526-527.

⁶ Cf., e.g., Augustine, *De Doctr. Christ.*, II, 16; MPL 34, 42-43.

Only too often, non-Catholics have shamed us by their painstaking studies in biblical philology; for even the labors of such ranking Catholic scholars as Fathers Touzard, Zorell, Deimel, and Joüon have not wrested from non-Catholic philologists an acknowledged lead in the field of Oriental languages. Therefore, in the present Encyclical Pope Pius XII fully endorses and urges upon Catholic scholars the recommendations of the forthright syllabus recently issued by the Pontifical Biblical Commission on the scientific method of teaching Scripture.⁷ Thereby he gives solemn and timely expression to the Church's traditional approval of Oriental studies. May we not add, too, that in this Encyclical, in its first and in its latter parts, Pope Pius canonizes the principles enunciated in *La Methode Historique* by Père Lagrange of holy and beloved memory.⁸ Far from regarding Orientalism as a fetish and a vain display of erudition, Pope Pius considers it an indispensable means for understanding and expounding precisely and clearly the divine word, in order that it may provide all possible nourishment for the spiritual life.

Tradition, however, is not the only motive prompting the Pontiff to urge biblical scholars to acquire a thorough grasp of the original languages. Reason, too, based on experience, gives strength to his insistent demand. Translation is always difficult. It requires at once a mastery of the original tongue and also of the language of the version. This double mastery is rare; its absence, frequent. How often when studying even accepted versions of the Scriptures we are reminded of the Italian proverb, *Traduttore, traditore* (The translator is a traitor). In fact, we must admit that no translator has as yet produced a letter perfect version of the Scriptures. This should be sufficient to convince us that for the exegete mere linguistic competence must be advanced to mastery, that mastery which guarantees accuracy in reading the original and certainty in interpreting it.

Of course, the use of the original text by the Scripture professor in the class-room requires a corresponding competence on the part of the students. This fact should not present any real difficulty. The Canons of the Third Council of Baltimore⁹ legislated courses in Hebrew and Greek for all our American seminaries. A survey of Scripture curricula, presented by Father Byrne at the first meeting of our Association,¹⁰ revealed that in the majority of seminaries these provisions are being

⁷ *Acta Apost. Sedis*, 33 (1941), 465 ff.

⁸ This endorsement, of course, would exclude the erroneous view on history *secundum apparentiam* which Lagrange proposed in this book but later restricted.

⁹ *Acta et Decreta Plen. Balt.*, III, Tit. 5, 147, 171.

¹⁰ Edward Byrne, "The Curriculum of Scriptural Studies in our Seminaries," *CBQ*, I (1939), pp. 219-220.

carried into effect. Accordingly, the greater number of our seminary students are equipped to follow with a modicum of understanding exegesis based on the original text. For teaching experience has proven that a fulfillment of the requirements of this legislation does provide the student with sufficient knowledge to understand a correction or explanation of the Vulgate in the light of the original. That this minimal proficiency is sufficient becomes all the more evident in view of the general reliability of the Vulgate, which renders frequent class-room references to the original altogether unnecessary. However, for more advanced work, it is obvious that recourse to the original text becomes more and more imperative.

2. IMPORTANCE OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

But the mere familiarity with biblical languages, though necessary, does not provide a full Open Sesame to the original text. All will admit that the Massoretic text and the critical editions of the Greek New Testament bring us very close to the autograph. Yet the very existence of the Septuagint, together with our multiplied texts and diverse families, are proof sufficient that the exegete must also be a textual critic, if he would secure easy and certain access to the Word of God. Accordingly, Pope Pius, in this Encyclical, inculcates anew the recommendation of Leo XIII: "Professors of Sacred Scripture should be themselves thoroughly acquainted with the art of true criticism."¹¹ This is the second means which our Holy Father proposes to the Catholic exegete in his recourse to the original text.

The difficulties inherent in text transmission are evident to all. The laborious studies of the Benedictine Vulgate Commission—which, after all, is concerned only with one version—throw white light on the multiplied difficulties of preserving a much older text, which was transmitted not merely in its original language but also in versions. Therefore, St. Augustine has set forth a wise guide line for exegetes when he wrote: "The correction of the codices should first of all engage the attention of those who wish to know the Divine Scriptures, so that the uncorrected may give place to the corrected."¹² Filled with the spirit of this counsel, Origen copied his Hexapla and Jerome produced the Vulgate. Later, it was the same impelling necessity to secure a correct text which inspired the critical work of Alcuin, St. Peter Damian, and Blessed Lanfranc. The solicitude of the Scholastics for the genuineness of the Latin version

¹¹ Leo XIII, *Providentissimus Deus*, EB, 104.

¹² Augustine, *De Doctr. Christ.*, II, 21; MPL 34, 40.

is evident from the *Correctoria Biblica*, which they have left. Finally, Trent presented an official pronouncement on the pressing need for textual correction, by issuing those decrees which inaugurated the period of modern biblical criticism.

It is especially in the past two centuries that these labors in textual criticism have assumed the proportions of a science. Scholars like Kennicott, Houbigant, De Rossi, Davidson, Baer and Delitzsch have formulated and expounded principles, well tested in practice, which today form a solid basis for the science of textual criticism. It is true, some critics have shown an arbitrary spirit in their conjectural emendations of the text: Cheyne, with his Jerahmeel mania, and Duhm, with his purely subjective form of *Sprachgefühl*, are notorious examples of excess in text criticism. However, our Holy Father, in this present Encyclical, warns against these vagaries which can only discredit the entire science, rendering it a mere play of guess-work.¹³ Rather, the Catholic exegete must follow the sound principle which St. Jerome expressed when he wrote: "I am not so foolish as to claim for myself the right of emending the words of our Lord. I merely wish to bring back the Latin manuscripts, all at variance with one another, to the perfection of the Greek source."¹⁴

In this Encyclical, then, Pope Pius appeals for a definite renewal of interest in the science of textual criticism. It is true that in the past few years there has been a fruitful renaissance in this field of biblical science. An awakened interest in the Caesarean family, occasioned by the discovery of the Chester Beatty Papyri, Paul Kahle's studies on the Babylonian text of the Hebrew Scriptures,¹⁵ the suggested theories of Franz Wutz¹⁶ and Johann Fischer¹⁷ on the origin of the LXX—all these essays are evidence of new interest in the science of textual criticism. Likewise, in recent years, certain textual students—Father Fernandez, S.J.,¹⁸ James Kennedy,¹⁹ and others—have edited valuable hand-books on this science.

¹³ *Acta Apost. Sedis*, 35 (1943); 308 (N.C.W.C. tr., para. 18).

¹⁴ Jerome, *Epist. XXVII, ad Marcell.*

¹⁵ P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Ostens* (Leipzig: 1913).

¹⁶ Fr. Wutz, *Die Transkriptionen von der LXX bis zu Hieronymus*, I (Berlin-Stuttgart-Leipzig: 1925).

¹⁷ J. Fischer, *Das Alphabet der LXX-Vorlage im Pentateuch, Alttestament. Abhandlung*, X, 2 (Münster in W.: 1924).

¹⁸ Truyols y Fernandez, S.J., *Breve Introducción a la critica textual del A.T.* (Rome: 1917).

¹⁹ James Kennedy, *An Aid to the Textual Emendment of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: 1928).

Others, like Felix Perles,²⁰ H. Oort,²¹ and Friedrich Delitzsch²² have published catalogues of textual errors with suggested corrections. Then, too, several scholars have contributed valuable textual studies of individual books, viz., Nyberg's provocative work on Osee²³ and Melville Scott's *Textual Discoveries in Proverbs, Psalms, and Isaiah*.²⁴

However, in view of the important textual achievements secured by older scholars like Davidson, Driver, Franz Delitzsch, and Ginsburg in the Hebrew Scriptures, and Tischendorf, Westcott-Hort, and von Soden in the New Testament, it is easy to understand the complaint expressed by Kenyon when he wrote: "It is very regrettable that the Textual Criticism of the New Testament does not appear to appeal to the younger generation of scholars so strongly as it did to their predecessors in the nineteenth century. There seem to be lamentably few of the younger scholars who are carrying on the tradition."²⁵ This same consideration is probably the basis of our Holy Father's present appeal for an increase of interest in the science of textual criticism.

It is true that this science may appear uninviting to the uninitiated: it involves easy familiarity with texts and families; it presumes a knowledge of biblical languages as perfect as possible. However, the well-equipped student who seriously undertakes this tedious work will soon find it an engrossing study; he will experience the satisfaction of considered personal opinion on the value of the text before him; finally, he will have the blessed realization of achieving those results set forth by our Holy Father when he writes: "Let all know that this prolonged labor is not only necessary for the right understanding of the divinely-given writings, but also is urgently demanded by that piety by which it behooves us to be grateful to the God of all Providence, Who from the throne of His majesty has sent these books as so many paternal letters to His own children."²⁶

²⁰ F. Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik des A.T.* (Leipzig: 1922).

²¹ H. Oort, *Textus Hebraici Emendationes* (Leitun: 1900).

²² F. Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler in Alt. Testament* (Berlin u. Leipzig: 1920).

²³ H. S. Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche* (Upsala: 1935).

²⁴ Melville Scott, *Textual Discoveries in Proverbs, Psalms, and Isaiah* (S.P.C.K. Publication, London: 1927).

²⁵ Kenyon, *Recent Developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible* (Oxford: 1933).

²⁶ *Acta Apost. Sedis*, 35 (1943), 308 (N.C.W.C. tr., para. 19).

3. MEANING OF THE TRIDENTINE DECREE

In concluding these two directives for ready access to the original texts, Pope Pius takes care to indicate that his suggestions do not run counter to the decrees of Trent. He makes clear that Trent canonized the Vulgate as an authentic edition of the Sacred Scriptures solely because of its juridical authority, i.e., because it renders faithfully and without error the truths of faith and morals contained in the original Scriptures. The very fact that the Fathers of the Council petitioned for revised Latin, Greek, and Hebrew editions is proof sufficient that it was not critical integrity but rather legitimate use in the Churches which recommended this version to the authoritative choice of the Council.

Accordingly, since the suggestions of *Divino Afflante Spiritu* do not oppose the disciplinary decree *Insuper*, this legislation is still in force: "The Vulgate text, which has been approved by the long use of so many centuries in the Church, is to be held as authentic in public readings, disputations, preachings and expositions."²⁷ In other words, certainty of truth is a guaranteed possession of the Vulgate in matters of faith and morals.

At the same time, however, the Pontiff insists with new emphasis that, whenever mere critical integrity is at stake, it is permissible to lean heavily on the original text. Thus he says clearly: "The authority of the Vulgate in matters of doctrine by no means prevents—nay rather today it almost demands—either the corroboration and confirmation of this same doctrine by the original texts or the having recourse on any and every occasion to the aid of these same texts, by which the correct meaning of the Sacred Letters is everywhere daily made more clear and evident."²⁸ This forthright approval, of course, must be qualified by the restrictions imposed in two recent responses of the Pontifical Biblical Commission: the Gospels and Epistles read in the vernacular at Mass must conform with the Vulgate of the Liturgy.²⁹

Therefore, in complete agreement with the decree of Trent and the recommendations of his predecessors, Pope Pius XII heartily approves and encourages versions from the original languages. Such translations have been forthcoming in considerable numbers. England has produced the incomplete Westminster Version; France, the Bible of Crampon.

²⁷ *Conc. Trid., sess. IV, decr. De editione et usu SS. Librorum*; EB, 46 (tr. Msgr. Grannan, *A General Introduction to the Bible*, I, p. 140).

²⁸ *Acta Apost. Sedis*, 35 (1943), 309 (N.C.W.C. tr., para. 22).

²⁹ *Resp. Pont. Comm. Biblicae*, 22 Aug. 1943, *Acta Apost. Sedis*, 35 (1943), 270-271. Cf. *Resp. Pont. Comm. Biblicae*, 30 April 1934, *Acta Apost. Sedis*, 26 (1934), p. 315.

At present, the members of the Biblical Institute are hard at work on a translation into the Italian. The Bonner Bible and the Bible of Fathers Henne and Rösch provide translations from the originals into German. Catalan, Polish, and Dutch translations are also under way. Our own country can boast of Father Spencer's careful and beautiful vernacular translation of the New Testament from the original Greek.

This wholehearted encouragement of translations from the original was recently repeated and emphasized in a response of the Pontifical Biblical Commission.³⁰ As we know so well, it was the Pontifical endorsement which altered so radically the Association's plan in translating the Old Testament. The original proposal to translate from the Vulgate has been abandoned. The Association has set about the new labor of translating directly from the original—"for use and benefit of the faithful and for the better understanding of the divine word."³¹

We wish to congratulate the Revision Board on its practical application of the directives issued by Pope Pius XII in his Encyclical, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. This change of policy must have daunted many of the revisors with that spirit of disappointment and frustration which always clings to an unused piece of work. This change involves, too, a renewal of labor and the expenditure of time which could be employed in other tasks—though never so profitably. Certainly, then, the revisors deserve all our gratitude and encouragement.

May the individual members of the Association be as generous in the application of these Pontifical directives in their own biblical studies. The recommendations of this Encyclical echo the challenge once urged upon an assembly of biblical students by the immediate predecessor of our present Holy Father. To these students of biblical research Pius XI recommended this incisive motto: *Nil actum si quid agendum* (Nothing has been done as long as something remains to be done).³² Today, in substance, Pope Pius XII repeats this motto and expands it into detailed counsels. Truly, in the matter of the Sacred Writings, it would be a great illusion to think that all has been accomplished because something of value has been achieved. *Nil actum si quid agendum*.

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³⁰ *Resp. Pont. Comm. Biblicae*, 22 Aug. 1943, *Acta Apost. Sedis*, 35 (1943), 270-271.

³¹ Pius XII, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, *Acta Apost. Sedis*, 35 (1943), 309 (N.C. W.C. tr., para. 22).

³² *Osservatore Romano* (May 21, 1938).

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE MOTU PROPRIO DATAE

DE NOVAE PSALMORUM CONVERSIONIS LATINAE USU
IN PERSOLVENDO DIVINO OFFICIO

PIUS PP. XII

In cotidianis precibus, quibus sacerdotes maiestatem Dei altissimi bonitatemque colunt, ac suis ipsorum, totius Ecclesiae universique orbis consulunt necessitatibus, peculiarem profecto locum praeclara illa carmina obtinent, quae, Divino afflante Spiritu, Sanctus propheta David alique sacri auctores composuere, quaeque Ecclesia, Divino Redemptore eiusque Apostolis prae-euntibus, inde ab originibus in sacris celebrandis continenter adhibuit. Hos autem Psalmos Latina Ecclesia a graecae linguae fidelibus receptos habet, ex graeco nempe in latinum sermonem, verbo pro verbo fere reddito, conversos, atque identidem decursu temporis, imprimisque a S. Hieronymo, in Sacris exponendis Litteris Doctore Maximo, naviter correctos atque expolitos. At hisce correctionibus nota illa graecae ipsius interpretationis menda, quibus primigenii textus sensus et vis non parum obscurantur, non ita ablata sunt, ut sacri Psalmi ab omnibus queant et ubique facile intellegi; atque omnes norunt ipsum S. Hieronymum non satis habuisse antiquam illam latinam "translationem diligentissime emendatam" suae linguae civibus dare, sed maiore etiam conatu Psalmos ex ipsa "hebraica veritate"¹ convertisse in latinum. Quae tamen nova Sancti Doctoris interpretatio in Ecclesiae usum deducta non fuit; sed paulatim emendatior illa veteris conversionis latinae editio, quam *Psalterium Gallicanum* vocant, adeo invaluit, ut eam decessor Noster S. Pius V in Breviarium Romanum recipere atque adeo omnium fere usui praescribere opportunum duxerit.

Latinae huius interpretationis obscuritates mendaque, a S. Hieronymo neutiquam expuncta—quippe qui id solum sibi proposuerit, ut latinum textum secundum emendatiores codices graecos corrigeret—aetate recentiore idcirco magis magisque manifesta oculis occurrerunt, quod antiquarum linguarum, imprimisque hebraicae, cognitio admodum profecit, quod interpretandi ars perfectior evasit, quod metricae denique ac rhythmicae sermonum orientalium leges altius fuere investigatae, et "criticae textualis" quae dicitur, normae clarius perspectae sunt. Accedit quod ex multis illis Psalmorum in vulgatas linguas conversionibus, quae in diversis nationibus, approbante Ecclesiae auctoritate, ex textibus primigeniis confectae sunt, illustrius in dies patet quantopere carmina illa, ut in nativis dictionibus habentur, perspicuitate eximia, poetica venustate doctrinaeque amplitudine excellant.

Haud mirum igitur est si sacerdotes non paucos, qui Horarias Preces non modo summa religione, sed pleniore etiam cum intelligentia recitare student, laudabile incessit studium talem habendi in cotidiana Psalmorum lectione

¹ S. Hieronymi, *Praefatio in Librum Psalmorum iuxta hebraicam veritatem*; PL. XXVIII, col. 1125 (1185) seq.

latinam conversionem, qua sensus, a Spiritu Sancto inspirante intentus, significantius pateat, qua pii Psalmistae affectus perfectius exprimantur, qua dicendi ars verborumque vis clarius usque manifestentur. Quod quidem studium atque optatum, tam in voluminibus a doctis probatisque viris exaratis, quam in commentariis certo tempore edi solitis identidem patefactum, etiam ad Nos a non paucis sacrorum administris sacrorumque Antistitibus, atque etiam a nonnullis S. R. E. Patribus Cardinalibus perlatum est. Nos autem, pro eximia illa, quam erga Divinae Scripturae eloquia fovemus reverentia, id summis viribus enitendum arbitramur, ut plenius in dies fidelibus pateat Sacrarum Litterarum sensus a Spiritu Sancto inspirante datus et hagiographi calamo expressus, quemadmodum in Encyclicis Litteris *Divino afflante Spiritu* haud ita multo ante exposuimus. Quapropter, etsi rei difficultates minime parvi pendimus, neque ignoramus Vulgatam quae dicitur interpretationem arctissime esse cum Sanctorum Patrum scriptis Doctorumque explanationibus conexam, eandemque longo saeculorum usu summam in Ecclesia nactam esse auctoritatem, attamen piis hisce votis morem gerere statuimus; atque adeo novam Psalmorum latinam conversionem apparari iussimus, quae et textus primigenios presse fideliterque sequeretur, et veteris venerandae Vulgatae aliarumque antiquarum interpretationum, quantum fieri posset, rationem haberet, variasque earum dictiones ad criticae artis normas perpenderet. Probe enim novimus ne ipsum quidem hebraicum textum omnimodo omnique obscuracione immunem ad nos pervenisse; atque adeo cum aliis opus esse ab antiquitate nobis traditis textibus cum conferre, ut diligentior ac sincerior inveniatur sententiae dictio; immo id quoque aliquando contingere ut, adhibitis etiam omnibus criticis linguarumque scientiae subsidiis, verborum sensus non omnino clare pateat, atque id futurae investigationi relinquatur, ut nempe, dedita pro facultate opera, res uberiore luce perfundatur. Minime tamen dubitamus quin hodie, omnibus recentioris doctrinae adiumentis sedulo adhibitis, iam talis fieri possit conversio quae Psalmorum sensum ac vim adeo clare exhibeat, ut sacerdotes, in Divino persolvendo Officio facile perspicientes quid Spiritus Sanctus per os Psalmistae significare voluerit, divinis hisce eloquiis efficaciter ad veram genuinamque pietatem excitentur ac moveantur.

Iamvero, postquam nova, quae in votis erat, interpretatio a Nostri Pontificii Instituti Biblici professoribus cum ea, qua par est, cura ac diligentia confecta est, hanc iis omnibus, qui officio tenentur Horarias Preces cotidie recitare, paterna offerimus voluntate; dum, rebus omnibus perpensis, motu proprio ac matura deliberatione Nostra concedimus ut eadem, sive in privata sive in publica recitatione, si libuerit, utantur, postquam ad Psalterium Breviarii Romani accommodata, ab Officina Libraria Vaticana in lucem edita fuerit.

Ex hac pastorali sollicitudine Nostra, Nostraque erga Deo devotos viros ac mulieres paterna caritate confidimus fore, ut deinceps omnes maiorem in dies hauriant ex Divino persolvendo Officio lucem, gratiam, consolationemque quibus quidem collustrati atque impulsivi difficillimis hisce Ecclesiae temporibus ad imitanda illa sanctitatis exempla, quae ex Psalmis tam praeclare

effulgent, magis magisque conformentur, et ad illos enutriendos refovendosque moveantur divini amoris, strenuae fortitudinis, piaequae paenitentiae sensus, ad quos Spiritus Sanctus in Psalmorum lectione nos excitat.

Quae autem per has Litteras, motu proprio datas, decrevimus ac statuimus, ea rata firmaque sunt, contrariis quibuslibet non obstantibus, peculiarissima etiam mentione dignis.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, die xxiv mensis Martii anno MDCCCXXXV, Pontificatus Nostri septimo.

PIUS PP. XII

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

OLD TESTAMENT AND RELATED SUBJECTS

REV. PATRICK W. SKEHAN, S.T.D.

REV. JOHN P. WEISENGOFF, S.T.D., S.S.L.

American Ecclesiastical Review, 112, 1945. J. A. Kleist, S.J., "Veni de Libano" (31-8). Some reflections on translating the Bible, with samples from the Cantic of Canticles.

American Theological Review, 27, 1945. Robert C. Dentan, "The O.T. and a Theology for Today" (17-27). "Old Testament scholarship, in this generation, has not been primarily concerned with the religious values of the Bible." The discussion which follows attempts to counteract this tendency.

Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 23, 1943-4. S. N. Kramer, "Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul" (7-47, XCIV plates). Publication and description of 167 pieces containing portions of Sumerian epics, myths, hymns (temple, royal, divine), lamentations, and wisdom compositions.

Biblical Archaeologist, 7, 1944. George G. Cameron, "The Babylonian Scientist and his Hebrew Colleague" (21-40). Exemplifies by a survey of various fields of scientific work that for them only knowledge that produced a practical result was of paramount value.

"The Significance of the Temple in the Ancient Near East" (41-88). This article represents the contributions of four men and deals with the temples of Egypt (Harold H. Nelson), Mesopotamia (A. Leo Oppenheim), Palestine-Syria (G. Ernest Wright), and the Herodian Temple, the synagogue, and the church (Floyd V. Filson). The authors attempt to describe the appearance, purpose, social and economic significance of the temples, and to point out their relation to Deity and to the people.

Bibliotheca Sacra, 102, 1945. John F. Walvoord, "The Fulfilment of the Abrahamic Covenant" (27-36). Regards the current influx of modern Jews into Palestine as an "omen" for the future unconditional fulfilment of the promise to Abraham that Israel would continue as a nation and would possess the land.

Charles L. Feinberg, "Exegetical Studies in Zechariah" (55-73; cont'd.). Deals with chapter 11; includes an excursus on the relationship between Zach. 11:12-3 and Matt. 27:3-10 in regard to the thirty pieces of silver, explaining the reference to "Jeremias" as a reference to the "Later Prophets" as a collection, at the head of which stood the Book of Jeremias (compare "the Psalms" in Luke 24:44).

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 96, 1944. Nelson Glueck, "Wādī Sirḥān in North Arabia" (7-17). Rich in underground water, this wādī was "the life-line which maintained the undisturbed connection between the separated parts of the Nabatean kingdom in southern Syria and southern Transjordan." Typical Nabatean pottery, however, has not been found in the wādī and probably will not, since it was produced and

used primarily only in the thickly settled, agricultural part of the Nabatean kingdom in southern Transjordan, and not in outposts and Nabatean colonies, such as southern Syria. The author notes some of the physical characteristics of Sirhân.

S. N. Kramer, "Dilmun, the Land of the Living" (18-28). Argues, on the basis of new data and of old data which he considers misunderstood or neglected, that Dilmun, the Sumerian Elysium, is to be sought in southwestern Iran.

Ibid., 97, 1945. H. L. Ginsberg, "The North-Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat" (3-10). Accepts Cassuto's order of the tablets, but in tracing the story diverges sharply from him. Gives an excursus on the goddess Anath of the Ugaritic period. Article to be continued.

Nelson Glueck, "A Chalcolithic Settlement in the Jordan Valley" (10-22). To judge from sherds, it seems that the main occupation of Tell Umm Hamâd esh-Sherqî, at the confluence of the Jordan and Jabbok rivers, belongs particularly to Upper Chalcolithic. It was also occupied in Early Bronze I. This latter occupation was smaller, probably built on the ruins of its predecessor not long after.

Herbert Gordon May, "Lachish Letter IV:7-10" (22-5). Proposes a tentative reading and translation of the lines.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 28, 1944. Edward Robertson, "Old Testament Stories: their Purpose and Art" (454-76). Adduces several O.T. stories to exemplify how well they satisfy the requirements of a good story. Also notes that the O.T. story is somehow related to God, and has for its purpose instruction, especially of the young.

Ciencia Tomista, 66, 1944. Alberto Colunga, "La Encíclica 'Divino Afflante Spiritu' de SS Pio XII sobre la Sagrada Escritura" (125-50).

Lorenzo Turrado, "Los Judíos y la Conservacion del Texto del A.T." (276-309). Opening address for the academic year 1943-4 at the Pontifical University of Salamanca. After a review of the history of the Hebrew text, advances and discusses the proposition that the Jews did not maliciously alter the text of the O.T. The cases through history in which such a charge has been made appeal to four basic reasons: Jewish hatred of Christians, testimony of the Fathers, scribal corrections (*tiqqûnê sôpherim*), varying evidence of LXX. A list of 24 places, mostly messianic prophecies, are given as pretended instances of the first reason, and the author concludes that there is no evidence of Jewish tampering with them. As for the Fathers, few can be adduced, and often the same Fathers assume in general a "Hebraica veritas." Admits scribal corrections (the 18 generally accepted places, 5 from Morinus, and 2 from *Codex Petropolitanus* of the Prophets), but this avoidance of unseemly expressions sprang from a desire to prevent wrong interpretations reflecting on the dignity of God, not from malice. MT's differing with the Vul. and LXX proves nothing, since the LXX and the Vul. differ among themselves, and, furthermore, apart from faith and morals, it is not excluded that LXX or Vul. could be wrong. Turning to

external evidence, the author points out that MT preserves the texts of value for Christians, v.g., in messianic prophecy, that neither the Lord nor the Apostles, nor in their day St. Augustine and St. Jerome accused the Jews of this, and that it cannot have been done since. Quotes Morinus and Bellarmine that the accusation is devoid of scientific foundation. Admits corruptions; stresses the uniformity as the result of convergence; accounts for voluntary and involuntary changes with no *parti-pris*; and cites the providential character of the Jews' part in preserving the Sacred Books.

Ibid., 67, 1944. A. Colunga, "El Sentimiento de la Naturaleza en los Salmos" (297-322). On the Hebrew love of nature as the handiwork of God.

Expository Times, 55, 1943-4. T. E. N. Pennell, "Esther and Antisemitism" (237-40). Balances the story of Esther against modern anti-Jewish agitations; ends by endorsing Maritain's notion that we have entered upon an apocalyptic period of history.

"Textual Notes on Prov. 7:22-3; 9:1" (277).

Ibid., 56, 1944-5. T. E. N. Pennell, "Jer. 5:28" (178).

Cameron Mackay, "Prelegomena to Ezekiel XL-XLVIII" (292-6). "To-day, while we wait agreement on the authentic passages, if any, it is advisable to premise merely that these chapters were bequeathed to our Bible by some Hebrew or Hebrews of normal intelligence. Even that may be questioned . . ." Thence to the measurements. Argues for Sichem as the proposed site of Ezekiel's temple.

Harvard Theological Review, 38, 1945. H. H. Rowley, "The Nature of Prophecy in the Light of Recent Study" (1-39). Criticizes the "ecstatic theory"; discusses the etymology and meaning of *nabi*; sets up vocation by God and the consciousness of a divine message as criteria of a prophet. "The prophet who is properly so called was a man who knew God in the immediacy of experience, who felt an inescapable constraint to utter what he was so profoundly convinced was the word of God and whose word was at bottom a revelation of the nature of God no less than of His will."

Historia Judaica, 6, 1944. Louis I. Rabinowitz, "The Psalms in Jewish Liturgy" (109-22). Finds that the prominent place now occupied in the Jewish prayer-books by Psalms as such and by prayers which are mosaics of Psalm verses is a comparatively recent development in the building up of the official prayer formulas, and is rather the consequence of popular pressure than of rabbinic legislation. The *Hallel* presented the only use of the Psalms in the Talmudic period. In the post-Talmudic tractate *Sopherim* we find evidence for Pss. 145-50 as part of the daily prayers, for Psalms for separate days of the week (indicated in the Mishnah and, it may be added, in some LXX headings), the designation of Psalms for individual festival days, systematic selection of Psalm verses to accompany the *Haftaroth*; and at a later period more Psalms in their entirety and a final total of 250 Psalm verses employed in composite prayers. All the series which would correspond to our "Ritual", apart from the official public prayer of the synagogue,

have experienced a similar influx of Psalm material. This is called "as much a tribute to the essential religious spirit of the Jew, as to the inherent power of the Psalms to express every nuance of religious emotion in the approach of His children to their Father in Heaven."

Homiletic and Pastoral Review, 44, 1944. Juan Straubinger, "The Mystery of the Jewish People" (641-6; 734-41). The Book of Esther teaches that the Jews are saved by God when they trust only and exclusively in the help of the Almighty as the key to their future. The prophecy of Deut. 28:64ff. refers to the Jewish people of today; Dan. 9:27 likewise. The texts of the prophets regarding the future of the Jews call for a fulfillment on earth and in Palestine, in the latter days: the reconciliation of Israel with its Creator at this time is to be a corporate phenomenon of transcendental value, as is indicated by St. Paul in *Rom.* 11.

Jewish Quarterly Review, 35, 1945. W. F. Albright, "Is the Mesha Inscription a Forgery?" (247-50). Maintains against Yahuda (*JQR*, 35, 1944, pp. 139-63) that it was humanly impossible for the Mesha Stone to be forged. At the time of the supposed forgery, not even the greatest scholar of the day could have divined the true forms of characters used in the third quarter of the ninth century B.C.

William Chomsky, "How the Study of Hebrew Grammar Began and Developed" (281-301). Deals almost exclusively with the work of medieval Jewish grammarians.

Hyman Klein, "On Biblical Topes-Topse" (351-3). Objects to Orlinsky's explanation of the participle as found in Jer. 2:8 and Num. 31:27 (*JQR*, 34, 1944, pp. 281-97); suggests that the phrases in both places are elliptical.

Harry M. Orlinsky replies (p. 354) by denying that Klein offers any evidence or analogy for the supposed ellipsis in Num. 31:27. As for Jer. 2:8, he is open to conviction but does not think that the last word has yet been written on it.

Michael Wilensky, "No Emendation Needed" (435-6). A rejection of Orlinsky's emendation of *rbš* for *shkb* and of his suggestion that possibly the root *rbš* is cognate with the root *rb'* in its meaning of "four."

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 64, 1944. S. N. Kramer, "The Epic of Gilgameš and its Sumerian Sources" (7-23). "Of the various individual episodes actually involving the hero Gilgameš. Moreover, even in the case of those episodes which lack Sumerian counterparts, most of the detached, individual motifs reflect Sumerian mythic and epic sources. In no case, however, do the Babylonian poets copy slavishly their Sumerian material; they so modify its content, and mold its form, in accordance with their own temper and heritage, that only the bare nucleus of the Sumerian original remains recognizable. . . . In a very deep sense, therefore, the Epic of Gilgameš may be truly described as a Semitic creation." A comparison of the Sumerian poem "Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Nether World" with the text of the "twelfth" tablet of the Epic of Gilgameš "proves beyond all doubt . . . that the 'twelfth' tablet is an inorganic appendage attached to

the Babylonian epic" with no regard for the sense and continuity, being an almost verbatim translation of the latter half of the Sumerian poem.

Hildegard Lewy, "Assyro-Babylonian and Israelite Measures of Capacity and Rates of Seeding" (65-73).

A. M. Honeyman, "Some Developments of the Semitic Root 'by" (81-2). From "need, want, desire" it came to mean no more than "consent, be willing, yield, grant, agree."

Journal of Biblical Literature, 64, 1945. Theophile James Meek, "The Syntax of the Sentence in Hebrew" (1-13). Properly a discussion on the technique of translation, and as such, of considerable value. The terminology employed is one which is rooted in our western languages, and may not always describe the inner value that Hebrew forms and combinations have in their own right; but the recommendations for the transfer of the thought into English are very cogent.

Julian Morgenstern, "The Divine Triad in Biblical Mythology" (15-37). Deals with the various divine names found in the Hebrew Old Testament, on the assumption that they reflect a period when different (pagan) gods were worshipped under these names. Makes of *Elyon* the "god of the astral sky"; equates this rôle with that of *Eloah*; admits that the same type of investigation fails with respect to *El*. Ends by positing that *Shaddai* was the god of the "lower heaven, or the atmosphere; all that which lies between the astral heavens above, and the earth-sea below." In this scheme, which is of no value for biblical texts (except insofar as they consciously oppose it, according to M.), *El* becomes the god of earth and sea.

Alexander Sperber, "Biblical Exegesis" (39-140). "Common sense" becomes the criterion of Hebrew studies, which are here discussed in their entire range from the lexical and morphological through questions of accent and syntax to those of textual and literary criticism. "Common sense" seems to be carried in an index-card file. The Gesenius-Buhl dictionary is indicted for keeping masculine nouns distinct from feminine, in stems in which both types occur with apparently identical meaning, while it groups all derived stems of a verb under one single heading. Cases in which one root gives forms from two segholate nouns with a divergent stem vowel (ě, ē, ō), but in which GB groups the forms under the absolute masculine singular which actually occurs, occupy a page. The term dual "refers only to the meaning which our exegesis attaches to the word, but is entirely divorced from its vocalization as provided by the grammarians." Alleges that the dual ending is a variant on the plural ending *-îm* which paralleled a difference in the manner of reducing the stem vowels! That *pi'els* and *hiph'îls* are properly denominative forms "in the main" is affirmed again: the author has stated it elsewhere before this. "The accents have no importance whatever in our endeavor to interpret the Bible." The material for this statement does in fact show that we are far from being able to account satisfactorily for all the apparent idiosyncracies of the Tiberian accentual system. In dealing with parallel passages in the Bible which demonstrate its "composite character,"

the relation of Paralipomenon to the Former Prophets is discussed *in extenso*, through more than five pages! "The infinitive and imperative are identical in form, . . . There is no construct infinitive: the term is to be discarded." The infinitive absolute is the infinitive-imperative of the suffix-tense (our perfect), and the "infinitive construct" is the infinitive-imperative of the prefix-tense (our imperfect). Even the various possible combinations of divine names are rehashed as "evidence for the composite linguistic character of our Bible"! Two full pages of citations are offered to make the point that Hebrew has a word-order of its own. The author himself says (p. 119): "No reasoning can prevail against inner predilections and inclinations." To this gospel of despair, in the present case, one can only say "Amen." At the end of a long list (21 pages) of emended readings or explanations for various biblical passages are adduced, many of which may be separate from and better than the principles to which they are appended.

H. H. Rowley, "The Figure of Taxo in the Assumption of Moses" (141-3). Review Torrey's earlier suggestion of an identification with Mattathias, and concludes: "It seems to me impossible to identify the figure of Taxo." This cryptic person should be expected to have been contemporary with the author of the Assumption of Moses.

Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 4, 1945. William A. Irwin, "1 Kings 7:20" (53-4). An attempt to remove the difficulty of the verse, chiefly by looking on the first phrase as a *casus pendens* and by changing the massoretic punctuation.

Robert Gordis, "Corporate Personality in Job: a Note on 22:29-30" (54-5). The verses are an illustration of what he believes to have been a prevalent conception of the time, that salvation may accrue to the group from the actions of the individual.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1944. T. H. Gaster, "Folklore motifs in Canaanite Myth" (30-51). Further study of the Ugaritic Baal epic; of philological interest for comparison with Biblical Hebrew. It treats directly of some Canaanite concepts regarding the nether world and its inhabitants as disclosed by the Ugaritic texts; there is therefore a reflection of the Hebrew concept of Sheol.

Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 76, 1944. M. E. Kirk, "Short History of Palestinian Excavation" (131-44).

A. Lucas, "The Number of Israelites at the Exodus" (164-8). Produces evidence to show that the biblical figures are too high.

A. M. Honeyman, "A Note on the Names of Shebaniah, Shebna, etc." (168-9). Suggests that *shbn* in the above names corresponds to the Arabic *tabana* "make a fold in the garment" "carry before one in the fold of one's garment."

M. E. Kirk, "An Outline of the Ancient Cultural History of Transjordan" (180-98).

S. A. Birnbaum, "On the Possibility of Dating Hebrew Inscriptions" (213-7). Despite the scantiness of extant material of early Hebrew epi-

graphy, it does not altogether prevent observation of the main development, may be compared with non-Hebrew North Semitic writing, and so permit at least a relative dating.

Razón y Fe, 131, 1945. Rafael Criadó, S.J. "Estela de Trento III. El Concilio de Trento y los Estudios Biblicos" (151-87). In an issue devoted wholly to the fourth centenary of the Council of Trent, this long, documented study treats of the bearing of the Council of Trent on biblical studies under the obvious headings of Canon, authenticity of the Vulgate, "sentire cum ecclesia," and the projected critical editions of the sacred text.

Theological Studies, 5, 1944. James E. Coleran, S.J., "The Prophets and Sacrifice" (411-38). A discussion of modern non-Catholic opinion, much of which sees in the attitude of the writing prophets a direct hostility to sacrifice and its accompanying priestly ritual, is followed by detailed analysis of the teaching of Amos, Osee, Isaias, Jeremias, Micheas with regard to sacrifice. The general conclusion is accompanied by this reflection: "Those who belittle sacrificial religion because of the words of the prophets would, if they were consistent, belittle not only priest and sacrifice, but ruler, wise-man, prophet, temple, covenant, religious assemblies, Sabbath, and even prayer."

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BIBLICAL NEWS

According to the recent *Motu Proprio* of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, on the use in the recitation of the Divine Office of the new translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew into Latin, permission is granted to anyone who so wishes to use this new translation in either the private or the public recitation of the Canonical Hours, as soon as this version, arranged according to the Psalter of the Roman Breviary, will have been published by the Vatican Press. Benziger Brothers of New York have announced that they will publish a Roman Breviary with this new version of the Psalter as soon as possible.

Monsignor Dr. Juan Straubinger, professor of Sacred Scripture in the Major Seminary of La Plata, Argentina, has followed up his translation of the Bible from the Vulgate into Spanish with a translation of the four Gospels made directly from the Greek. The publication of this version has been enthusiastically hailed by His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Primate of Argentina, as "a ray of light in the midst of the darkness that materialism has caused to descend on humanity" and an "accomplishment of the first magnitude." This version, in paper binding, well printed in clear type and on good paper, with clear and copious explanatory notes, sells for 40 cts. (Argentina), with a reduction of 30 per cent for quantity orders. It may be procured from Pia Sociedad de San Pablo, Avda. San Martín 4350, Florida—F.C.C.A., Argentina.

The Russian Pontifical College in Rome has prepared and recently published a Russian edition of the Gospels. The work of editing this Russian Testament was in the hands of the Rev. Joseph Schweigel, S.J., of the Byzantine Rite.

Spain has recently welcomed the publication of the first complete Spanish version of the entire Bible made from the Hebrew and Greek texts directly by M. Elvino Nacar and P. Alberto Colunga, O.P. It has a preface by the Apostolic Nuncio to Spain. Reviewing this monumental work of xciv + 1406 pages in *Ciencia Tomista* (LXVII, 1944, pp. 567-571) M. Ferrero commends the fluent and pleasing style of the rendering as well as the competence of the translators, and pays tribute to the influence of Père Lagrange and l'École de S. Etienne on the work. Cardinal Pizzardo is quoted to the effect that there should be more numerous notes explanatory of the text for the books of the Old Testament, but in the concise style already adopted so happily by the authors.

Biblical Week was held in Madrid, Spain, September 25-29, 1944. The general theme of the discussions centered around "Justification in the Old Testament," "Inspiration" and "the Psalter."

Scripture, published periodically by the Catholic Biblical Association of England, in its April, 1945, issue, has an interesting item about a group of lay people who meet every Tuesday night to study Hebrew under the tuition of a Jewish rabbi. At present the group is engaged in studying the "Christian-Jewish Relationship," especially the common root of Christian and Jewish Liturgy. The book currently being studied is the Psalms which the students recite in their original language.

Father Cuthbert Lattey, S.J., is the author of a pamphlet recently published in England by the Catholic Truth Society. The pamphlet bears the title "The Interpretation of Scripture." It is written for the use of the laity and makes use of many apt illustrations to clarify this rather intricate subject.

The Catholic Biblical Association of England has inaugurated a series of lectures on biblical topics for the general public in London. The first lecture on "The Bible in the World Today" was given on May 6, 1945, by the Very Rev. Canon J. P. Arendzen, and the second on May 20, by Dom Romanus Rios, who discussed the subject "The Bible and the Liturgy."

Word has come from London that the body of Bishop Richard Challoner, famous all over the English-speaking world for his work of revision of the Douay-Rheims version of the Bible, is to be removed from the Protestant churchyard at Milton, Berkshire, and reburied in the crypt of Westminster Cathedral. At that time consideration is to be given to the possibility of beginning a diocesan process for his beatification.

The Hierarchy of Croatia has recently approved the establishment of a Biblical Society whose prime objective is to edit a new version of the Sacred Scripture in Croatian. The founders and promoters of this society hope to achieve within a few years the noble objective of having a copy of the Gospels in every home in Croatia.

In Germany between the years 1933 and 1943 the "Katholische Bibelwerk" of Stuttgart has succeeded, in spite of the troubled times, in distributing about five million Bibles, New Testaments and individual books of Sacred Scripture. The "Katholische Bibelwerk" was established in 1933.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE VERY REV. RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O.F.M.Conv., S.T.D., S.T.M., *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order* (Washington: 1944). Pp. xxxiv, 1028. \$7.50.

This is the first volume of a history of the three main branches of the Franciscan Order: the Conventuals, Observants, and Capuchins. It deals with the period extending from the birth of St. Francis to the division of the Order under Leo X (1182-1517). A second volume, which is to appear soon, will treat of subsequent events down to modern times. We are indebted to the author, who is associate professor of ecclesiastical history at the Catholic University of America, for this comparatively brief yet comprehensive and scholarly presentation of the vicissitudes of so vital an organization as the Franciscan Order. He guides us through the complex and controversial mazes of his subject with masterly clarity, judicious calm, and a discriminating appraisal and use of his sources. Although his history is primarily scientific and minutely documented, it is not devoid of the descriptive power and the emotional glow demanded by the truly magnificent achievements of the Franciscan family of religious.

The student of the Scriptures is profoundly impressed by the decisive influence which the Bible exercised upon the origin and spirit of the Order. St. Francis of Assisi was impelled to exchange his hermit's tunic for the garb of the Umbrian peasant and his belt for the cord characteristic of his Order on hearing the Gospel which was read on the feast of St. Matthias, Feb. 24, 1203. To discover the will of God with regard to his future activity in the Church, he opened the Bible at random three successive times on a subsequent occasion. The three passages which he read inculcated utter poverty, disinterested missionary zeal, and generous imitation of the Crucified. St. Francis at once proclaimed these doctrines to be the basic principles of the mode of life which he and his companions proposed to lead. The first rule which he gave to his community and which remained fundamentally unaltered in the others, was hardly more than a commentary on the texts of Scripture revealed to him by divine guidance. Fr. Huber's pages show how the disciples of the great Poverello have ever striven to remain true to the scriptural ideals of their founder.

The popular devotions of the Franciscans, which have contributed so much to the poetic beauty of the Church and have effected so great a renovation of the Christian spirit, are traceable in large part to the New Testament. Thus, St. Francis and his friars popularized the devotion to the crib, which has captivated the Western World. That great mystic and apostle of flaming divine love, St. Bonaventure, composed a special office in honor of the Passion of Christ. The preachers and confessors of the Order fostered and promoted an intense veneration for the Sufferings of the Savior: facsimiles of the Holy Places in Palestine were erected; artistic representations of Christ's Passion and Death in the form of panoramas and passion plays were encouraged; the

"Way of the Cross" was originated by the Franciscans and took the form of the fourteen stations in 1628, owing to the initiative of Father Vitalis.

The Friars, also, played an important part in diffusing a knowledge and love of the Holy Eucharist. They founded numerous confraternities for this purpose; they suffered torture and laid down their lives in defence of the Blessed Sacrament. It is not surprising, then, that the Franciscan St. Paschal Baylon was so eminent for his devotion to the Eucharistic Christ and that he was proclaimed the patron of all Eucharistic confraternities and congresses.

Moreover, the Friars widely disseminated the devotion to the Holy Name, following the example of such illustrious members of the Order as St. Bernardine of Siena and St. John Capistran. The sequence of the Franciscan Mass of the Holy Name is numbered among the finest gems of ecclesiastical hymnology.

Considering the intensity of the Franciscans' love for the sacred humanity, we do not find it strange that St. Bonaventure frequently and touchingly referred to the Sacred Heart of the Redeemer. Duns Scotus, also, was a pioneer of this devotion.

It is but natural that an Order so consecrated to Christ should be specially devoted to His Blessed Mother. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception found many defenders among the followers of St. Francis. In fact, it was Duns Scotus who devised the principal and conclusive defence of this dogma. Furthermore, the Friars did not hesitate to draw the obvious corollary to the veneration of our Blessed Lady: they were among the first to focus attention upon St. Joseph and the parents of the Mother of God.

But the Franciscans not only cultivated the doctrinal and devotional aspects of the Gospel but also labored with unremitting energy and conspicuous success for the spread and adoption of its social principles. "Through their renunciation of the things of this world, the Franciscans, as Francis himself, invited the world by word and example not only not to be avaricious in the quest of earthly possessions but rather magnanimous in its renunciations, charitable in its benefactions and self-sacrificing in its labors" (p. 921). The Friars, however, did not merely preach and exemplify the joy of poverty, they also strove to secure social justice for the people. For this purpose they encouraged the guilds: "They were the counselors of the craftsmen in the making of contracts and agreements; their advice was often decisive . . . in solving the social questions and unrest of the day" (p. 922). They exhorted the rich to give abundantly to the poor and frequently became the agents for the transmission of alms to the needy. "They founded foundling homes and hospitals; cared for the imprisoned and sought their delivery; comforted those condemned to death" (p. 924). On arriving at a new town, it was their custom to search out the lepers in their hospitals and hovels; in times of pestilence they rendered egregious services to the sick. They served as chaplains in the Turkish wars, administering spiritual and bodily comfort

to the soldiers. In their foreign missions they attracted unbelievers to Christ by their charity to the poor.

A less heroic but nonetheless noteworthy manifestation of their social activity is furnished by the *Montes Pietatis* which they founded. These were pawn-shops where the poor could get a loan of money at a very low rate of interest and in case of necessity, gratuitously.

Finally, the Friars made a distinct contribution to the theoretical exposition of the Sacred Scriptures. Fr. Huber notes that practically every learned author of the Middle Ages occupied himself with the interpretation of Sacred Scripture and that this was a prerequisite for the Licentiate and Doctorate. Consequently, since the list of Franciscan writers on theology is truly formidable, the Friars must have spread the knowledge and love of Holy Writ in a notable way. Fr. Huber records the names and achievements of some of the more illustrious Scripture scholars of his Order during the period treated in this volume. He refers us to other authorities for a more complete catalogue. It is regrettable that this subject could not receive a more ample treatment. We are eagerly awaiting the publication of monographs evaluating the exegetical methods and results of distinguished Franciscan scholars of the past. They would afford us a true insight into the state of biblical science before the Reformation.

MICHAEL J. GRUENTHANER, S.J.

WILLIAM H. RUSSELL, *Jesus the Divine Teacher* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1944). Pp. viii, 408. \$3.00.

We hear a great deal and think a great deal about Jesus the Redeemer; we hear and think less about Jesus the divine Teacher, and still less about His methods of teaching. Yet, since His word is final authority on whatever subject He deigned to make utterance, so, too, His method of teaching is necessarily the best. And since He has definitely sent us priests and religious to teach, we should all make a serious study of how He, our divine model, taught, and endeavor to follow His methods as far as lies in our power. "Going therefore, make disciples of all nations, *teaching* them to observe all that I have commanded you." "As the Father has sent Me, so I send you."

Dr. Russell has made a thorough study of the teaching methods of Jesus Christ and synthesized his findings in this his latest book, *Jesus the Divine Teacher*. In doing so, Dr. Russell has rendered a valuable service to the art of pedagogy in general and to the art of religious pedagogy in particular.

The author examines the qualifications and methods of Jesus as a teacher. But, first, he takes up various preliminary questions. If the teacher is a divine Person, His role assumes an incomparable significance. Dr. Russell devotes the opening chapter of his book to this point. The author classifies the views of various modern religious leaders on who and what Jesus is into "The Divided World" and "The United World." Under the former heading he gathers a multitude of views, taken mainly from American writers, be-

cause the author is writing for Americans and seeks to acquaint the American religious teacher with the situation at home. European writers are referred to, but they are not stressed.

A second preliminary chapter treats of the history of Jesus. Here the eternity of Jesus as God is briefly presented along with a brief summary of the prophecies which foretold His coming as Man. In this same chapter there is a brief sketch of the spread of faith in Jesus Christ down to the nineteenth century, and the chapter is brought to a close with the consideration of the various schools of thought which have arisen in recent times with their theories about who and what Jesus is and what His principal teachings are. Here the ideas current in the United States are stressed.

Since the object a teacher seeks to accomplish is a necessary element in evaluating his work, a third chapter is devoted to an investigation of that point under the heading: *Why Jesus Became Man*. Here there are no theological speculations on what might have been in a different order of things.

A fourth preliminary chapter deals with the qualifications of the divine Teacher. The divine nature of Jesus united in one divine Person with a perfect humanity makes Him the best qualified teacher the world has ever known or can know. Pertinent considerations on the nature of man, on his need of grace, on the Hypostatic union, and the riches of Jesus' sacred humanity are embodied in this chapter.

Since a teacher's worth and importance are gaged by the significance and bearing of what he teaches on vital problems of life, a fifth chapter presents a brief but sufficiently satisfying summary of what Jesus taught, with the constant application of His message to conditions and problems in the year of our Lord 1945.

Finally, comes the sixth and last chapter, which is the heart of the book and its largest section, making up almost half of its nearly five hundred pages. Thus it is evident what point the author stresses most and investigates most thoroughly. The topic is treated under the headings: Exemplification, Affirmation, Actualization, Spiritualization, Individualization, Repetition, and Safeguarding Free Will. Under the first of these headings are presented the various virtues which Jesus exemplified in His life. The practical conclusion is that He is imitable. By Affirmation, Dr. Russell means direct, unequivocal, clear, authoritative statement. By Actualization, he means making unseen spiritual truth vivid and real. This is accomplished sometimes by miracles. Thus the reality of the devil and diabolic possession are "actualized" by the miracles of exorcism; the enormity of sin is "actualized" by the sufferings and death of Jesus; the reality of the after life by His Resurrection. By Spiritualization, Dr. Russell means Jesus' power to see spiritual truth in material things: His raising the minds of His hearers from material entities to unseen verities. By Individualization, Dr. Russell means Jesus' way of so speaking as to seem to direct His remarks to each individual in a group. The term Repetition is sufficiently clear; the author

points out that Jesus so repeated vital truths in order to impress them on men's minds that these truths did not become monotonous. The expression of them is varied enough to make the repetition attractive. The meaning of the final point discussed by Dr. Russell, Safeguarding Free Will, is sufficiently indicated in the following paragraph:

He (Jesus) would not be a ruthless dictator; He would buy neither power nor adherence of prominent persons. He would utter "thou shalt," and then, as it were, sit back and permit truth and grace to work their effects on willing souls. Impose Himself He would not, for He desires that the work of building a Christian character be ours as well as His. He is appreciated in many aspects of His character and methods, but seldom is His safeguarding of man's inner freedom duly recognized. "This divine 'regardfulness', both for the rights and the possibilities of every human being, is essentially His character. His method was to permit listeners to retain their God-given capacity by which they might even reject the Divine Teacher.

Dr. Russell's book is scriptural throughout. The reader comes from the perusal of this book with the conviction that the author knows the Gospels thoroughly and has long meditated on them and drawn from them a thorough insight into the character and work of our Lord. The work, however, is not exegetical. It is rather a synthesis of the Gospel's content on the various points pertinent to the author's subject. The obvious meaning of the sacred text is taken for granted.

The book is not a philosophical disquisition, nor a theological treatise written in the technical language of the specialist in these fields. The language is popular throughout; where it is necessary to use technical terms, they are explained and illustrated by happy analogies. The book was not written either for the theologian or for the specialist in the science of pedagogy, but rather for the practical teacher. It makes excellent spiritual reading; it is full of unction and full of a deep love for our Lord. There are passages which read like a sermon or a spiritual conference. To this reviewer it seems that the work is a great success from the standpoint of the author's objective and the readers he had in mind.

Every priest should read this book for every priest is a teacher of religion in one way or another. A fuller use of the methods and technique of the divine Teacher cannot but result in the better discharge of priestly functions in the pulpit, in the confessional, in the classroom, and in other dealings of the priest with the laity. Sisters and brothers, especially if they are engaged in teaching religion in the class room, should read and study this book. They are sure to derive great benefit from it for the more fruitful discharge of their duties as teachers of religion. The faithful in general and all those who love Jesus should read the book, for it will give them a fuller appreciation of the beauty of Jesus' human character and the charm of His divine Personality, and also a fuller understanding of their faith and its preciousness.

Here and there a construction is put on a text to which scripturists might take exception, not on the grounds that it is erroneous but rather because it implies an accommodation of the words of Scripture or an interpretation that

is not universally accepted. For example, the words of St. Peter, "Thou hast the words of everlasting life," seem to be taken or applied in the sense that Christ's utterances had a color and vivacity and picturesqueness that made them live (p. 329). The first of our Lord's temptations is listed as a temptation to sensuality, whereas some exegetes think it rather a temptation to vainglory and to disobedience to God's will (p. 344). "The Holy Spirit shall overshadow thee" is interpreted as a reference to the third Person of the Blessed Trinity, whereas many modern commentators do not so interpret it (p. 156). But these are mere trifles that the reviewer has to search carefully to find in a generally excellent and timely study. Its timeliness consists in the author's constant application of twentieth century conditions of the teachings and example of the divine Teacher.

JOSEPH L. LILLY, C.M.

F. L. FILAS, S. J., *The Man Nearest Christ*. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co.) Pp. 250.

In keeping with the Bible warrant the Church ever lets all things be done properly and in order. She sees to it that "the word of God shall never pass away." Now and then she clarifies certain points of doctrine and displays the treasures of her traditions, "the teachings that she has learned from the Apostles by word or by letter." The fulness of the Holy Ghost resides in her, and she walks along the ways of Eternal Providence which leads all mankind as if it were an individual and each individual as if he were all mankind; her processes and progresses are according to the needs of the times.

In the first years of Christianity the piety of the faithful fondly turned towards the Apostles and the martyrs. It was from the witnesses of the Master that consolation and strength were expected in the red days of persecution. The mother of Jesus was not forgotten, but we must acknowledge the fact that several saints nearer to the Savior than were the Apostles and the martyrs did not appeal to the members of the infant Church. Lost in the effulgence of His glory they awaited the moment when the invisible but real action of the Holy Spirit would give in the liturgy and the piety of the people the place which they occupy in the Scriptures and in the heart of Jesus. In the front rank of these saints is Joseph, the foster father of our Lord.

No saint indeed since the dawn of the Church had more right to the devotion of the faithful. Holy Writ has glorified him. Joseph was the virginal spouse of Mary, he was looked upon as the father of Jesus, he was "the just man." In the words of Pius XI, "he won for himself the title of the Just, serving thus as a living model of that Christian justice which should reign in social life."

None the less, it must be admitted that the cultus of St. Joseph is relatively recent in the Church. This need not surprise us. Christian prudence demanded that the foster father of Jesus remain obscure. "It seemed danger-

ous," we read in the *Acta Sanctorum*, "to speak of St. Joseph to nations that had not yet adequately or sufficiently grasped the mysteries of the faith; their belief in the virginal maternity could have been shaken. Moreover, Joseph, having died before the promulgation of the law of grace, seemed to belong to the Old Testament; to men and women in the midst of persecution, as an incentive to courage, better it was to offer as models the martyrs slain for the Gospel."

But the days of bloody persecution have passed. Joseph has left the shadow in which the discretion of the first ages had relegated him: he has entered into glory. The prophecy of Jacob concerning the other Joseph: *Filius accrescens Joseph, Filius accrescens* is accomplished, and perfects itself in a still more excellent manner. Meteoric has been the rise of St. Joseph in the liturgical life of the Church. The Byzantine Church was the first to celebrate the feast of the holy spouse of Mary. The calendars which mention it are of the eighth century. The Greeks, not satisfied to honor him with all the holy patriarchs, ancestors of Jesus, in a feast which occurred on the Sunday before Christmas, dedicated to him the Sunday within the octave of the Nativity, together with the Blessed Virgin, King David, and St. James of Jerusalem. The Copts placed his feast on the 20th of July.

It is on March 19 that Latin martyrologies, compiled between 820 and 842, mention the feast of St. Joseph. First introduced by the Carmelites and adopted by the Franciscans in 1399, it became very dear to Catholic piety; it was fostered by John Gerson, St. Bernardine of Siena, Cardinal Pierre D'Ailly of Cambrai, St. Ignatius of Loyola and St. Theresa. In 1640 Urban VIII ordered the feast to be observed by the whole Church. In 1847 Pius IX sanctioned the feast which we now know as the Patronage of St. Joseph. A supreme homage was still reserved to the chief of the Holy Family. On December 8, 1870, the same Sovereign Pontiff declared St. Joseph the Patron of the Universal Church.

So far I have used documents given to me more than fifty years ago by Father Augustin Largent of the Oratory, a friend of Newman and Faber. They were prepared for a book of *Elevations à Saint Joseph*, which Cardinal Perraud, another Oratorian, expected to be on the same level as Bossuet's *Elevations sur les Mystères*. Those who read Largent's *Life of St. Jerome* may regret that the work was never published.

Now quite recently, a Jesuit Father, F. L. Filas, has written a monograph which might be called a chrestomathy, gathering all the known facts concerning the nature and historic development of the devotion to St. Joseph. It is the latest installment of the *Religion and Culture Series*, so ably edited by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Husslein, S.J. The title is, *The Man Nearest to Christ*. The first part of the volume treats of the life of St. Joseph, "the visible representative at Mary's side of her invisible bridegroom, the Holy Ghost." With the Gospels as his guide, the author draws legitimate conclusions from reliable patristic and theological sources; he corrects several popular errors that have been widely circulated; he accepts, or rather does

not condemn, a few legends that may be merely poetical; he is right in doing so, for it still may be asserted with Duchesne that some legends are the efflorescence, not the excrescence of history.

Father Filas declares his horror for the Apocrypha. None the less he has thirty-four pages on them—mostly all valueless. But here let me remind non-Catholic readers that by the Apocrypha we mean the old forgeries or pieces of fiction such as the so-called "Protoevangel of James," "the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew," "the History of Joseph the Carpenter," etc. By Apocrypha we do not mean, as some others do, the Deutero-canonical Books, which are part of our Bible, such as Judith, Tobias, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus and Baruch. For such books the word "apocrypha" is an absolute misnomer. The word was repudiated even by Bishop Gore of Oxford. "It is not easy," he writes in the Preface of his "New Commentary on the Holy Scriptures," "to exaggerate the importance of those books, comprised under such an ambiguous title, in supplying the mental background necessary for understanding the New Testament."

Having dealt with the history of St. Joseph himself, Father Filas then treats of the veneration paid to him in all the years before the Council of Trent. In the third part of his study he unfolds it up to our time. His whole work is based on the authoritative and critical volumes of *Die Verehrung des hl. Joseph in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung bis zum Konzil von Trient dargestellt*, by Joseph Seitz; also *De Cultu Sancti Iosephi Amplificando*, by C. Mariani.

A work such as this—vulgarization at its best—as the French would say—hitherto was not available in English. It is a splendidly practical tribute to the Man Nearest Christ, whose place in heaven is second only to his immaculate bride.

J. M. LELEN, Ph.D.

R. B. Y. SCOTT, *The Relevance of The Prophets* (New York: Macmillan, 1944). Pp. ix, 237, indices. \$2.50.

Both as great religious characters, "rich and deep and powerful men," who live with us through their writings, and as bearers of the Word of God, the O.T. prophets are relevant for the modern world. The profound spirituality of their religion, together with their awareness of God's continual presence and His interest in human actions and events, contrasts with the mechanical externalism of so many of their contemporaries, and warns us that true religion, pervading our entire activity, must not be confused with mere attendance at divine worship. The preacher today will find much that is pertinent to our age in the prophets' writings and would do well to imitate their "serious and responsible attitude to their message." Finally, from the prophets the Western World can be reminded that it must insist on the priority of spiritual values, if it would stabilize our tottering civilization; that the triumph of democracy will come about only from a consciousness of

our duties toward God and our fellow-men. These thoughts Professor Scott develops by way of summary and conclusion in his last chapter, from which the entire book takes its title.

And it is really only this last chapter which deals specifically with the relevance of the prophets. The rest of the book is a general introduction to the Hebrew prophets, since the author submits that one cannot appreciate what they say to our age, unless "one has a fairly clear grasp of the prophetic movement and literature as a phenomenon in itself." After the brief preface, he defines the prophets as "spokesmen of a living Word of God" and distinguishes prophecy from divination, prediction, and apocalyptic (Chapter I). Since the "classical prophets cannot be properly understood without some knowledge of their antecedents," and without implying that they can "be sufficiently explained in terms of development from those antecedents," he next sketches the historical background of the prophets (Chapter II). Proper emphasis is placed upon the social and religious evolution that Israel's settlement in Canaan entailed, because this evolution is reflected on so many of the prophetic pages. Chapters III and IV trace the succession of Israel's prophets from their beginnings: priestly diviners and seers, ecstatic prophets, Nazirites and Rechabites, and point out the significance of the great prophetic characters mentioned in the historical books of the O.T. Consistently and justly Professor Scott gives most attention to the classical period of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah, without completely neglecting the silver age of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

Chapter V, "The Prophetic Word," discusses the essence of prophecy and the criteria that assured the prophet of the validity of his claim and enabled the people to distinguish the true prophet from the false. The next chapters, which treat respectively the theology, the philosophy of history, the social message, and the religion of the prophets, lead directly to the final chapter which gathers together the various strands of relevance of the person and teaching of the prophets. An especially fine contrast between Israelite religion tainted with Canaanite influences and the immeasurably nobler religion of the prophets is found in the chapter on "Prophetic Religion."

Reading these pages, one is frequently tempted to ask the author, in the words of Elias: "How long do you halt between two sides?" Especially in the chapter on "The Prophetic Word" one misses the clean-cut precision of scholastic terminology. In equivalent terms we are repeatedly assured that the prophets "possessed, and were possessed by, a definite and urgent message which was not derived from tradition nor produced by reflection upon an existing body of religious belief. It came to them as an immediate divine command" (p. 84). Nowhere, however, does Professor Scott clearly state that what the prophets believed to be a special divine command was *objectively* such. He merely insists upon the *subjective* state of the prophet. By three criteria the prophets knew that their message was from God and "not merely the projection of their own views and desires":

The clarity and decision of the message which possessed him and the irresistible impulse to speak it, carried the conviction that the word had come to the prophet

from beyond himself. . . . The second of the prophet's criteria . . . was the test of consistency with the terms of his original commission in the radical experience of his call; of consistency, further, with Yahweh's will as made known in the past history of Israel, and through earlier prophecy. . . . The third criterion for the prophet was the moral worth and immediate relevance of his message (pp. 94-96).

When the author tries to explain how the prophet's hearers could be assured that he had a true divine message, he is harder put:

. . . one test was that the true prophet spoke what his audience did not wish to hear. . . . In the last analysis, the word was authenticated by its own inherent worth and weight rather than by signs, and by the personal power of the men who spoke it. It was novel, unconventional, even startling (pp. 97-99).

He shies away from miracles. The "signs" that the prophets offer are not miraculous; to those that are presented as such we "must be prepared to apply a certain 'legendary discount' . . ." (p. 68). This weakness of the work is pointed out, not only because it is characteristic of so many non-Catholic works on the O.T., but also and principally because it is fatal to any work on the relevance of the O.T. Only if God actually revealed Himself in a strictly supernatural manner to the prophets can we say that they have an absolute, not merely relative, value for men today.

The Catholic student using this work will, therefore, have to correct freely. Professor Scott follows the general trends of thought outside the Church on the origin and historicity of the earlier books of the Bible; on the evolution of Israel's religion, together with the postulate that the eighth-century prophets created monotheism, which becomes explicit "in the written prophecy of the post-exilic Second Isaiah" (p. 106); on the exilic or post-exilic origin of most of the messianic prophecies. No Catholic author on the prophets, not even Chaine, is referred to in the copious footnotes. On the other hand we are grateful that the author has not inflicted upon us anew the once popular hypothesis of the Canaanitish origin of Hebrew prophetism. However hesitantly, Scott recognizes the strong tradition that traces prophetism, together with the idea of covenant with which it is inextricably intertwined, back to Moses.

Professor Scott warns the O.T. scholar and teacher that he will find little, if anything, new in his work, but he hopes "that the arrangement and treatment of the material is sufficiently distinctive to warrant its inclusion among the books on Prophecy referred to in seminary class-rooms and consulted in libraries." This modest hope he has surely fulfilled. His well-ordered, vivid, and enthusiastic presentation of the subject will be a real help to the Catholic seminary professor preparing a course of lectures on the prophets that must be crowded into a semester or two.

EDWARD F. SIEGMAN, C.P.P.S.

MAURICE GOGUEL, *The Life of Jesus*. Translated by Olive Wyon. (N. Y.: Macmillan, 1944.) Pp. 591. \$5.00.

In his critique of Renan's *Vie de Jesus*, Father Lagrange notes, with his usual precision, the attitude of an informed and fair Catholic toward an unprejudiced historical criticism of the Gospels:

With the apologists of the nineteenth century we can distinguish very well two aspects in the Gospels. The Catholic venerates them as inspired. This is of faith. Hence he can not treat them as ordinary books. But precisely because he has confidence in their veracity as sacred books, he is not frightened when they are subjected to critical examination. . . . We are convinced that this study can have its usefulness, because we are convinced that the Gospels prove, to every upright soul, to every sincere spirit, the divine mission of Jesus Christ. We demand only that the conditions of an historical enquiry be observed. In line with those conditions we can not be astonished that the critic does not draw from a simple examination of the Gospels all the conclusions that follow from their inspired character. . . . Neither can we demand that this criticism establish a perfect harmony between the texts and declare them exempt from all error. Evaluating them as human documents, it will be persuaded beforehand that they contain error, like other human documents, and it will treat them as such, endeavoring to distinguish between the error and the truth according to the value of the documents themselves. It will be up to us to defend them. . . . But since at times we ourselves must be content with probable solutions, we can not be surprised to see the critics support other solutions, which seem to them more probable. It would be an excessively stupid examination like the *Vie de Jesus* merely to discuss all the points on which Renan has rejected the testimony of the Gospels. We put only the general question: What does he think of the Gospels as historical documents? What authority has he accorded them?¹

It was with these sane observations of Father Lagrange in mind that this reviewer approached the task of evaluating *The Life of Jesus* by Goguel. The author's previous writings, his offices as Director of Studies at the *École des Hautes Études* and Professor at the *Faculté libre de Théologie Protestante* prepared the reviewer to find the book in disagreement with Catholic critics on many points of detail. He was preoccupied with only one question: What does Goguel think of the Gospels as historical documents?

The first four chapters (almost 160 pages) in which Goguel discusses the history of Higher Criticism from Strauss to *Formgeschichte*, and evaluates the extant material for the history of Christ, non-Christian, the Pauline Epistles, the Four Gospels, the apocryphal gospels, give the reader the impression that the author, although laboring under the incubus of a thoroughly rationalistic education, will endeavor to be fair and objective when appraising the historicity of the Gospel story. While he rejects, without any discussion, the authenticity of the Gospels, embraces wholeheartedly the Two-Document Hypothesis and, in general, rules out of court the material of St. John's Gospel, the impression left by these chapters is that the three Synoptic Gospels are, on the whole, reliable documents written quite early, between 70-90 A.D. The undisputed Pauline Epistles confirm the Gospel tradition. "It is important for the historian to be able to state that the testimony of Paul confirms that of the Gospels, and confirms its reliability" (p. 119). He shows the ridiculousness of the radical Dutch school's denial of the existence of

¹ M. J. Lagrange, O.P., *La Vie de Jesus d'après Renan* (3d. e., Paris: J. Gabalda, 1923), pp. 59-61, *passim*.

Jesus (pp. 63-64), makes some telling arguments against the hypothesis of Eisler (pp. 74-75), of Alfarcic and Couchoud (pp. 120-123). Discussing Loisy's opinion that 1 Cor. 11:23-25 is an interpolation, he makes a very wise observation that allows one to hope for a fair treatment of the Gospel history. "Our opinion on the authenticity of certain passages ought not to be dependent on a conception of the development of Christianity; on the contrary, our historical theory should depend on the teaching of the passage in question" (p. 124).

Chapter Five, however, leaves the reader completely disillusioned. This chapter, *The Gospel Tradition*, and the subsequent chapters, *Problems and Methods*, *The Chronology of the Gospel Narrative*, *The Origin of Jesus*, and the various phases of Christ's ministry and Passion, show the author to be an intransigent rationalist who will not even discuss the possibility of revelation or the supernatural. In spite of his plea for objectivity and his condemnation of the arbitrariness of *Formgeschichte* (pp. 163-167), Goguel is guilty of the very crime he condemns—subjectivism. The guiding principle of his criticism is a denial of the possibility of the supernatural; his method is a subjective "psychological" appreciation of the Gospel incidents; his conclusion is skepticism. To our question: is the Gospels' story of Jesus reliable history, Goguel gives a negative answer. The historian, he tells us, is not called upon to decide on their (the Gospels) evidence as a whole, but to determine the value of each of the narrations which they contain, and if possible to get behind their present form to one which is older still. No incident can be judged . . . without consideration for the stage of tradition to which it corresponds. . . . Essentially it (tradition) is in constant movement. Psychological study of the evidence shows to what a great extent, in reporting what they have seen and heard, men are prone to be influenced by their temperament, their prejudices, their feelings and their passions. . . . At each stage therefore a tradition is shaped and moulded into something different (p. 162).

He takes it as axiomatic that the Gospel authors have altered and moulded the facts of Christ's life to fit in with their conception of Christ's divinity, the product of their faith in the Resurrection,—which of course never really happened. In reconstructing the Life of Jesus from the Synoptic material, everything that smacks of the supernatural is eliminated as either a Christian transformation, or even invention, of the fact, or the work of a later "editor." Miracles are merely natural facts which men can not explain because of their ignorance of all the laws of nature. "Facts are not miracles because their miraculous character has been proven, but certain facts are, for a time at least, unexplained, and some people therefore regard these facts as miraculous" (p. 216). He makes his own the dictum of Renan: "The first principle of criticism is that miracle has no place in the fabric of human affairs, any more than it has in the order of the facts of nature" (p. 216).

With such prejudices for the guiding principles of his inquiry it is not surprising that Goguel concludes that we learn very little of the actual life of Jesus from the Gospels. Jesus was born, the son of Joseph and Mary, probably at Nazareth. After a very short ministry, about a year, in Galilee and Judea,

he was crucified at Jerusalem in the Spring of 27/28 A.D. Christ was at first a disciple of John the Baptist. He "began by preaching and baptizing in the same way, and in the same spirit as John; . . . he then severed his connexion with John because he had changed his views on the question of purification; that is to say, about the efficacy of Baptism" (p. 275). The theme of Jesus' preaching was the Kingdom of God, i.e., the new order which will be established when this world comes to an end. "His conception of the Kingdom of God is definitely eschatological." It is the perfect reign of God realized only after this present order has come to an end (p. 312). At the beginning of his year of preaching Jesus felt that he was a prophet, that he had a message for men from God. "This sense of being a messenger of God was gradually transformed into that of being His messenger *par excellence*, the One who will not only bring the message of the Divine pardon to men, but who will preside at the establishment of the Kingdom of God when it arrives, that is to say, who at that moment will be the Messiah" (p. 321). This, briefly put, is the extent of the positive knowledge of Christ's life given us by Goguel. A meagre pittance to offer the reader who has labored through five hundred eighty-six pages of wearisome "historical" conjecture and exasperating "psychological" appreciation!

On page 582 Goguel is guilty of an inexcusable misrepresentation of Catholic teaching on the religious state. Throughout his voluminous work he is careful to document his digest of the critics' opinions, listing his sources in copious footnotes. Here he blandly states that "Catholic Theology" maintains that Christ taught a "double morality," one for all men, one for an elite group. This he argues is opposed to the teaching of Jesus, who called all men to holiness, to perfection. A careful reading of any Catholic manual of ascetical theology would have shown him that in Catholic teaching the perfection of the Christian life, Charity, is the goal to which all men are called. The vows of Religion are means that render easier the attainment of that perfection. The renunciation of poverty and chastity, are not "required" of any man, as Goguel claims Catholics teach. These are counsels of Christ pointing out a surer way to the attainment of Christian perfection. The invitation to embrace these counsels is offered not to an "elite group," but to all Christians who are capable of fulfilling the obligations of the religious state.

Noting the prevalence of scepticism, or at least of agnosticism, of all that concerns the history of Jesus, Goguel writes (p. 60):

Nothing shows this more clearly than the fact that two eminent Catholic exegetes, Father L. de Grandmaison and Father M. J. Lagrange, have renounced the idea of giving a sketch of the Life of Jesus. Father Grandmaison does this by simply ignoring the problem altogether. Father Lagrange says explicitly: "I have definitely given up the idea of giving a Life of Jesus to the public according to the classical formula, in order that the four gospels may speak more clearly for themselves." They do not provide enough material to write a history of Jesus "in the way in which a modern writer would write the life of Caesar Augustus or of the Cardinal Richelieu." And again: "They form the only *Life of Jesus* which can be written; all we have to do is to understand them."

It is inconceivable how any one could read through Grandmaison's *Jésus Christ* and Lagrange's *Evangile de Jésus Christ* and honestly conclude that they are in any way sceptical or agnostic toward the history of Jesus. The citations from Lagrange's *Evangile* are given a meaning entirely foreign to the thought of Lagrange and to the context in which they occur. In Lagrange's thought the Gospels are "the only life of Jesus which can be written," because they come from the only author who really understands the mystery of Jesus, namely the Holy Spirit. How quickly and how loudly a Catholic author would be condemned were he guilty of a like dishonest innuendo in interpreting a passage of the critics!

Books such as Goguel's witness to the timeliness and importance of our Seminary course on Special Introduction to the Gospels. The historical validity of the Four Gospels, which is the very basis of our Apologetics, is the Christian bastion which modern unbelief has chosen for the object of its attack.

RICHARD KUGELMAN, C.P.

PAUL HANLY FURFEY, *The Mystery of Iniquity*. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1944). Pp. 192. \$2.00.

This work of Dr. Furfey presents a challenging and critical study of the problem of evil in society. Contemporary aspects of the Catholic position are discussed in a frank manner. Where appropriate, the author chastises those who, in his opinion, fail to present the complete unabridged teaching of the Church on the modern problems of society.

The work begins with a straightforward discussion of the reality of the workings of Satan. Thus, Dr. Furfey delves beyond the obvious natural causes of evil in society, an aspect that engages almost exclusively the attention of most professional social scientists. Catholics actively at work in the social sciences have been largely influenced by the naturalistic approach: they tend to ignore the supernatural viewpoint of Catholicism and confirm their views to the aims of a materialistic world. In other words, this largely unnamed group, called "Catholic Conformists" by the author, are pagan in their practice, while professing to be Catholic in name.

This is the blunt thesis of Dr. Furfey's book. The conformist mentality is carefully examined. Adherence to this viewpoint by Catholics in sociology, in approaching the labor question, in considering questions on marriage and the family, in an exaggerated patriotism, etc., all are frankly described. The remedy and cure will be found by abandoning the conformist mentality and returning to the Christian life and Christian teaching in its entirety.

Many will see in this book a belligerent Catholicism. While it sounds something like a tirade and appears to be extreme in some particulars, it is the kind of a book that needs to be written. Those fortunate enough to be acquainted with Dr. Furfey, will readily grasp its sincerity and catch the fire of its spirit. It makes no proposals which have not been characteristic of Dr. Furfey's life.

There are few actively engaged in the field of social science who will read this book without feeling that perhaps they could have been more forceful in presenting the Catholic viewpoint on some few occasions. The indictment is broad and sweeping; the evidence presented, poorly documented and tends to jump from particulars to general conclusions. However, *The Mystery of Iniquity* should serve as a stimulus for a more militant presentation of the social doctrine of Catholicism.

VINCENT A. McQUADE, O.S.A.

THE PROBLEM OF ACTS AND GALATIANS

DOM BERNARD ORCHARD, O.S.B.

So much has been written about the relation of the Epistle to the Galatians to the account in Acts of the Council of Jerusalem and of Saint Paul's visit to that city that those who have studied the question independently for themselves will not lightly be convinced that there are any fresh points to be elucidated in further discussion of a problem which still defies a completely satisfactory solution. Nevertheless, it seems to the writer that the real purport of the vital passage in Gal. 2:1-6 has been entirely misunderstood in an important respect by all the commentators. This may appear a bold claim, but it will at least serve as an excuse for the production of another article on the subject!

WAS TITUS CIRCUMCISED?

This question is one of more than merely academic interest; for, although it is usually treated as such, the following pages will, I hope, show that everything turns on the right answer being given to it—and for the right reasons. Before getting to grips with the relevant passage, Gal. 2:1-6, the reader will pardon me for reminding him of the general line of Saint Paul's argument in the first chapter of that Epistle.

The Epistle begins with Saint Paul's abrupt declaration that he has been directly called by God, without any human intervention whatsoever, to the apostleship of His name, 1:1-6. Why is it then, he continues, that they, the Galatians, are so quickly removing from him to a different gospel which is nothing else except that certain men are troubling them and trying to pervert the Gospel of Christ (1:7-9)? He indignantly rebuts the charge of time-serving which apparently has been made by some rival teacher or teachers who have definitely challenged his teaching since his last visit to Galatia. They had, it would seem, argued that Paul was not an Apostle in as full a sense as were those whom Christ had personally chosen, and who had been the leaders of the Church from the beginning. Paul, they said, was subordinate to them, and wherein his teaching conflicted with or went beyond theirs, it could be questioned as lacking real authorization. Such a case, they said, had arisen in his practice of admitting Gentiles to full membership of the Christian Church, without requiring, or least inviting, them to be circumcised.

This, then, was the challenge which Saint Paul had to meet. His personal authority was called in question. This was more than a case of personal pique; his position as an Apostle was undermined, if his teaching was to be always liable to suspicion and examination by reference to a superior authority averred to be out of sympathy with the

very foundations of his policy. He must show that his practice had the concurrence of the Church leaders in Jerusalem, otherwise a split in the Church was unavoidable. At the same time he must prove that his teaching and his authority were immediately derived from God. The fact that he was an Apostle, fully empowered to teach without error, was the basis of all his influence and had to be asserted. Two thoughts, then, were uppermost in his mind, (1) the vindication of his full apostolic authority; (2) the vindication of his doctrine that the Gentiles were not bound by circumcision and the Law of Moses.

Saint Paul, therefore, proceeds to prove the divine origin of his doctrine and his authority. Having asserted the fact (1:11, 12), he amplifies his assertion by giving a brief summary of his past life. As Chapman remarks, "the whole sequence (1:11-2:10) is governed by one idea throughout—the Mission of Saint Paul by the Father Himself."¹ Immediately after his conversion (v. 16), without taking any human counsel, he went into Arabia instead of going up to Jerusalem to visit the Apostles, as one might have expected. For three years after his conversion he remained without seeing any of the Twelve to instruct him in the Gospel. Then he went up to Jerusalem and spent fifteen days with Peter and saw of the other Apostles only James (vv. 18, 19). He then went off to the districts of Syria and Cilicia, remaining for the time unknown, except by the report of his remarkable conversion, to the Churches of Judea (1:21-24).

We come at last to the vital passage, 2:1-10, which I print here in the text of Nestle (11th ed.), the only changes I have made in it being the introduction of the dashes, the round and square brackets, and the insertion within the square brackets of five words to be mentally supplied.

Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρναβᾶ, συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον * ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν * καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. — ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, Ἑλλήν ὢν, ἡγαγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι* (διὰ δὲ τὸν παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους, οἵτινες παρεισήλθον κατασκοπεῖσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν [ἡ ἐλευθερία ἡμῶν ἄρτι κινδυνεύεται]· οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς) — ἀπο δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι κ. τ. λ.²

¹ *Rev. Ben.*, 1912, p. 141.

² The text of vv. 3-5 is well established, although Zahn wished to omit the words οἷς οὐδέ in v. 5. These words are read by all the Greek MSS (including B) except D, Irenaeus, Victorinus, Tertullian, Ambrosiaster, Primasius, and the Old Latin, which omit them. Intermediate stages between these two readings are

After fourteen years (which can be reckoned from his conversion or from his First Visit—which is correct will be seen subsequently), Saint Paul again went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking with him Titus also. (The Greek construction suggests that Titus was in a subordinate position: he is nowhere mentioned in Acts). "I went up," he adds, "in obedience to a revelation [a private one, not that made to Agabus, as Ramsay thought], and I laid before them the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles; privately, however, before those in repute, for fear I might be running or had run in vain." Thus it is clear that the divine intimation was to the effect that he should compare the principles governing the instruction he was wont to impart to the Gentiles with the principles held by the Apostles at Jerusalem. Such a comparison would of course naturally include the conditions governing the reception of Gentiles into the Church. Saint Paul had no doubt whatever about the veracity of his Gospel which he had from God, but he saw the necessity of keeping in step with the other Apostles. The word "them" in the text is ambiguous, for it might refer either to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Lagrange) or to the Apostles, though a comparison of this passage with 1:19 and 2:8-9 suggests that it is more likely the Apostles themselves who are referred to here. W. L. Knox well says of this passage, "Lightfoot's view that this was a private consultation followed by a public meeting which had only to accept a pre-arranged decision, gives no explanation of Saint Paul's motive for mentioning the private agreement and ignoring the formal vote of the Church in his favour."³

found in Marcion, some Greek MSS known to Victorinus and the Peshitto Syriae, which read οὐδέ without οἷς, and in Jerome's Commentary on Galatians which implies οἷς without οὐδέ.

"The inclusion of both words in the text," writes Lake (*The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Vol. 5, p. 196 f.), "has in so far a claim to recognition that it has not merely much manuscript support, but provides a sentence so impossible to construe and difficult to explain that it would always invite alteration." Lake himself is "inclined to think that probability favours the text which omits the οἷς and the οὐδέ, and that Titus was probably circumcised," because the omission would enable him to explain the text, as Saint Paul's defence of his conduct towards Titus. But since (as I am about to show) there is no longer an adequate reason for holding that the attack on Titus ever took place, his argument will fall. Therefore, the chief importance of these variants is, as Lake adds, that they "show that from the beginning no one was quite sure what certain details in the passage meant." In plain words, the omission of the words οἷς οὐδέ in the Western text may here be fairly attributed to the desire of a few scribes to render grammatically intelligible an otherwise hopelessly obscure sentence. Thus there are no solid reasons for doubting that in this instance the bulk of the manuscripts have preserved the true reading by keeping οἷς οὐδέ.

³ Cf. note in S.P.C.K.'s *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, 1929.

Lagrange, who believed that Gal. 2 = Acts 15 seems to have seen in the words "I laid before them the Gospel etc.", a reference to the Council of Jerusalem itself, preceded however by private conversations (*κατ' ἰδίαν*). This is possible, but the simplest way of understanding the passage is to take the words "privately, however, before those in repute" as the manner in which Saint Paul carried out the divine command.

The next verse (v. 3) brings us to the heart of our problem. "But not even Titus who was with me, Greek though he was, was compelled to be circumcised." Does Saint Paul mean that Titus was *not* circumcised in spite of pressure brought to bear on him to have him thus treated? Or does he mean that Titus was not *compelled* to be circumcised, and that he yielded only by way of concession? Or is there another way of understanding this verse? Now, so far as I know, all critics, save one, have assumed that the question of the circumcision of Titus arose on the occasion of this visit. The solitary exception is Prof. T. W. Manson, whose interesting article, "Saint Paul in Ephesus: The Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians" (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 24, No. 1, April, 1940) only came to my notice after I had independently arrived at the same conclusion. This is what he says:

"These verses are usually taken as describing something that happened during the course of the conference. It is supposed that the issue of circumcision of Gentile Christians was raised in the case of Titus, thus providing a test case and a precedent for the future. The difficulty is that if Titus was a test case, Paul's account of it is utterly inept. Either Titus was circumcised or he was not. If he was not, it should have been simple to say so outright: 'Certain false brethren wanted to have Titus circumcised, but I put my foot down.' If he was circumcised, the fact would be well advertised in Galatia by Paul's opponents, and the involved and stumbling verbiage of these verses would be worse than useless as camouflage for that nasty fact.

"I believe there is a way of dealing with this passage that makes sense and allows us to keep our respect for Paul's intelligence. I venture to think that v. 3 belongs to the time of the conference, and that vv. 4 and 5 describe something that happened later. . . . The sense of the whole passage will then be something like this: 'The issue of compulsory circumcision did not arise on this occasion, though Titus, who was with me, was an obvious case, being a Greek. When at a later date it was brought up, it was through certain interlopers and bogus Christians . . .'"

This suggestion does not seem to have attracted the attention it deserves; let us, therefore, examine it.

Among the chief subjects discussed in private by Paul and "the Pillars" must certainly have been this question of circumcision. Hence it is

true to say with Lagrange⁴ that v. 3 is the answer to the implied question of v. 2, for Saint Paul would certainly have been running in vain if circumcision had been necessary for salvation. But v. 3 is also parenthetical, because it is a factual argument thrown out in passing against the Judaizers. He is, surely, arguing not from an action done in the past but from the absence of the said action. The vital point that Manson has only half seen and the other critics have wholly missed is simply this: Saint Paul is not arguing that the particular case of Titus did arise on the occasion of that visit, but that, in fact, it did not, although it very well might have done so! For Titus was evidently well known to the Galatians, presumably because he accompanied Saint Paul on his mission among them; and if the "men of repute" and the assembly and notables of the Church of Jerusalem had not been of his own opinion on this matter they would not have allowed Titus, who, as his fellow-laborer, would be brought constantly into contact with the Jews, to come into their very midst and to associate with them. Such close contact between Jews and an uncircumcised person, however eminent, would have been intolerable to "the men of repute" unless they had, with Saint Paul, recognized "the liberty of the Gentiles." (This is the force of the emphatic οὐδὲ Τίτος and ὁ σὺν ἐμοί). So far, indeed, were the notables from being of an opinion contrary to his that they made no demur over Titus (cf. Saint Peter's first feelings towards Cornelius, Acts 10:28). Their attitude was absolutely correct and proved that they were at one with him in their recognition and understanding of the liberty of the Gentiles. The arrival of Titus with him on that occasion would have been, from their point of view, the ideal test case, but, in fact, they took no advantage of it. We conclude, therefore, that v. 3 refers to something which might have happened at the conference but, in fact, did *not* happen.

We now come to vv. 4 and 5, which in Manson's view "describe something posterior to the evangelization of the Galatians." What this "something" is we must now determine for ourselves, since Manson does not pursue the matter further. One of the strangest things about these two enigmatic verses is that they form one long involved sentence which lacks both subject and main verb.⁵ Saint Paul in his haste and agitation left his readers to supply them for themselves. But unfortunately, owing to the misunderstanding of v. 3, the commentators have invariably supplied the wrong words. Let us first set down the sentence as it stands:

⁴ *Ep. aux Galates, in loc.*

⁵ Other examples may be found in Rom. 8:3 and 2 Thess. 2:7; cf. Frame, *Thessalonians*, p. 264.

"... but because of the intruded false brethren, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus that they might enslave us, to whom not for an hour did we yield in subjection that the truth of the Gospel might remain with you."

"What is the statement omitted," writes Blunt,⁶ "when he breaks off his sentence at the words 'that they might enslave us'? Was Saint Paul about to say 'we *did* give way and concede the point', or only something like 'the Jerusalem leaders urged me to give way, but I didn't'?" The above suggestions may, I think, be taken as typical of the best modern exegesis on this verse. Yet "when reading Saint Paul," wrote Father Hugh Pope, "we are almost in the same position as the bewildered person who has to listen to his friend talking on the telephone to another, invisible and inaudible, person: he has but half the conversation; we have but half the correspondence." The passage before us is a classic example of this truth. For since Blunt's remarks are based on this mistaken assumption that the question of circumcising Titus actually arose at the conference visit, it is clear that his guesses as to the words to be mentally supplied will not fit. We must, therefore, make another guess.

Now, the thought of his duty of safeguarding the "freedom of the Gentiles" was the thought uppermost in Saint Paul's mind when he wrote Galatians. This freedom, as we have seen, had been respected by "the men of repute" in the case of Titus, but it is abundantly clear that it was being endangered among the Galatians at the time of writing. Let us, then, watch the effect of supplying the missing subject and main verb by the words "the freedom of the Gentiles is now being endangered."

"Then after the space of fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me. And I went up by revelation and I laid before them the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately before them who were of repute, lest by any means I should be running, or had run, in vain. . . . But not even Titus who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: (but because of the false brethren privily brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage [the liberty of the Gentiles is now in danger]: to whom we gave place in the way of subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you) . . . But from those who are reputed to be somewhat, etc."

The whole passage now makes sense. We can see Saint Paul dictating his letter to his recent converts at a furious rate. He is defending

⁶ *Galatians*, 1925, p. 75.

his apostolic authority. Perhaps we may paraphrase the above verses somewhat after this fashion: "I went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas by divine command—taking Titus too—to make quite sure of the support of the chief Apostles before undertaking the conversion of Asia. This reminds me of a fact that will impress you Galatians in your present wavering mood, viz., the Apostles then tacitly approved of my having Titus as a collaborator, uncircumcised Gentile though he is. But while, so long ago as that, the authorities there approved of my attitude, at the present moment *our* liberty—yours and mine—is being endangered by these false brethren who, without any authorization from Jerusalem, are doing their best to enslave us, though you may rest assured that I have not yielded to them, no, not for so much as an hour, in order that the truth of the Gospel may remain with you. But to return to what I was saying, from those who are looked up to as authorities . . . they, I say, on that occasion communicated no fresh knowledge to me, but on the contrary . . . gave to me and to Barnabas as well the right hand of fellowship."

It is now possible to see the right relation of the various parts of this remarkable passage, the obscurities of which are due partly to Saint Paul's habit of flinging in "asides" without warning, but chiefly to the misleading interpretation of v. 3, which has put all the critics on the wrong scent in their search for the missing verb and subject in vv. 4 and 5. We see that vv. 1 and 2 describe Saint Paul's Second Visit to Jerusalem; v. 3 is a comment of the Apostle on that visit, a comment introduced in view of the general argument of the Epistle; vv. 4 and 5 form another long "aside" suggested partly by the former one and partly by the vivid realization of the dangerous situation existing while he was actually penning the letter; vv. 6-10 resume and conclude his account of the visit. The fundamental difference between the interpretation here advocated and the one almost universally accepted is that while, according to the latter, vv. 3-5 are assumed to be a homogeneous parenthesis, according to the former, they are parenthetical indeed but not homogeneous, for they contain two parentheses whose contents are neither contemporaneous nor casually connected and only logically united. There is, in fact, a parenthesis within a parenthesis. The Second Visit of Galatians was undertaken to provide positive assurance of Saint Paul's doctrinal and practical agreement with the other Apostles; and, as a practical illustration of the agreement, which he is about to proclaim to the Galatians (vv. 7-10), he cites parenthetically for their benefit the case of Titus,

who was with him at Jerusalem and whose position by Saint Paul's side remained unquestioned, in spite of his well-known uncircumcised status. This practical argument would naturally have great weight with the Galatians on account of their acquaintance with Titus, for it illustrated the calculated and broad-minded behavior of the Apostles some years before the present controversy arose. At this point (the end of v. 3) we have every right to expect either further details of their attitude towards Titus or a resumption of the main argument. In fact, we get neither, for, instead, Saint Paul breaks away into another parenthesis in which he contrasts—albeit incoherently—the former tolerance of “the men of repute” with the present subversive action of these spying false brethren. After these two digressions Saint Paul picks up the main thread of his argument from v. 2, momentarily drops it again in v. 6, and then at last says in vv. 7-10 what he has been meaning to say all along about the successful and cordial result of his Second Visit to the Holy City.

I conclude, therefore, that Titus was not circumcised; indeed, I argue that the question of his being circumcised did not arise either then or later. Hence Titus was neither the original cause of the circumcision controversy nor the central figure in Saint Paul's Second Visit to Jerusalem, as Galatians would at first sight suggest. The question of the origin of that controversy will be discussed later in this essay but it never had anything to do with Titus.

The acceptance of this conclusion throws a flood of new light on the relation of Galatians to Acts, and not its least satisfactory feature is that it enables us to do full justice to all that is best in the arguments of Bishop Lightfoot as well as in those of Sir Wm. Ramsay and Kirsopp Lake, without in any way impairing the historical credibility of Acts or Galatians. The next chapter will be devoted to making good this claim.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE VISITS

The Acts of the Apostles expressly mention three journeys of Saint Paul to Jerusalem between the time of his conversion and the Council of Jerusalem, whilst Galatians speaks of only two. And as there is practically unanimous agreement among scholars that the First Journey in Acts corresponds to the First Journey in Galatians (although they differ in their ways of reconciling some small discrepancies in the two narratives), we are left with the problem of deciding whether the Second Visit

in Galatians corresponds to the Second or the Third Visit in Acts or to neither. The various possibilities are set out below.

If A1 = First Visit in Acts (9:11),

A2 = Second Visit in Acts (11:29-30: Famine Relief Visit, 46-47 A.D.),

A3 = Third Visit in Acts (15:2: Council Visit, 49 A.D.),

G1 = First Visit in Galatians (1:1 f.),

G2 = Second Visit in Galatians (2:1-10: Conference Visit),

then, since it is agreed that in substance $A1 = G1$, we are left with the following possible combinations:

- (1) $G2 = A3$ (View of Lightfoot; North Galatian Hypothesis),
- (2) $G2 = A2$ (View of Ramsay; South Galatian Hypothesis),
- (3) $G2 = A2 = A3$ (View of Kirsopp Lake, following Schwartz),
- (4) $G2 = A2 + A3$,
- (5) $G2$ is a visit nowhere mentioned in Acts.⁷

It is necessary briefly to review the history of these various combinations in order to see clearly that the fourth, hitherto untried, follows inevitably from the failure of the others to square with the data of both Acts and Galatians.

The last possibility, No. 5, can be safely dismissed without comment at this stage; for although it has been revived by Manson in the article quoted, it is a view rarely held and, moreover, as will shortly be seen, is subject to almost insuperable difficulties.

The first equation is the one that held the field throughout the Middle Ages and appears to have been the view of nearly all the Fathers of the Church. It was championed again by Lightfoot in his *Galatians* (1884), and his arguments have formed the staple of the North Galatian hypothesis ever since. Nevertheless, this equation $G2 = A3$, has some serious weaknesses, and it was not long before Lightfoot's case was strongly attacked by Professor Ramsay, who, as a result of first-hand exploration in Asia Minor, had convinced himself that the traditional view did not at all square with the historical geography of that part of the world or with the narratives of Acts and Galatians. He, therefore, advocated the then new and revolutionary hypothesis that $G2 = A2$.⁸

Ramsay's views made a great many converts but did not by any means convince as many as he had hoped, and it shortly became clear that de-

⁷ I have borrowed the above symbols from the article by Prof. Manson cited above, and in all that follows I gladly acknowledge my debt to him, and more especially to Foakes, Jackson, and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Vol. 1-5, referred to hereafter as B. of C.

⁸ Cf. *Saint Paul, The Traveller and Roman Citizen*, 3d. ed., 1897.

spite the attractiveness of his own theory and his valuable work in exposing the weaknesses of the traditional view, the critics were seeking a middle way between him and Lightfoot. This compromise solution is here represented by the equation $G2 = A2 = A3$, which finds its chief advocate in Kirsopp Lake, following Schwartz and Weizsäcker (B. of C. Vol. 5, p. 201 f.), who have essayed to make a synthesis of the strong points of the North and South Galatian hypotheses. Unfortunately, they have only succeeded in doing so at the cost of the credibility of *Acts*, by identifying A2 with A3. "Acts 11 (the famine relief visit) and Acts 15 are both descriptions of the visit referred to in Galatians 2, derived from different sources and described from different points of view."⁹ But the arguments with which they endeavor to support this theory are singularly weak and rest solely on the well-known fact that Saint Luke is free in the use of his sources and on the assumption that there is no other theory that reconciles the data of Acts and Galatians. Emmet has well said: "With respect to all such solutions, it should be clearly understood that there is nothing suspicious in the story of Acts 11 as it stands; the objections arise solely from the supposed difficulty of finding room for it in Galatians."¹⁰ It is precisely the object of this article to show that there is room for both visits in Galatians 2. But, although Lake's own solution of the difficulty is unacceptable,¹¹ his analysis of the respective strength and weakness of the Lightfoot and Ramsay hypotheses is so acute, penetrating, and sure that the true solution must be along the lines he has laid down. For he has rightly perceived that "just as there is convincing power in Lightfoot's view that Galatians 2 must mean the same visit as Acts 15, so also is there in Ramsay's contention that Galatians 2 must refer to Paul's Second Visit."¹²

He explains what he means in the following passage: "The strength of Lightfoot's position is in its affirmations. It certainly shows that there is so strong a resemblance between the circumstances of these two visits (i.e., Gal. 2; Acts 15) that it is incredible that they were repeated so exactly on another occasion. . . . The difficulty is not in this affirmation, but its application to the details of the story, for it entails conclusions which are very disturbing. If Gal. 2 = Acts 15, it was, according to the sequence of events given in Acts, Paul's Third Visit to Jerusalem.

⁹ Lake, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 201.

¹⁰ B. of C., Vol. 2, p. 272.

¹¹ Lake elsewhere (B. of C., Vol. 5, p. 473) admits that "it is impossible to prove the truth of Edward Schwartz's theory that the two journeys are merely two parts of one journey; but it will always remain a possibility."

¹² *Op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 201.

He went there first soon after his conversion; a second time, for the Antiochian mission to relieve the famine in Judea, and Acts 15 is the Third Visit. But Paul's own statement in Galatians is that the visit described in chapter 2 was only his Second; and he is emphatic on the point, because he is arguing that he was not, and never had been, subject to Jerusalem, and that the facts of his life show that he had never had an opportunity for being in such a position. He calls God to witness that he is not lying. Why should he have voluntarily weakened his position by omitting a visit to Jerusalem? The suggestion is incredible."¹³

Lake then goes on to show that Lightfoot's counter-explanation of why Saint Paul, in writing Galatians, omitted all reference to the Second Visit in Acts is inadmissible, an opinion shared by Blunt.¹⁴

Turning, then, to Ramsay's brilliant suggestion that the Second Visit in Acts is really identical with the Second Visit in Galatians, Lake shows that the great difficulty in the way of accepting it is "that if the whole question (of Circumcision) had really been settled beforehand by the Apostles at the Second Visit to Jerusalem, why did they pretend to argue it all *de novo* at the meeting described in Acts 15, as though they had never discussed, much less settled, the problem?"¹⁵ For neither Ramsay nor those who follow him¹⁶ have been able to explain satisfactorily why, if the crisis provoked in Galatia by the "false brethren privily intruded" and by Saint Paul's intransigent opposition to their teaching (Gal. 2:4-5) really occurred just before the Famine Relief Visit (Acts 11), the whole situation should be so exactly paralleled later (Acts 15) just before his Third Visit, for the Council. Ramsay sought to meet this difficulty by relating Gal. 2:1-10 with Acts 11:29-30; 12:25, and Gal. 2:11-14 with Acts 15:2, 7.¹⁷ But this reconstruction is very unsatisfactory, for it ignores the implication of Gal. 2:11-14 that the incident was settled by Peter's acceptance of Paul's rebuke, while Acts 15 has quite a different story to tell.

These, then, are the stumbling-blocks which have prevented the

¹³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 5, pp. 119-200.

¹⁴ *Galatians*, p. 82.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 201.

¹⁶ The best modern statements of Ramsay's position are to be found in Blunt's *Galatians* and, more briefly, in Knox's Introduction to *Galatians* in S.P.C.K.'s *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, 1929.

¹⁷ Cf. *Saint Paul the Traveller*, pp. 162-163. In his *Hist. Com. to Galatians* Ramsay argues that the question arose on the Second Visit in a *private* manner; but this ignores the fact that Gal. 2:4,5 relates a public quarrel, not a private dispute.

general and unqualified acceptance of Ramsay's hypothesis, in spite of its great attractiveness in almost every other respect. Thus the present situation is that we seem to have come to a dead end, as there appear to be unanswerable arguments on both sides against the identification of the Second Visit in Galatians with either the Second or the Third Visit in Acts. Lake concludes that "the problem is thus an *impasse* if we take Acts as it stands."¹⁸

Blunt,¹⁹ on the other hand, while himself accepting the view that Gal. 2:1-10 = Acts 11:30 on the ground that "though it has its own problems yet presents the fewest and least serious difficulties," has likewise failed to see that there remains one combination of factors which no one has hitherto seriously considered, viz., that $G2 = A2 + A3$. Logically speaking, this hypothesis should have been tried out before Lake's, which can only be sustained by throwing suspicion on the general impression of historical credibility which Acts produces and by taking a lower view of the historical merits of Acts than a wise criticism can assent to. But since the course of criticism has run otherwise, it has been necessary to deal with the other combinations first.

By the formula $G2 = A2 + A3$, I mean that Gal. 2:1-10 can be verified as referring at various points to the Second Visit and, at another, to the circumstances that impelled the Third Visit to Jerusalem. I will establish the truth of this equation by showing first, that the visit of Gal. 2 is in fact the same as the Second Visit in Acts, provided we eliminate vv. 4 and 5, which as we have already seen are to be understood apart from the rest of that passage, since they refer to some situation later than that described in vv. 1, 2, and 6-10. The exact nature and time of that situation will be discussed when I have shown that Acts 11:29-30 is parallel to Gal. 2:1-3, 6-10, viz., that $G2 = A2$. It will then only remain to show that Gal. 2:4, 5 refer to Acts 15:1, 2.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 201.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 77-84; p. 84 especially.

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²⁷ Ἐν ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις κατήλθον ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων προφήται εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ²⁸ ἀναστὰς δὲ εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Ἀγαβος ἐσήμαινεν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος λιμὸν μεγάλην μέλλειν ἔσσεσθαι ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην· ἥτις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου. ²⁹ τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν καθὼς εὐπορείτο τις, ὥρισαν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν εἰς διακονίαν πέμψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀδελφοῖς· ³⁰ καὶ ἐποίησαν ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους διὰ χειρὸς Βαρναβᾶ καὶ Σαύλου.

Cp. Acts 15:1-2, 24.

GAL. 2:1, 2; 6-10

Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρναβᾶ, συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον· ² ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. . . . ⁶ ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι, — ὅποιοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει· πρόσωπον [ὁ] θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει — ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο, ⁷ ἀλλὰ τοῦαντίον ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς, ⁸ ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. ⁹ καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθείσάν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρναβᾶ κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν· μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μενημονεύωμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

The main arguments for the identification of G2 with A2 are: (1) that it is an essential part of Saint Paul's argument that he should here specify all the occasions on which he has visited Jerusalem, in order to prove to the Galatians that he had at no time since his conversion been dependent upon the authorities at Jerusalem; (2) that it was reasonable, and even necessary, to make sure of the approbation of his procedure and doctrine by the other Church at Jerusalem before breaking new ground by his momentous journey into Asia Minor; (3) their agreement in points of detail: for the persons, Paul and Barnabas, are the same, the journey is the same, its purpose according to Galatians seems to be in some way connected with the relief of the poor,²⁰ as that of

²⁰ Cf. Gal. 2:10, where the aorist, ἐσπούδασα, should be rendered by the Pluperfect in English, thus making the sentence run, "only that we should be mindful of the poor, which very thing *I had been zealous* to do." It does not follow, of course, that the care that Saint Paul has already exhibited towards the poor of the

Acts most certainly is. Now that we no longer have to fit in the details provided by vv. 4 and 5, the main difficulty in identifying the two visits comes from the paucity of information given by Acts as compared with the abundance of Galatians. If we can solve the doubts raised by this discrepancy, the identity of G2 with A2 will be established beyond all reasonable doubt.

The objections against the identification of these visits may be classed under the following heads: those arising from (1) considerations of chronology, (2) the alleged different reasons assigned for the journey, (3) the omission of Titus' name, (4) the apparent absence of the Apostles in Acts, (5) the lack of all reference to the Galatians' Conference in Acts 11-12.

As regards the first point it now seems fairly certain that the famine under Claudius was felt severely in Palestine during the winter of 46-47 A.D., although Lake thinks that the winter of 45-46 cannot be ruled out.²¹ The implication of Acts is that the prophecy of Agabus was made before the reign of Claudius, i.e., before 41 A.D., and that the prophet did not specify the year of the famine. This is proved by Saint Luke's comment "Which came to pass under Claudius." In the next two verses (Acts 11:29-30) it seems that Saint Luke deserts strict chronological order for the sake of literary convenience. For he wishes to bring into his narrative the incident of Peter's miraculous escape from the power of Herod, which almost certainly occurred at the Passover of 42 A.D., and quite certainly before Herod's death in 44. This procedure is quite characteristic of Saint Luke, who, in the words of Lattey,²² "probably follows a practice of his own that we find elsewhere (e.g., xviii 19, xxviii 14, Lk. i 56, 65-66, iii 19-20) of saying at once all that is relevant to an episode, even when the final incident in it did not take place until after others which he has still to relate." In the next two verses (29-30) Saint Luke, therefore, gives the sequel to the prophet's warning (although some years actually intervened between the utterance of the prophecy and its fulfillment), explains the steps taken by the brethren at Antioch when the moment came to help their poor brethren in Jerusalem, and brings Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, the scene of his next anecdote, Saint Peter's miraculous escape. Other reasons for the change of order may be the desire to achieve succinctness, to avoid repeti-

the Church in Jerusalem can be immediately identified with the famine relief brought by him (Acts 11:30), but this is certainly a point in favor of doing so.

²¹ B. of C., Vol. 5, pp. 452-455; V. S. Gapp, *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 28, pp. 258-265.

²² *Westminster Version*, Acts 11:19-30.

tion, and to explain the antecedents of Mark (12:12, 25; 13:13). We conclude, therefore, that the data of Acts can be satisfactorily interpreted so as to allow of the Famine Relief Visit having taken place in the autumn of 45 or 46 A.D., the years to which modern research assigns the famine.²³

Turning now to Galatians, we have to consider what Saint Paul means by the phrase "after fourteen years." Taken by itself, this phrase can mean either fourteen years from his previous visit, or fourteen years from his conversion. Both views are widely held, and neither can be ruled out *a priori*. Moreover, the term "fourteen years" may itself mean either fourteen full years or twelve full years plus some fraction of a year added on at the beginning and at the end of the period, i.e., it may mean anything between twelve years and two or three months and fourteen full years. Counting back fourteen full years from the winter of 46-47, we reach the winter of 32-33 as a possible date for Saint Paul's conversion. Since it is also possible that the famine may have been a year earlier, we find that allowing for this and for the vagueness of the "fourteen years," the conversion of Saint Paul must have happened between the winter of 31-32 and the summer of 34, or between one and a half and four years after the Crucifixion in A.D. 30.²⁴

We, therefore, conclude that N. T. chronology can offer no effective opposition to the identification of the Famine Relief Visit of Acts with the Conference Visit of Galatians.

The second objection is that Acts and Galatians assign different reasons for the Visit: Galatians says it was "according to a revelation," while Acts merely says that the brethren of Antioch sent their relief fund to Jerusalem by means of Barnabas and Saul. It has, however, been pointed out that these two statements are not in the least incompatible. We may well suppose that Paul first had the private revelation (Ramsay's view that the revelation is identical with the prophecy of Agabus cannot, I believe, be sustained) and that since he had to go to Jerusalem for this reason, the brethren of Antioch naturally made use of his services for the famine relief convoy. Whether or no this be the true explanation, there is certainly no contradiction between the respective statements of Acts and Galatians. And if it be asked why Saint Luke should have omitted all the details of this Second Visit with

²³ B. of C., Vol. 5, Note xxxiv; Lattey, *Acts, in loc.*; Bicknell, in S.P.C.K.'s *New Commentary*.

²⁴ For those who, with Fotheringham, hold that A.D. 33 is the only possible year for the Crucifixion, the above chronology would still hold if Saint Paul was converted in 34 A.D., because it is possible that barely a year or less intervened between the two events, as Manson urges (*art. cit.*, p. 63).

which Saint Paul furnishes us, the answer surely is that they are a piece of private history made public by him only on account of a particular crisis. Since Saint Paul ends by affirming that the Three Pillars in fact "added nothing" to him, and seeing that the question of the circumcision of Titus did not arise, Saint Luke, writing a brief account of Paul's early career, may well be excused this omission.

The omission of Titus's name was a source of much difficulty to Ramsay,²⁵ but the difficulty altogether vanishes now that we know that there never was any question of circumcising him. Apart from the fact that even in Galatians Titus is only a junior lieutenant of Paul, the whole objection is founded on the old misunderstanding of the passage, which we have already cleared up. Saint Paul mentions Titus by name solely because he was known to the Galatians as an uncircumcised Gentile Christian, whose presence in his company in Jerusalem on a former visit had raised no adverse comment from the leaders of that Church. Why, then, ought Saint Luke to have gone out of his way to drag his name into Acts?

In the fourth place, it is objected that if Peter, James, and John had been in Jerusalem for the Famine Relief Visit of Acts, we would have found the relief handed over to them instead of to "the presbyters" as, in fact, we read. But it ought by now to be clear that it is a highly dangerous and usually misleading proceeding to base any inference on the silence of Saint Luke. It is so in this case. It may, of course, be true, as Lake thinks, that the "presbyters" of Acts 11:30 stand for the Apostles, but preferable is the opinion of Blunt, who thinks that the context does not allow us to say for certain who they are. Indeed, if we collate all the references to Christian presbyters in Acts we shall find that in every case they form a distinct group (cp. 11:30; 14:23; 15:2, 4, 6, 22, 23; 16:4; 20:7; 21:18) and that in all the references in cc. 15 and 16 the presbyters are distinguished from the Apostles. What evidence there is, therefore, would seem to suggest that the presbyters to whom Paul and Barnabas delivered the famine relief were a body of men functioning separately from the Apostles. It is, also, to be noted that the relief was "for the brethren dwelling in Judea," and not only for the poor of Jerusalem, so that distribution must have involved the employment of a good many presbyters. Nor does Gal. 2:10 in any way imply that the Apostles had themselves handled the relief or ever had any intention of personally handling it. On the contrary, Galatians gives the impression that the Apostles held themselves aloof from practical ministrations of this sort. Hence the objection comes down to the assertion that Paul and Barnabas would not have delivered the relief to the presbyters if Peter, James, and

²⁵ *Saint Paul the Traveller*, pp. 58, 59, 390.

John had really been in residence at the time. This assertion is, of course, purely gratuitous, and the evidence of Acts, scanty as it is, would rather suggest the contrary. For right from the beginning it seems to have been the policy of the Twelve to refuse to burden themselves with the organization of the financial side of Church life. Consider their reply in connection with the relief of the widows of the Greeks: "It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables." It is not unreasonable, therefore, to think that if the ordinary care of the needy was left to the deacons, the extraordinary provision of relief necessitated by the famine may have been entrusted by the Apostles to the college of presbyters. Thus the omission of the names of Peter, James, and John in this connection proves only that they had nothing to do with the reception of the famine relief, and proves nothing more. It does not prove, nor even imply, their absence from Jerusalem at this juncture. Indeed, their presence in Jerusalem is quite compatible with what we can learn about their movements from other parts of Acts. James seems already to be permanently in residence there (Acts 3:17). Peter may well have returned from the "other place" soon after Herod's death in 44, because Saint Paul says that Saint Peter's mission was primarily to those of the Circumcision (Gal. 2:9), and hence it would be natural for him to return to Jerusalem as soon as his persecutor was dead. At any rate, Saint Peter was again in residence before the Council of Jerusalem in 48-49. As regards the movements of John, Acts tells us nothing more after 8:25, though his name is mentioned in connection with his martyred brother James in 12:2.²⁶ But his close association with Peter in Acts makes his presence by Saint Peter's side in the Galatian account of the Second Visit no matter for surprise. Since, however, he does not appear in the Acts' account of the Council proceedings, it is generally assumed that he had by then quitted Jerusalem for the mission field.

Finally, there is the silence of Acts regarding this important conference between Saint Paul and the Pillars. The purpose of this meeting was not to promote agreement between them, but to forestall disagreement, which it most effectually did. Interesting as it is for us, there does not seem to be any good reason why Saint Luke should have referred to it in his condensed summary of the history of Saint Paul's relations with the primitive Church. That Saint Paul and the Twelve were in complete doctrinal and social harmony was not a fact that Saint Luke needed to underline. An additional argument may be drawn from the fact that the conference was a private discussion and not a public meeting.

²⁶ The notion that John was martyred along with his brother James by Herod in 42 A.D. needs no refutation here, cf. Introduction to Saint John's Gospel (Westminster Version).

Bearing these considerations in mind, I conclude that there are no solid reasons for denying the identity of the Second Visit of Galatians with the Second Visit of Acts.

Our next task is to see if the indications of Gal. 2:4, 5 really correspond with the situation described in Ac. 15:1-2. If they do, then we can say that G2 also equals A3.

Who are οἱ παρείσακτοι ψευδάδελφοί? Let us see what Gal. 2:4-5 can tell us about them. They are evidently Jewish Christians who have come in, or been brought in, by stealth from elsewhere (*παρεισάκτους, παρεισῆλθον*). Their teaching is as unauthorized as it is false (*ψευδαδέλφους*), and they have sought by subtle means (*παρασκοπήσαι*) to enslave the recent converts of Saint Paul. This slavery consisted primarily in the attempt to impose circumcision upon them as being necessary for justification and salvation (Gal. 2:16; 5:1-12; 6:15). Saint Paul himself had fiercely and successfully resisted their persuasions and refuted their arguments and had refused to yield for so much as a moment, in spite of all the pressure they had brought to bear (2:5). Further, it is the implication of these verses that the struggle is not yet finally decided. As he writes the danger from these false brethren is still threatening, but he is confident that his case is impregnable and that he has succeeded in keeping the truth of the Gospel. The Epistle is written, apparently, because he has just learned that the men whom he has successfully opposed—or their confederates—have at least partially won over the Galatians, his recent converts (1:6, 3:1).

Turning now to Acts 15 (R.V.) we find that "certain men came down from Judaea" to Antioch "and taught the brethren, saying, Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved. And when Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and questioning with them, [the brethren] appointed that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the Apostles and elders about this question." The words in brackets are not in the Greek text and are supplied by the R.V. from the general sense of the passage. But the Western Text (D *gigas w sy(h and mg)*) has a very interesting addition at this point, for it adds, "for Paul said emphatically that the converts should stay as they were when converted, those who had come from Jerusalem ordered Paul and Barnabas and some others to go up, etc."²⁷ Thus both the B-text and the Western agree in affirming Saint Paul's vehement opposition to the Judaizers but the latter asserts that it was these emissaries who ordered Paul to report to Jerusalem. In the present stage of the textual criticism of Acts it is impossible to determine

²⁷ My translation is taken from B. of C., Vol. 4, p. 169.

which reading is the older or even whether either is original. Nevertheless, since the Apostolic Decree expressly states that the trouble was due to "certain which went out from us . . . subverting your souls, to whom we gave no commandment," it is at least certain that the teaching of the Judaizers was never authorized by Jerusalem, although these later may have persuaded the Apostles to send a message of recall through them to Paul and Barnabas.²⁸ Who it really was who gave the order for Paul and Barnabas to go up to Jerusalem may remain forever obscure, but Acts tells us that they did not leave Antioch as men who had been defeated, but that they, "being brought on their way by the Church, passed through both Phoenicia and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles: and they caused great joy unto all the brethren."

Ramsay was wrong in resisting the conclusion that "the false brethren" are identical with the agitators from Judea who went down to Antioch. There is, indeed, no need to do so, now that vv. 4 and 5 can be shown to have no connection with Saint Paul's Second Visit, for all the arguments against the identification are based on the assumption that the circumcision controversy arose in some form or other on the occasion of this visit (cp. Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, 2nd ed., p. 299). The scathing term τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους exactly suits the agitators from Jerusalem, who may well have been sent unofficially by "the party of the Pharisees" (Acts 15:5), without any authorization from the responsible heads of the Church in Jerusalem. From Antioch it would be easy for them to infiltrate into Southern Galatia by the overland route.

But all these subsidiary points are overshadowed by the cardinal argument of Lightfoot that "a combination of circumstances so striking is not likely to have occurred twice within a few years."²⁹ It is impossible that a controversy so acute should arise more than once in the same acute form. The situation reflected in vv. 4 and 5 is, therefore, precisely that which preceded and caused the Council of Jerusalem. As W. L. Knox has well said, "Galatians is a move in the controversy described in Ac. xv 2." Lightfoot and all the modern upholders of the North Galatian hypothesis are at least right in insisting that the intruded false brethren are identical with the agitators descending from Judea.

My final conclusion is, therefore, that A2 and A3 each find their own

²⁸ I am aware that the Apostolic Decree was directed to "the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia," no mention being made of Galatia. But if the Epistle to the Galatians was written immediately before the Council, there was no need for the Council to direct its letter to them specifically, since St. Paul undertook to publish its decree there himself on his return to them (Acts 16:4).

²⁹ *Galatians*, p. 124.

special reference in Gal. 2—A3 has vv. 4 and 5 to itself, A2 has vv. 1-3, 6-10.

From this conclusion flow several corollaries. In the first place, it fixes the composition of Galatians at a date just prior to the Council of Jerusalem, and most probably while Saint Paul was actually on his way thither as recorded in Acts 15:3. There is, perhaps, a hint that the Epistle was composed on a journey in Gal. 1:2.³⁰

Also, the aorist ἐξάμην (Gal. 2:5) would indicate that Saint Paul has just for the moment discontinued his debate with the Judaizers. It seems that the Epistle was despatched on one of his halts on the way up to Jerusalem, upon receipt of intelligence that his beloved first converts in Galatia were falling victims to the persuasions of his enemies or their emissaries. The inference from Acts is that Paul and Barnabas made a leisurely journey, stopping at various towns of Phoenicia and Samaria en route to narrate the results of their first missionary journey. There is, therefore, quite enough time for some of the Judaizers to have slipped off to Galatia, whilst others were engaging him at Antioch, and for news of their ravages to have reached him by speedy messenger before he reached the Holy City. Hence Galatians now definitely takes its place as the earliest Epistle of Saint Paul that has come down to us, and it can be dated safely in the same year as the Council on Jerusalem, which is generally held to have met in 48-49 A.D.

It may be as well to mention here one of the strongest arguments in favour of the early date of Galatians, i.e., the curious fact that it contains no allusion to the Decree which the Council promulgated (Acts 15:23 f). This omission, says Blunt³¹ "is really so extraordinary as to make it nearly incredible that the letter was written after the Council. . . . It is almost unbelievable that in this letter he should have said nothing to remind the Galatians of its [the Decree's] terms, if the letter was written after the Council and Decree." Manson³² rejects this, arguing that the issue of circumcision, if raised at all at the Council, was only a side issue, that it was quite ignored in the Decrees, and that in any case the Decrees had become a dead letter in Galatia by 53 A.D. Each of these latter assertions is highly debatable, and it is clear that he is put to hard straits to avoid the force of the old argument.³³

The next corollary is that by the term "Galatians" Saint Paul means the inhabitants of the cities of Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe

³⁰ Blunt, *Galatians*, in *loc.*

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

³² *Art. cit.*, pp. 77 ff.

³³ For the resolution of various minor difficulties inevitably passed over here, cf. Blunt, *op. cit.*, *Introd.*, *passim*.

and the surrounding districts, as Ramsay always maintained. Being written before the Council, it can have been addressed to none but the converts of his first missionary journey. This point is also to be inferred from Gal. 2:5: "To whom we gave place in the way of subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the Gospel *might continue* with you." The North Galatianists have to force the sense of this passage to avoid its implication that Saint Paul had already preached the faith to them.

My last corollary is that Saint Paul's rebuke to Saint Peter (2:11-14) must have been administered prior to the first missionary journey, at some time which we have no means of deciding, perhaps during the years 42-45. Although Saint Paul mentions this incident after the accounts of his visits to Jerusalem, his reason for this change is not chronological but logical, because it is the climax of his argument, his boldness in rebuking the Rock-Man being the most eloquent argument of all for the acquiescence of the Three Pillars in his own ideas. In any case, as has often been pointed out, it was a priori most unlikely that Saint Peter would have behaved in this way at Antioch after the promulgation of the Decrees in that city, for they bore on table-fellowship, the very matter for which Saint Paul had rebuked him.

It is hardly too much to claim for this interpretation of Gal. 2:3-5 that it seems to dispel all the hitherto insuperable historical difficulties in the way of reconciling the history of Acts with the biographical details of Galatians, and that when we use it as a key to this great jig-saw puzzle, there is a place for everything and everything finds its place without strain or distortion. Not only does it seem to remove the main objection to the South Galatian theory, but it makes possible the construction of a synthesis of the facts which is both logical and accommodating, which does full justice to the telling arguments of Ramsay and yet meets the objections of Lightfoot and Lake. And, finally, it provides a solution which at the same time does not diminish but rather enhances our confidence in the credibility of the Acts of the Apostles.

Downside Abbey

Stratton-on-the-Fosse, Bath, England.

A STUDY OF PSALM 1

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We may distinguish two different kinds of problems in Psalm 1: the one, a grammatical question concerning the value of the tenses of the verbs, the answer to which affects the interpretation of the Psalm, the other one, matters of textual criticism which in this case seem to be of minor importance.

The majority of modern versions and most modern commentators agree in giving to the Perfect of the Hebrew verbs in vs. 1 the value of our Present: "Happy the man who does not walk . . . , who does not stand . . . , who does not sit . . .". From the grammatical point of view this is perfectly admissible: the author is stating a general truth—here the characteristics of the just—for which English and other languages prefer the Present. Hence a translation like that of Moffatt, describing the just man as one "who *never* goes by the advice of the ungodly, who *never* takes the sinners' road nor joins the company of scoffers," merely emphasizes, by the addition of *never*, the thought seen by so many others and therefore seems unobjectionable from the point of view of the sense.

The next verb is vs. 2b is in the Imperfect, which also may be used to express general truths, so that here again our languages will use preferably the Present.¹ Hence here also one may translate with most authors "he meditates"—or some synonymous expression.² This use of the Perfect and Imperfect—and interchange of the two verbal forms—is common in Hebrew and, in a general way, in the other Semitic languages.³

In vs. 3a the verb *wehayah* is translated also, "*he is.*" This helps to bring the verse into line with the description of the just man in the preceding verses.

We have again the Imperfect in vs. 5a where many translate by the Present: (they) do not stand, though here others prefer the Future.

What sense does the Psalm convey with the verbs understood as equivalent to the Present? The obvious impression is that we have a

¹ In fact, the Imperfect in vs. 3c, in the simile of the tree, must unquestionably be rendered by the Present. So also in vs. 4b, in the comparison of the chaff which the wind drives away.

² The Hebrew verb does not mean *silent* meditation, but rather implies also a more or less distinct or loud reading of the words of the Law. Cf. *ap.* Gesenius-Buhl, p. 173 and Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, 2, 1032-1033 *s.v.*

³ See, v. g., M. Cohen, *le Système Verbal Sémitique et l'expression du temps* (Paris: 1924), pp. 29-30 and *refff.*

description of the just man, negative (vs. 1), telling us what the just man avoids, and positive (vs. 2), presenting the just man as one wholly devoted to God. If we keep the Present in vs. 3, the picture is completed by a description of his reward which will be understood rather naturally as belonging to this life. We would then find expressed here the old view of godliness blessed by God in this world. This would follow clearly from the last line of vs. 3 which states in plain language the thought expressed figuratively by the comparison of the just man with the tree: "in all that he does, he succeeds," i.e., all his undertakings are crowned with success. Thus in brief we would find in this first part of the Psalm a description of the character of the just man and of his reward, but nothing that would oblige us to look beyond the present life for that reward.

The second part of the Psalm, dealing with the wicked (vs. 4ff), can be understood in a similar way, and that too, whether we take the Imperfect in vs. 5a as equivalent to a Present or to a Future. The Psalmist does not describe the wicked—he is well known as the antithesis of the just man—but he speaks only of his "reward." The wicked, likened to the worthless chaff driven by the wind, do not stand in the judgment. On the background of the retribution idea which can be found in the first part, this could mean the visitations of the wicked by divine justice in this life. This is the thought conveyed by Moffatt's translation: "When judgments come, the ungodly shall not stand . . .": for, while, God watches with loving care over the just man, the way of life of the wicked ends in ruin. There would thus be the same view of retribution throughout the Psalm, the thought would be consistent, even though it would be very imperfect and incomplete.⁴ However, several of those who otherwise translate the verbs in the first part by Present forms, here understand the judgment of the great final separation of the good and the wicked.⁵ But if the judgment in vs. 5 is eschatological, do we not have here an indication that there may be something wrong with the usual interpretation of the first part of the Psalm?

⁴ Some authors hold that the Psalmist might also have thought more or less distinctly of the final judgment. Cp. to this effect the note in Crampon's Version: "il s'agit des jugements, c-a'-d, des chatiments dont la justice de Dieu frappe quelquefois les impies dans la vie présente. D'ailleurs la pensée du psalmiste pouvait s'étendre jusqu'au jugement suprême." See, for instance, A. B. Ehrlich, *Die Psalmen* (Berlin: 1904): W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Psalms* (2 vols., Lond.: 1939).

⁵ Cp. for instance Frants Buhl, *Psalmerna översatte og fortolkede* (Copenhagen: 1900) on vss. 5 and 6; Bertholet (*ap. Kautzsch, die heilige Schrift des A. T.* (Tübingen: 1923), Vol. 2, pp. 120-121; *Leidsche Vertaling* (verkorte uitgave), 1906, etc. Many Catholic scholars could be mentioned who take the same view of vs. 5.

Now, the fact is that the three verbs of vs. 1 are in the Perfect, which is very commonly equivalent to one of our past forms. Is there any reason here for not giving to the Perfect its usual value? It would seem, on the contrary, that, if we use the Past, we obtain a very natural sense: "Happy the man who *did not* walk . . . , who *did not* stand . . . , and *did not* sit . . .". The Psalmist is looking back upon the completed life of the ideal just man, and he sums it up as having been a life of complete, careful avoidance of the company of the wicked. Evidently this supposes a number of repeated occasions presenting themselves in the course of a lifetime, but the author views all these now as one single action, and for this the Hebrew Perfect may be used very naturally.⁶ To express more explicitly what is meant here, we could translate, as is done by St. Jerome in different places, "Happy the man who *never* walked . . . , *never* stood . . . , and *never* sat . . .", but this is not necessary as the thought is sufficiently clear without such paraphrasing.⁷

Of the two clauses in vs. 2, the first is a nominal clause. The verb will rather naturally be supplied in the past in a past context.⁸ In the second line we will also translate the Imperfect by an Imperfect form, which will go very well with the phrase "day and night," emphasizing the constant repetition of the action. Hence we could render literally: "but his delight (*was*) in the law of the LORD, and on his law he *would meditate* day and night."⁹

In vs. 3, the normal value of the verb *wehayah* is the Future, and here also translating according to the normal force of the expression gives a natural sense. The Psalmist has praised the *happiness* of the just man

⁶ Cf. P. Joüon, S.J., *Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique* (Rome: 1923) # 111 e: "Une action répétée ou continue peut être représentée d'une façon *globale*, et alors elle est traitée comme si elle était unique ou instantanée."

⁷ Cf. Joüon, *op. cit.*, # 112, d and the examples quoted there; cp. Moffatt's rendering quoted above which does the same, from another point of view.

⁸ Cp. Jeremias 24:2; one of the baskets (was one with) good figs; other examples will be found in 1 Chron. 9:28 f; Ezech. 41 (passim), where the Vulgate correctly supplies the verbs in the past, as demanded by the context.

⁹ The purpose of this translation is only to bring out clearly the idea of repeated-continued-action in the past, not to give it as a model of English.

As a good parallel instance we may mention Gen. 31:39—referred to by Joüon, *op. cit.*, p. 297, N. 1 (# 112 d). Here also the translation is worded so as to bring out our point more clearly. "what was torn by beasts, I *never brought* to thee (— Hebrew Perfect: literally, I did not bring); I *would make* it good (Hebrew Imperfect), of my hand thou *wouldst require* it" (Heb. Imperf.). We have thus exactly the same sequence as in Ps. 1: first a Perfect summing up the line of conduct followed by Jacob during the past part of his life referred to, then the Imperfect describing the different attitudes of Jacob and Laban on the several occasions whenever a beast had attacked the flock.

who carefully avoided all association with evil throughout life, and gave himself unreservedly and constantly to loving study of the law. Why is he declared "happy"? Because of the reward—at God's hand, evidently, since God watches with care over the just (vs. 6)—a reward which awaits him after such a life of godliness: he will be like a tree provided with abundance of water by the rivulets or artificial canals fed by a reservoir, bearing its fruit in its season, its foliage ever green. We may not be able to state definitely the precise nature of the reward hiding under this image of the tree, nor is it necessary that we should be able to do so. We do not even have to suppose that the Psalmist himself would have been able to define his concept in clear theological terms. All that is necessary to know, and this would be the point intended by the author, is that God will reward his faithful servant in the next life—abundantly.¹⁰

The second part of the Psalm deals with the wicked. There is no description of their mode of life, but only of the fate in store for them. If we understand the preceding verses of the lot of the just in the future world, it is only consistent that we understand the statements about the wicked in the same manner. Besides, as was said before, even many authors who take a different view of vs. 1 ff, regard the judgment here as eschatological. Hence in vs. 4 which in its first part has no expressed verb, we will supply the verb "to be" in the Future and render:

"Not so (*shall*) the wicked (*be*) . . . ,

but they (*shall be*) like the chaff driven by the wind."

Contrasting the lot of the wicked with that of the just man suggested by the comparison with a firmly rooted tree, the Psalmist declares that the wicked must expect misery. The comparison with the worthless chaff swept off the threshing floor by the wind conveys an idea of their helplessness and wretchedness. The next verse, with its verb in the Imperfect, translated by the Future, expresses the same idea by means of another image: that of a court before which the accused has nothing to offer in his defense, overwhelmed as it were by the evidence against him. "The wicked shall not stand in the judgment," in the great judgment when God settles the different lots of men, in the final separation of good and bad, when there is no longer any room for "the sinners" "in the assembly of the just."

The explanation of all this is God's holiness (vs. 6): the holy God knows, cares for, the way of life of the just, while "the way of the wicked

¹⁰ Regarding the last line of vs. 3 not used here, see further on in the second part of this article.

perishes," like a way disappearing suddenly and leading nowhere in the desert.

On this view, the Psalm gives a consistent solution of the problem of retribution. The solution is not complete, yet it is definite enough on the essential point, viz., God's justice will render to the just and the wicked according to their deserts in the future life. There is still room for development—and, besides, in such a short psalm the author could give only a general outline—but the line along which the development may take place is marked definitely. Such a view of the Psalm cannot be regarded as supposing too much. From antiquity, this Psalm has been considered as a sort of prologue to the Book of Psalms, summing up some of the great teachings of the book, and we know that the problem of retribution is examined frequently enough in the book from different points of view. It would be natural, then, to have in an introductory psalm an outline of the eschatological teaching of the Psalter. Whether the Psalm was composed by the editor of the book as a prologue or whether a pre-existing text was adapted by the editor to serve as an introduction, makes no real difference: on either view, the Psalm would be meant as a prologue, and this could only confirm the eschatological explanation of the text.¹¹

A few points, mostly matters of textual criticism, remain to be examined, rather briefly since hardly anything would affect the interpretation.

The Hebrew phrase "walked not in the counsel" (of the wicked) vs. 1a appears again only in 2 Par. 22:5. Both A. B. Ehrlich (*op. cit.*) and, apparently independently, J. Kennedy, *An Aid to the Textual Amendment of the Old Testament* (Edinb.: 1928), p. 17—propose *ba'adat* for *ba'aṣat*, in the assembly. Ehrlich thinks that phrase is "nicht gut klassisch," a somewhat unsatisfactory reason, since the Psalm *may* be rather late. The other reason is that the verb *to walk* should be taken literally, just like the next two verbs. But must the author advert to the non-literal shade of meaning in such a phrase?

The proper shade of meaning of the word translated usually *scoffers* or *scorners* is not certain. Those who understand it thus will take it

¹¹ There are several translations of this Psalm which use forms of the past in vs. 1, but they cannot be regarded as fully supporting the eschatological interpretation, because they have the Present in vs. 2, thus. v. g., Wutz, Jew. V., Powis Smith in Amer. V., N. Peters, F. Zorrell, The Jesuits' Arabic Version might be understood in the sense adopted here. When this was written first, it was not possible to verify some old references, but now it is a pleasure to state that P. Joüon defends the *past* force of the verbs in vss. 1 and 2, and therefore the eschatological view of the Psalm (*Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 1937, p. 451 f.).

as equivalent to something like the so-called "free-thinkers," parading their unbelief and ridiculing the simplicity of believers. The meaning "to scoff" seems to be a later development, not found in O. T. The LXX renderings of the word would suggest the ideas of arrogance, lack of discipline, wantonness (Gesenius-Buhl). Joüon sees in the word the fundamental idea of foolishness, lack of intellectual and moral balance: this is adopted by Zorell, cf. *Psalterism ex Hebraeo Latinum* (Rome: 1928). For references see Ges-Buhl, p. 386*. For the Greek and Latin rendering, cf. Stammer, *Einführung in die Lateinische Bibel* (Paderborn: 1928), p. 68. We could render the word by "profligates."

In vs. 2, several take offence at the repetition of *the law* and propose various emendations. Thus, Zenner, S.J., and Bertholet read "the fear" (of the LORD) in *a*; N. Peters: *his praise* in *b*. *Alii aliter*. There is no convincing reason for a correction which is really only a matter of style and taste, and here our view and the author's may have been different. The author was not necessarily the best of poets.

The last clause of vs. 3 is disputed. The most natural translation of the Hebrew is: "and in all that he does, he succeeds." The use of the future would not alter the sense in any essential manner. The LXX and Vulgate express the same thought as the Hebrew in a slightly different form. In its obvious sense, the statement reads like an assurance of prosperity in this life, and the line merely repeats in plain words the thought expressed figuratively just before, only applying it more clearly to the present conditions of life. N. Peters seeks to avoid the difficulty by supposing that the tree of the simile is the subject here also: "and all that *it* (= the tree) *bears*, prospers."¹² The author, therefore, would be continuing the figure of the preceding lines.¹³ Peters' view is possible strictly, if we consider the material sense of the words, but it is rather unnatural. At the very best, the text becomes tautological, since, in fact, it simply repeats what has just been said of the tree bearing its fruit in season and having always green leaves, adding nothing whatsoever to the description. We rather take this line as a gloss with Gunkel, Landersdorfer, O.S.B., Zenner, S.J., Perennés, Pannier, etc. It is a line *extra numerum*, which in its obvious sense does not carry on the simile and brings in a thought out of harmony with the teaching of the Psalm.

Vs. 4a: we should add with LXX-Vulgate "*not so*," not in the Hebrew. This correction is pretty generally accepted.

¹² Literally: "and all that *it makes*." For the same use of words, see Gen. 1:11-12.

¹³ For this, see N. Peters, *op. cit.*; also the note in *Theologie und Glaube*, I, # 6, p. 473.

Vs. 4b: it is more difficult to decide whether the LXX-Vulgate surplus ("off the face of the earth") belongs to the original text or not. The text is clear without it. *Metrical* considerations are not decisive, though the line would look overcrowded with this addition. Possibly the phrase "*therefore*" (begin. of vs. 5) is a fragment of the phrase "off the face" (of the earth). But this takes us into the realm of pure conjecture, where nothing allows us to reach a definite, solid conclusion.

Vs. 6: several hold that the verb "to perish" with "the way" as subject does not convey a clear sense. Further, the parallelism would be better if "the LORD" were the subject of both verbs. However, a way that perishes is not so unintelligible as a figure of the irreparable disaster awaiting the ungodly. We can picture to ourselves a traveler following a path which vanishes and thus finally finding himself lost, unable to retrace his steps. Understood thus—as it is in fact by the majority of authors—the text expresses a sufficiently clear sense. One might even find in the form of expression used here the thought that the sinner's misfortune is brought about by the very course he adopted during his life: the Lord knows directly, positively the way of the just, but the way of the sinners gets lost of itself. However, it would not be wise to stress this point. There is always some danger of reading too many refinements of thought into a text and of substituting our own imaginings for the thought of the author. In any case, there is no cogent reason for a conjectural emendation such as (the LORD) "causes to perish," or the like.

As a sort of summary of the foregoing, we give the text of the Psalm.

1. Happy the man who walked not in the counsel of the wicked,
nor stood in the way of sinners,
nor sat in the assembly of profligates,
2. But whose delight was in the law of the LORD,
who meditated on his law day and night.
3. He shall be like a tree planted by streams of water,
that yields its fruit in due season,
whose leaves never wither.
(and whatsoever he does, he prospers).
4. Not so shall the wicked be, not so,
but they shall be like the chaff driven by the wind.
5. Therefore the wicked shall not stand in the judgment,
nor sinners in the assembly of the just.
6. For the LORD knows the way of the just,
but the way of the wicked perishes.

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THE SHROUD OF TURIN AND THE BURIAL OF CHRIST

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In the April number of the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* Rev. Clement J. McNaspy, S.J., presented some cogent arguments against the theory that the Shroud of Turin is a forgery, that is, that the two life size images on the long linen sheet are a work of human hand, done in the fourteenth century or earlier, to stimulate the imprints of the dead body of Christ. Father McNaspy meets the advocates of this theory on their own ground and exposes their misconceptions and arbitrary assumptions. The history and the technique of art and the logic of the case are the basis of his arguments.

The fact is that the hypothesis of forgery can still be seriously proposed only by one who is not aware of the actual state of the question. The evidence visible on the Shroud itself is decisive. First, there is the indisputable fact that the images formed by the delicate brown stains have the characteristics of a negative. Though the lights and shades are reversed, the images as a whole are so complete and the details so exact that a simple photograph reveals a perfectly proportioned and profoundly impressive portrait which defies the closest scrutiny. This alone is sufficient to exclude the possibility of human authorship by any conceivable means.¹

THE IMPRINTS OF A CORPSE

Besides the negative characteristics of the images, there is clear and abundant evidence that they are the direct imprints of the front and the back of a human corpse. This is appropriately called the medico-legal evidence of the Shroud. The cloth retains the precise marks of many wounds—lacerations, bruises and swellings, punctures and perforations. With the marks of the wounds there are many deposits of blood, impressed on the cloth with startling exactness. At certain points one can see how the blood separated into clot and plasma, and how a serum oozed from some of the wounds after the bleeding had ceased. These, then,

¹ Giuseppe Enrie, *La Santa Sindone rivelata dalla fotografia*, 2d ed., (Torino: Societa Editrice Internazionale, 1938), p. 3ff: technical exposition of the official photographs of the Shroud; p. 105ff: the inability of artists before the modern era to design a figure in negative like that on the Shroud; p. 110f: the inability of modern artists to copy in negative the figure as it is on the Shroud; p. 135ff: the judgment of artists and art critics as to the figure on the Shroud from a technical and aesthetic point of view. Cav. Enrie was the official photographer of the Holy Shroud at the exposition of 1931.

are the marks of active wounds which had been inflicted on the Man of the Shroud while he was still alive.

When the body was enveloped in the Shroud, there was a copious flow of blood onto the cloth from a wound in the right side—the stream extends across the middle of the dorsal image. At the same time a large semi-fluid clot, mingled with a quantity of serum, escaped from a wound in the right foot. This flowed back to the heel, where it was caught in a fold of the cloth and carried beyond the foot. It is notably different in appearance from the blood which had previously escaped from the same wound and flowed down towards the toes. Finally, there are the traces of an exudation from the body which took place after the imprints were formed on the cloth, as is evident from the fact that the stain images and many of the deposits of blood were affected by the tiny drops of liquid. Pathologists regard this as a sure sign that the natural post-mortem process was going on till the moment when the body emerged from the Shroud.²

Here we have a cumulation of varied material evidence visible on the Shroud itself. It all bears the inimitable stamp of reality. It was all verified by competent observers who examined the Shroud in 1931 and 1933. It is all visibly demonstrated by the splendid photos made in 1931 by Cav. Giuseppe Enrie. Since then every detail has been appraised and confirmed by the scientists and scholars of the Italian and French Commission of the Holy Shroud. It is beyond question that the two images of the Shroud of Turin are the imprints of a human corpse.

The opponents of the authenticity of the Shroud carefully disregard this evidence, or deny its existence for reasons that are completely irrelevant and futile. They still cling to Ulysse Chevalier's historical thesis, based on a number of written documents which make the obviously erroneous statement that the images on the Shroud are paintings.³ For

² Paul Vignon, D.Sc., *Le Saint Suaire de Turin devant la science, l'archéologie, l'histoire, l'iconographie, la logique* (2d. ed., Paris: Masson, 1939), p. 17ff. Dr. Vignon is the secretary general of the Italian and French Commission of the Holy Shroud, a research group. His book was awarded the Prix Catenacci by the French Academy. See also Pierre Barbet, M.D., member of the Commission of the Holy Shroud, *Les cinq plaies du Christ. Étude anatomique et expérimentale* (2d. ed., Paris: 1937).

³ Ulysse Chevalier, *Le Saint Suaire de Turin est-il l'original ou une copie?* (Chambery: 1899; *Étude critique sur l'origine du Saint Suaire de Lirey-Chambéry-Turin* (Paris: A. Picard, 1900); *Le Saint Suaire de Turin. Histoire d'une relique* (Éditions de l'art et l'autel, Paris: 1902); *Le St. Suaire de Lirey-Chambéry-Turin et les défenseurs de son authenticité* (Paris: A. Picard, 1902); *Autour des Origines du Suaire de Lirey avec documents inédits* (Paris: A. Picard, 1903). Chevalier's writings on the subject represent all that has ever been said against the authenticity

the rest, they speculate as to how their imaginary genius might have done his work, how he might have conceived and executed the idea of a negative, or how an ordinary painting might have been altered into a negative by natural forces. All the while the Shroud itself is at hand with its unique and inimitable imprints, belying all their assumptions. It renders conclusive testimony in its own behalf, which can be verified by anyone who takes the trouble to study the Enrie photos.⁴

THE IMPRINTS OF CHRIST

So far there is question only of the nature of the images as they actually are on the Shroud. This is decided by the medico-legal evidence outlined above and involves no problem of history or Scripture. We must call these witnesses into court only when we take the next step and inquire into the identity of the Man of the Shroud. Was it Christ who left these imprints, or was it someone else?

History gives no decisive answer. The documentary material, supplemented by an iconographic study, places the Shroud of Turin at about the beginning of the fifth century as the parent of a whole family of "Holy Faces." Thus we know at least that our present Shroud existed at that time and was then taken by artists as a model for the portrayal of Christ.⁵

Ultimately, the question is decided by a comparative study of the Shroud and the Gospels. On the Shroud we have those unique imprints which reveal the likeness and the extraordinary history of the man from whom they were derived. In the Gospels we have the historical record of the different phases of the passion, the death, the burial and the resurrection of Christ—a sequence of events so exceptional that, taken altogether, they are a means of identification more complete and more conclusive than proofs of identity often accepted without hesitation in the law courts. Both witnesses agree on all points on which their testimony can be determined, and with a united voice they proclaim Christ as the Man of the Shroud. At the same time their testimony is such as to

of the Shroud of Turin from a historical point of view. All subsequent opponents depend upon him.

⁴ For a really critical study of the imprints half-tone reproductions are not entirely satisfactory. The original photos are necessary. With these available, one need only have normal eyesight and an open mind to appreciate the reality and the significance of the details noted in the text. In 1937, I deposited a complete set of the eleven original photos in the library of the Catholic University at Washington.

⁵ Vignon, *op. cit.*, p. 95ff., 115 ff.

exclude the only possible alternative—a double of Christ with regard to all the factors portrayed on the Shroud and recorded in the Gospels.⁶

Here is what the imprints reveal about the Man of the Shroud.⁷ He was brutally buffeted in the face and scourged with a type of scourge known to have been in use among the ancient Romans. All about the head there were many bleeding punctures, such as would be caused by a network of thorns or a similar instrument of torture. After the scourging he bore some heavy burden lying across the back of both shoulders. This was after the scourging, because the stripes and bruises on the shoulders were aggravated by the weight and friction of this burden. The man was crucified, and this indicates that the burden was the crossbeam, in accord with the well-attested practice of forcing the condemned to carry this part of the gibbet with their extended arms bound to it.⁸ That the man was crucified is clear from the wounds in hands and feet and from the direction in which the blood from these wounds flowed before it clotted on the surface of the body. The hands were pierced at a point known to anatomists as the space of Destot—the very position demanded by the anatomy of the hands in the case where the hands were to be pierced without the breaking of any bone, and yet the nails were to hold firmly. The angle at which the arms were extended on the cross can be computed from the trickles of blood which we now see in a horizontal position on the back of the left hand and along the left forearm. These trickles flowed vertically when they were fresh. Restored to their original position, they place the arm at an angle of sixty-five degrees from the vertical. The wound in the sole of the right foot (the imprint of the left foot is incomplete) was near the middle of the arch. The sharp downward and inward turn of both feet indicates that they were crossed and fixed with a single nail.

While the body was still suspended on the cross, the right side was pierced deeply enough to bring a copious flow of blood. This blood, as well as that from the wounds of the crucifixion and the crowning, was subsequently transferred to the cloth in the precise form in which it had

⁶ Henri Terquem, *Le Linceul de Turin serait-il le véritable linceul du Christ?* (Paris: A. Picard, 1936). Appeared originally in *Mémoires de la Société Dunkerquoise pour l'encouragement des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, Vol. LXVII. This work, by a non-Catholic lawyer of Dunkerque, was awarded the Prix Montyon by the French Academy. It develops the argument for the identity of Christ as the Man of the Shroud from the viewpoint of the principles of legal evidence.

⁷ These details are minutely expounded, documented and illustrated by Vignon, *op. cit.*, p. 37ff. See also Barbet, *op. cit.*, p. 9ff.

⁸ See U. Holzmeister, S.J., *Crux Domini atque crucifixio quomodo ex archaeologia romana illustrentur* (Romae: Pontif. Inst. Bibl., 1934), pp. 17-18.

originally flowed and clotted on the surface of the body. From this it is clear that the body was not washed or anointed before it was enveloped in the Shroud. Then there was that exudation which took place after the blood had been transferred to the cloth. At many points it dissolved and pierced through the deposits of blood, proving that the blood really was transferred directly from the body and that it could not have been added later. Moreover, while the exudation confirms the fact that the Shroud enveloped a corpse, it also shows that there was no decomposition, for such an exudation from an unembalmed body is only the first stage of the post-mortem process. It is preliminary to decomposition, and of this there is no trace on the Shroud. This offers a fairly reliable basis for computing the approximate length of time that the body was enveloped in the Shroud—hardly more than forty hours.

Apart from the effects of the post-mortem exudation, the solid deposits of blood are still intact—one of the minor mysteries of the Shroud, since it is well known that dry blood easily scales off, especially from a cloth that has been handled as much as the Shroud. Throughout the length of the fourteen foot sheet many of the transfers of blood are so complete and so exact—clots perfectly formed and surrounded by traces of the plasma—that Dr. Vignon undertook a series of experiments to see how this effect might have been brought about.^{8b} In the end, he found no satisfactory explanation and frankly avowed his conviction that no human hand could have removed the long sheet from about the body without disturbing those precise transfers of blood. It is as if the Man of the Shroud emerged of himself at an appointed hour, leaving behind on his burial cloth those marvellous negative imprints of himself, along with the vivid record of the torments and the death he had suffered.

These are the facts about the Man of the Shroud visibly demonstrated by his imprints. Leaving aside for the moment the manner of burial, they are the pathetic record of a series of torments and subsequent events which coincide step by step with the Gospel account of the sublime climax of Christ's earthly career, from the buffeting and the scourging to the resurrection. Besides, there is that majestice countenance revealed by the photo of the frontal imprint and spontaneously recognized by its resemblance with the Christ type of art. Despite the traces of ill treatment which mar the physical features, it is a genuine portrait with subtle yet forceful expression, a mingling of nobility and sorrow, of peace and calm strength. It is pervaded by an unearthly air of sacredness and radiates a mysterious power which stirs even those who do not know the origin of this unrivalled portrait. Here again, then, we have a cumulation

^{8b} Vignon, *op. cit.*, p. 22ff.

of evidence, inimitable in its nature and compelling in its force, all converging to point steadily to Christ as the Man of the Shroud.⁹

This proof of identity is completed and confirmed when we consider what is involved in the hypothesis that these may be the imprints of some one else. This is not a question of abstract possibility or of the fictions of some fertile imagination. It is a question of precisely these imprints with the unique ensemble of facts that they demonstrate. The hypothesis implies that there may have been someone—some unheard-of criminal or martyr—who was a perfect double of Christ with regard to all the details recorded in the Gospels and portrayed on the Shroud—not one or the other, but all taken together. And after imagining a subject in this condition, we would still have to assume that these very imprints were obtained from his remains either by accident or by deliberate design. This involves too many impossibilities to be seriously entertained, so that the hypothesis of a double of Christ only serves to strengthen and deepen the conviction that we have here the imprints of the divine martyr of Calvary with the exclusive personal emblems of his redeeming sacrifice.¹⁰

For an extensive, documented exposition of all the above data I refer the reader to the works already cited. I summarize them here in order to put the state of the question in its true light and to prepare the ground for a study of the burial of Christ as related in the Gospels. There are still those who maintain that the manner of burial indicated by the imprints conflicts with the Gospel account of the burial, and on this basis they reject the authenticity of the Shroud of Turin, ignoring all the evidence in its favor and leaving it a monstrous mystery. The most recent and most detailed statement of this objection is from the pen

⁹ Pope Pius, after mature study and deliberation, affirmed the identity of Christ as the Man of the Shroud in a public audience to a Marian pilgrimage returning from Pompeii, and he affirmed it strictly on the basis of evidence. Referring to the pictures of the Holy Face which he had just given to the pilgrims, he said: "Sono piccole immagini che proprio la Provvidenza Ci ha mandato per voi; esse non sono proprio immagini di Maria santissima ma immagini che la richiamano quanto nessun' altra potrebbe farlo: perchè sono immagini del Divin Figlio suo e perciò già si può dire le immagini più suggestive, più belle, più care che si possano immaginare; esse vengono proprio da quell' ancor misterioso oggetto ma certamente non di fattura umana (questo si può dir dimostrato) che è la Santa Sindone di Torino. Dicevamo, proseguiva il Santo Padre, misterioso perchè ancora molto mistero avvolge quella sacra cosa, ma certo è sacra come forse nessun' altra; e sicuramente, per quanto ormai si può dire consti nel modo più positivo, anche a prescindere da ogni idea di fede e di pietà cristiana, certo non è opera umana" (*L'Osservatore Romano*, Sept. 7-8, 1936).

¹⁰ Vignon, *op. cit.*, p. 22, 195, 201ff; E. Wuenschel, C.S.S.R., "The Holy Shroud. Present State of the Question." *Ecclesiastical Review*, CII (1940), p. 481.

of Père F. M. Braun, O.P., Professor of New Testament Exegesis at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. In a series of three articles¹¹ he undertook the task of answering the rationalist critics who attack the Gospel account of the burial and the finding of the empty tomb in an attempt to discredit the historical prelude of the resurrection and the apparitions. Neither in these articles nor in the revised and amplified brochure in which they were republished does he mention the Shroud of Turin, but he so interprets the sacred text as to exclude its authenticity. This work was very favorably received among Scripture scholars,¹² though there were some who took issue with the author.¹³ In a later article¹⁴ he made a frontal attack on the Shroud mainly on the basis of the text of St. John. There he also repeats certain objections which are still brought against the Shroud on scientific and historical grounds. This article, too, received very favorable notice,¹⁵ while again several writers contested his views.¹⁶ Before appraising his position it will be useful to formulate certain principles which must govern this discussion.

1. A comparison of the Shroud and the Gospels demands a careful

¹¹ "La sépulture de Jésus," *Revue Biblique*, XLV (1936), 34-52, 184-200, 346-363. Republished as a brochure with an appendix: *La sépulture de Jésus à propos de trois livres récents* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1937). All references will be to this brochure under the word *sépulture*.

¹² J. Levie, S.J., calls it "une patiente et solide discussion des textes du Nouveau Testament, constamment confrontés avec l'exposé des coutumes juives du temps, aboutit à des résultats précis" (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, LXIV [1937], 550). See also *Clergy Review*, XIII (1937), 178-179.

¹³ J. Renié, S.M., "Le Saint Suaire de Turin," *Revue Apologétique*, LXIV (1937), 304ff; E. Levesque, S.S., "Le Suaire de Turin et l'Évangile," *Nouvelle Revue Apologétique*, I (1939), 228ff; E. Wuenschel, C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, p. 474ff.

¹⁴ "Le Linceul de Turin et l'Évangile de Saint Jean," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, LXVI (1939), 900-935, 1025-1046. A reprint of this article is not available to me. I shall cite the original under the symbol NRT.

¹⁵ J. Coppens voices what seems to be a rather general opinion when he says: "Il n'existe pas, à ma connaissance, un ouvrage qui puisse rivaliser en valeur avec l'opuscule du R. P. Braun" (*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, XVII [1940], 147). Dom Germain Morin proclaimed this work of P. Braun as the last word on the subject (*La Cité Chrétienne*, May 5, 1940, p. 349, as quoted by A. O'Rahilly [p. 167] in the article cited in the next number).

¹⁶ A. Vaccari, S.J., in *Biblica*, XXI (1940), 211-212; Alfred O'Rahilly, D.Sc., "Jewish Burial," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, LVIII (1940), 123-135; "The Burial of Christ," *ibid.*, 302-316, 493-503; LIX (1941), 150-171. A reply by Dr. Vignon, which was also to represent a reply by P. Levesque, was despatched to the editor of NRT, but it never appeared because the bombing of Louvain forced suspension of publication.

study of the imprints as well as of the sacred text, otherwise one may be completely ignorant of one of the terms of comparison or, worse still, have a radical misconception of its real nature and significance.

2. The facts definitely established by the imprints must be squarely faced by both parties to the controversy. As stated above, the agreement of the imprints with the different phases of the Passion gives all reasonable assurance that they are the imprints of Christ. This creates a well-founded presumption that they are also in accord with the Gospel account of the burial.

3. The advocates of the Shroud need not solve all exegetical difficulties regarding the burial of Christ. There are so many lacunae and obscurities that there are bound to be unsolved problems on points of detail. From a controversial standpoint, it is sufficient to show that the imprints do not conflict with the sacred text. This leaves intact all the evidence which identifies them as the imprints of Christ. On the other hand, no one has any right to say that there is a conflict unless he succeed in showing that the imprints are really incompatible with the objective meaning of the text.

4. It would be doing inexcusable violence to the text to force an interpretation upon it merely to bring it into harmony with the Shroud. It would be equally inexcusable to force an interpretation for the sake of establishing a conflict. *Sensum scripturae exponere, non sensum proprium imponere*, must be the cardinal principle.

P. BRAUN'S SCIENTIFIC AND HISTORICAL OBJECTIONS

As regards the Shroud, P. Braun does not seem to be very well informed or very open-minded. Instead of making an independent study of the case and evaluating it on its own merits, he seems rather to have sought adverse criticisms without considering whether they have any basis in fact. It is true that he refers to the photos of 1931 and to the works of such leading authorities as Vignon, Enrie and Barbet, but he could hardly have read them very attentively. He simply thrusts them aside as worthless, not because he finds any serious flaw in the case they present for the authenticity of the Shroud, but because he puts his trust in the ruined historical thesis of Chevalier and in the assertions of equally ill informed critics like P. de Jerphanion¹⁷ and Dr. Eskenazy.¹⁸ He also

¹⁷ G. de Jerphanion, S.J., "Bulletin d'archéologie chrétienne et byzantine, n. 4," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, IV (1938), 563-570.

¹⁸ M. Eskenazy, M.D., *Le Saint Suaire de Turin devant l'histoire, la science et la médecine* (Paris: H. Menant, 1938). Cited by P. Braun (NRT, 1044) against Dr. Barbet. This is a doctoral dissertation submitted by the author, a Turkish

offers some baseless speculations of his own and attempts to make capital out of certain disagreements among advocates of the Shroud, not realizing that these concern only points of detail and do not affect the primary proofs.

He denies, for example, that the Enrie photos have any probative value, quoting Belot¹⁹ to the effect that they were not made under "scientific" conditions.²⁰ The fact is that they were not made under more rigorous control than most scientific photos and were afterwards checked by a committee of expert photographers, who reviewed Enrie's technical report of the whole process, scrutinized all his original plates and prints, compared them with the imprints on the Shroud, and finally testified in a notarized statement that they are technically perfect and free from the slightest retouching.²¹

Another revealing example of P. Braun's method is his attempt to revive a naive hypothesis first proposed by Hippolyte Chopin to account for the absence of pigments on the Shroud and for the negative characteristics of the imprints.²² According to Chopin, who believed the Shroud to be a painting, those factors may be explained by assuming that the "wrong" side is turned outward, the "right" side being covered with a silk cloth which was last changed in 1868. He proposed this hypothesis in reference to the single imperfect photo made in 1898 by Secondo Pia. One would hardly expect it to be seriously put forward today, when we have the testimony of those who examined the Shroud itself, and the eleven superb photos made in 1931 by Enrie. There is all the evidence which shows that the two images are the imprints of a corpse and not a human work of any kind. There, above all, are the realistic imprints of wounds with solid deposits of blood covering the threads of the cloth on the outer side. It is unquestionably the "right" side that is

Jew, to the Faculty of Medicine at Paris. Following the most extreme of the French rationalists, like Alfarc, Couchoud, and Bayet, Dr. Eskenazy bases his whole work on the thesis that Christ never existed and that Christianity is a religion of myths and legends. The alleged historical, scientific and medico-legal treatment of the subject of the Shroud is not on a much higher level. I prefer to believe that P. Braun is not aware of the character of this book than that he seriously judged it worthy of notice.

¹⁹ J. Belot, M.D., in *Annales de Médecine Legale*, 1936, pp. 628-636.

²⁰ NRT, 1042.

²¹ See Enrie, *op. cit.*, p. 77ff, 91-92.

²² NRT, 1043. See H. Chopin, *Le Saint Suaire de Turin photographié à l'envers* (Paris: Picard, 1902); U. Chevalier, *Étude critique*, pp. 50-55, and in *Revue Archéologique*, XLI (1903), 321-323.

turned outward, and the evidence it displays cannot be disposed of by such facile means.

Apparently P. Braun feels free to deny the existence of the medico-legal evidence, because, as Belot points out, there are certain scientific means of investigation which were not applied to the Shroud, notably the spectroscope, the fluoroscope, and chemical analysis.²³ He is not aware that there were good reasons for not subjecting the Shroud to such treatment, but how can its absence justify one in rejecting the findings definitely established by direct visual examination and by the photos? Must we deny the testimony of our own eyes, and impugn the honesty or the competence of the scientists and the medical men who examined the Shroud, just because certain scientific tests were not applied?

Regarding the identification of the imprints, P. Braun quotes a statement of P. de Jerphanion which shows how completely both of them misconceive this cardinal point.²⁴ The statement implies that we must first determine from the Gospels the precise *manner* of each torment of the Passion before we can claim that the double image on the Shroud is a representation of Christ. No, it is amply sufficient to have the simple record of the *facts*. P. Braun and P. de Jerphanion will doubtless admit that Christ really was buffeted, scourged, crowned with thorns, laden with the cross, crucified, and pierced through the side, even though the Gospels give no detailed description of the manner of these torments. Father Thurston, though an opponent of the Shroud to the end of his days, was much more fair and objective. In fact, once it is proved that the images on the Shroud are the imprints of a human corpse, he may be introduced as a star witness to the fact that they are the imprints of Christ. Here is his testimony:

As to the identity of the body whose image is seen upon the shroud, no question is possible. The five wounds, the cruel flagellation, the punctures encircling the head can still be clearly distinguished in spite of the darkening of the whole fabric. If this is not the impression of the Body of Christ, it

²³ NRT, 1042, note 52.

²⁴ "Délibérément nous évitons de nous arrêter sur toute une série de développements par où l'on nous montre comment, sur le suaire, des empreintes et traces de toutes sortes (sang, sueur et autres) répondent aux moindres circonstances de la passion et de l'ensevelissement du Christ. D'une part, ces traces sont très incertaines. D'autre part, il y a tant d'inconnu sur la *manière* dont le Seigneur a été torturé, flagellé, crucifié et enseveli, qu'il ne semble pas très difficile, parmi les multiples hypothèses proposées, d'en trouver une qui cadre avec ce que l'on croit lire sur le suaire" (P. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, p. 566-567). On this P. Braun comments: "La remarque est très juste, surtout en ce qui concerne la *Passion*" (NRT, 1043). Italics mine.

was designed as the counterfeit of that impression. In no other personage since the world began could these details be verified.²⁵

P. Braun's own position is a return to the darkness and chaos which reigned over this question till the decisive evidence was brought to light in 1931. He holds with Chevalier²⁶ that the Shroud of Turin made its first historical appearance in 1389 in the memorial which Pierre d'Arcis, Bishop of Troyes, addressed to Clement VII, the anti-pope of Avignon. This document is also his prime authority for saying that the images on the Shroud are a work of human art, but then he abandons his authority and draws upon his own imagination. Pierre d'Arcis says the double figure is a painting, made with fraudulent intent, about the middle of the fourteenth century. P. Braun, who has seen at least reproductions of the Enrie photos, admits that there are reasons for thinking that it is not a painting. Its high esthetic quality, he says, places it beyond the competence of medieval painters and leaves it a mystery.²⁷ This does not prevent him from suggesting that the inexplicable double figure in life size, with its impressive force, its astounding realism and its impersonal, sculpture-like character (to use his own terms), may be a stain imprint taken from a mould in low relief and retouched during the same backward period.²⁸ One can only marvel that he should have ventured to put the suggestion into print. It turned out to be rather unfortunate for him, for it led him to become, unwittingly, a party to a fraud.

In a supplementary note to his second article²⁹ P. Braun tells us that a very honorable correspondent, whose good faith is above suspicion, sent him photos of a stain image on cloth obtained by the very process he had suggested. The work was done by a certain M. Clément, who died at the end of 1939 and bequeathed his material, with explanatory documents, to P. Braun's correspondent. M. Clément believed that the double image on the Shroud is a stain imprint of a slightly stylized

²⁵ "The Holy Shroud and the verdict of history," *The Month*, CI (1902), 19.

²⁶ *Étude Critique*, p. 58; *Autour des origines du Suaire de Lirey*, p. 9ff. NRT, 1040.

²⁷ NRT, 1041.

²⁸ NRT, 1043: "Il existe des raisons de penser que le Suaire n'est pas une toile peinte. Soit. Mais une empreinte directe et retouchée (comme le mémoire de Pierre d'Arcis le laisse penser), sur un moulage à faible relief?" There is nothing in the memorial of Pierre d'Arcis to suggest such a process, nor in any other document in Chevalier's dossier (*Étude Critique*, appendix, p. If). Pierre d'Arcis speaks of the Shroud only as a painting: "subtili modo depicta erat duplex effigies" . . . "pannus ille artificialiter depictus fuerat" . . . "per artificem qui illum depinxerat." The idea of a stain imprint taken from a mould is P. Braun's own inspiration.

²⁹ "Le Linceul de Turin. Note complémentaire," NRT, LXVII (1940), 322-324.

statue of Christ of the thirteenth or the fourteenth century. With this idea in mind he set about producing such an imprint with a bust of the painter Géricault. According to P. Braun's note, here is how he proceeded. To create some resemblance with the Christ of the Shroud, he added two strands of hair falling along the sides of the face, a beard and mustache made of cotton, and a wad of cotton over each eye. This figure he soaked with a tincture of aloes and applied his cloth, aiding absorption of the stain by exerting a slight pressure with his hands over the reliefs, avoiding contact of the cloth with the receding planes of the figure. The result was an imprint in the form of a negative image. The unstained areas were too light in contrast with the stain, so he gave them a tint by dipping his cloth in a dilute solution of aloes. P. Braun reproduces the positive and the negative photo of the image,³⁰ which he considers a worthy rival of the Shroud. He remarks particularly that the modelling of the face is exactly the same.

One wonders what all this is supposed to prove. Even if M. Clément had succeeded in obtaining a perfect replica of the sculptured head with the false accessories, how could this prove that the images on the Shroud were produced in the same way? How could it invalidate the mass of evidence which proves that the Shroud bears the spontaneous imprints of a human corpse, with the clear marks of torture and the transfers of blood? The truth, however, is that M. Clément's imprint is a crude caricature, distorted, coarse, unsightly, as was bound to be the case with such a crude method. And to compare this with the Christ of the Shroud, which is not merely a negative of any sort, but a negative with the delicacy, the fine detail and the flawless proportion of a photograph! Moreover, although it was received on pliable cloth from the irregular contours of a human body (this is true especially of the face); it has the characteristics of an orthogonal projection on a flat, hard surface. This is partly explained by the fact that the imprint was produced by the action of vapors as well as by contact, and that the sheet was kept at a comparatively level plane by some support at the sides of the head and at the shoulders, but in the end the Shroud presents a mystery which science has not yet solved. To compare M. Clément's clumsy smear with the matchless Christ of the Shroud is more naive than to put a snowman modeled by a child on a par with Michelangelo's Moses.

P. Braun, of course, was perfectly sincere in publicly sponsoring the work of the deceased M. Clément, but here is how the element of fraud comes in. He was assured, evidently through the written statement of M. Clément, that the imprint had not been retouched in the least. He

³⁰ Facing p. 324.

was deceived because it had been extensively retouched, clearly for the purpose of aping the Shroud, as he might have discovered by comparing the photos of the Shroud with M. Clément's work.

Here are some of the details which betray the hand of the forger.³¹ He designed the light band on the right of the face which cuts a straight line from the forehead to the end of the beard. On the Shroud this is a pure accident, due most likely to a lack of sensitivity of the cloth in this area at the time when the imprint was produced. M. Clément could never have obtained the identical effect by simple contact with the rounded contours of the sculptured and bearded face. Neither was it by contact that he obtained the thin, dark line which runs through his image from top to bottom exactly as on the Shroud, but on the Shroud this line is nothing else than a flaw in the weave of the cloth, whereas M. Clément himself certainly traced the line in his image because it runs through the light areas which mark the cavity of the eye and the depression beside the nose where there certainly was no contact. He also tampered with the imprint of the two strands of hair. Simple contact would have yielded a stain outlining their real form. Instead, there is only a partial imprint of the strand on the right of the face and this tapers toward the top, while the strand on the left is very faint and marked with trickles of blood—all as on the Shroud, all done by hand. On the brow he copied from the Shroud the traces of the punctures and the blood of the crowning. He also designed the sharply defined halfmoons representing the closed eyes, for these could never have been impressed by wads of soft, yielding cotton.

There is reason to suspect that comparison with the bust of Géricault would reveal still more retouchings, intended to ape other peculiarities of the Shroud and to give the positive version of the image some sort of expression, but those noted here will suffice to convict P. Braun's posthumous client of falsifying his imprint. Here we have a real forgery, put forward in a futile attempt to discredit the genuine, inimitable Christ of the Shroud.

³¹ Dr. Vignon, who is himself an able draughtsman, analysed all these details minutely in a letter to me, dated May 11, 1940. He also imparted this interesting information. Rumors of M. Clément's experiment circulated through Paris during the year 1939. Dr. Vignon sought and secured a meeting with the artist in order to appraise his work, but the latter appeared without his stain image or its photos, apparently not willing to submit it to the keen eyes of the leading authority on the Shroud. When he was made to understand that it could prove nothing against the Shroud, no matter what its merit, he seemed embarrassed and said he wished only to show how easily the imprints could be "copied." We see now by what means and with what results.

P. Braun, then, fails to offer any real difficulty against the authenticity of the Shroud on scientific or historical grounds. All his objections miss fire because he fails to conform with principles 1 and 2 stated above, which demand an open-minded study of the Shroud and a loyal acceptance of the established facts before one can safely venture to attack the relic or even to discuss the problems it involves. Is his scriptural objection any more formidable? Here there is something more at stake than the authenticity of the Shroud. The correct interpretation of the Gospel account of the burial of Christ and of related events is in question. If P. Braun is in error about this, not only does he fail to bring this detail of the Gospels into conflict with the Shroud, but he also compromises the sacred text and leaves himself open to a crushing retort from the critics whom he would refute.

Now here is the point at issue. The advocates of the Shroud maintain that all the pertinent texts taken together signify that the burial of Christ was provisional, that is, the body was enveloped in the linen sheet and laid in the tomb without being washed or anointed, the customary burial rites being postponed on account of the lack of the necessary materials, the imminence of the Sabbath and the demands of the penal code. P. Braun, on the contrary, insists that it was a definite ritual burial. Specifically, the body was washed and anointed, the face covered with a napkin, and the linen sheet bound closely about the body—all of which is fatal to the authenticity of the Shroud. There is a real contradiction here, so one of these interpretations must be wrong. We shall follow P. Braun in first taking the Synoptics as a unit and then the text of the Fourth Gospel. This is the natural procedure, for the Synoptic account is admittedly our primary source, which also explains why it is the main target of the attack by the critics.

THE SYNOPTIC ACCOUNT OF THE BURIAL

All three Synoptics relate the burial in almost identical terms. Joseph of Arimathea took the body of Christ down from the cross, wrapped it in a linen sheet, and placed it in the tomb.³² All three use the word *σινδών* which has a rather wide and varied meaning, comprising any kind of linen cloth or linen garment, but is to be understood here as meaning a linen sheet.³³ According to Mark, Joseph bought the linen sheet after he had received permission from Pilate to take possession of the

³² Mt. 27:59; Mk. 15:46; Lk. 23:53.

³³ Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (New edition, Oxford: 1940) s.v.; Moulton-Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament Illustrated from the Papyri* (London, 1914-1929), s.v.

body. Matthew notes the detail that the cloth was clean (because new). Matthew and Luke use the verb *ἐντυλίσσω*, wrap, envelop. Mark's verb is *ἐνελέω* which has the same meaning.³⁴

That is all they say about the burial itself. They also indicate the reason for this summary procedure. It was late on the Preparation Day before the Paschal Sabbath, when the Jews would have to desist from all labor and observe the strict rest prescribed by the Law.³⁵ According to Mt. 27:57 and Mk. 15:42, it was after the death of Christ and in the evening, the last period of the day according to the Jewish reckoning, that Joseph went to Pilate to ask permission to remove the body. Mark adds that he did so precisely because it was the Preparation Day before the Sabbath and that Pilate, surprised that Christ should be already dead, kept Joseph waiting while he summoned the centurion to verify the fact. Only when he had official confirmation did he grant the desired permission. Joseph then bought the linen sheet and returned to Calvary, where he still had to perform the difficult task of releasing the body from the cross. By that time the day was so far spent that it was necessary to hurry with the burial lest they be overtaken by the Sabbath. Lk. 23:54 states that the Sabbath was "dawning"³⁶ when the

³⁴ This word will be discussed later in connection with Jn. 19:39.

³⁵ According to the Synoptics (Mt. 26:17f; Mk. 14:12f; Lk. 22:7f), the feast of the Passover occurred on the day of Christ's death. According to John (18:28; 19:14), it fell on the following day. The most probable explanation seems to be that Christ and his disciples observed the Passover with the majority of the people who followed the computation of the Pharisees, and it is this that the Synoptics feature. John, on the other hand, refers to the observance of the feast as officially approved by the Sanhedrin according to the computation of the priestly caste of the Sadducees. (See Strack-Billerbeck, II, 834f; F. Prat, *Jesus Christ, sa vie, sa doctrine, son oeuvre* (Paris: 1933), Vol. II, pp. 273-274; 507-520. A concise summary of the problem with an up-to-date bibliography is given by J. E. Steinmueller, *A Companion to Scripture Studies* (New York: 1943), Vol. III, p. 197; 205-208. What concerns us here is that the day following Christ's death was certainly the Paschal Sabbath, either because it was the Sabbath within the octave of the Passover, according to the Synoptics; or because it coincided with the feast itself, according to John, who says "that Sabbath was a solemn day" (19:31), i. e., it outranked all other Sabbaths in solemnity and the rigor with which all servile labor was forbidden.

³⁶ *σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν*. Here *ἐπέφωσκω*, dawn, grow towards daylight (cp. Mt. 28:1), by an appropriate transfer of meaning either refers to the festive lights which the Jews kindled in their homes to usher in the Sabbath, or it refers to the twilight period extending from sunset to the appearance of the first three stars which marked the actual beginning of the Sabbath—the period known as "between the two evenings," or *intra soles*. (A. J. Wensinck, "Some Semitic rites of mourning and religion," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, nieuwe reeks*, XVIII (1917), 40. See also E. Stapfer, *La Palestine au temps de*

body was finally laid in the tomb, and implies (v. 56) that it really was in view of the Sabbath rest that they hastened the burial. All this was in unwitting fulfilment of Christ's predictions of the time of his resurrection. The last part of Friday was to be the first "day" of his sojourn in the tomb so that he might rise again on "the third day."

There was another compelling reason for haste—the law of Deut. 21:23, which prescribed that a criminal after his execution should be suspended from a gibbet and then buried on the same day. His very presence polluted the land because he was accursed by God. When the Romans introduced crucifixion into Palestine as the mode of capital punishment, the law of Deuteronomy was applied to the crucified.³⁷ St. Paul explicitly refers this law to the crucified Christ, saying that he "redeemed us from the curse of the law, becoming a curse for us; for it is written, 'Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree'" (Gal. 3:13).³⁸ That the prescription to bury the crucified before nightfall was strictly enforced, is attested by Josephus³⁹ and Philo.⁴⁰ Of the same period we have a decision of R. Eliezer (d.c. 90) in the Targum of Jerusalem.⁴¹

It is clear, then, that they were pressed for time. From the role of the

Jesus-Christ d'après le nouveau Testament, l'historien Flavius Joseph et les Talmuds (5th ed., Paris), p. 336f; C. Budden and E. Hastings, *The Local Colour of the Bible* (Edinburgh: 1924-1925), Vol. III, p. 69f. The pertinent point is that Christ was certainly buried before the beginning of the Sabbath.

³⁷ See O. Holtzmann, "Das Begräbnis Jesu," ZNTW, XXX (1931), 311ff.

³⁸ Strack-Billerbeck (I, 1012f) refer Deut. 21:23 to Christ in connection with Mt. 26:65. See also *ibid.*, II, 833.

³⁹ Those executed by stoning for blasphemy, sacrilegious theft, or habitual serious offense against parents were to be afterwards suspended and then buried without honor at night (*Antiq.* IV, viii, 6, 24; V, i, 14; ed. W. Dindorf, Paris; 1865, Vol. I, p. 135, 142, 154. See A. Büchler, "L'enterrement des criminels d'après le Talmud et le Midrasch," *Revue des études juives*, XLVI [1903], 75). The crucified, however, were to be buried before sunset: "... tanta Judaeis erat cura sepulturae, ut etiam post damnationem cruci affixos ante solis occasum tollerent et humarent" (*Bell. Jud.*, IV, v, 2; ed. Dindorf, Vol. II, p. 204).

⁴⁰ Speaking of the current penal code, Philo thus adapts Deut. 21:23: "Let not the sun go down upon the crucified but let them be buried in the earth before sundown." And he adds this comment: "For while it was necessary that the enemies of every part of the universe should after punishment be set on high . . . it was equally necessary that they should be thrust down into the place of the dead and there entombed, that nothing above the earth might be polluted by them" (*The special laws*, III, xxviii, 152; F. H. Colson, *Philo* (The Loeb Classical Library), Vol. VII, p. 571. See also E. R. Goodenough, *The Jurisprudence of the Jewish courts in Egypt* (New Haven: 1929), pp. 133-134).

⁴¹ Strack-Billerbeck, I, 1013.

women it is equally clear that the anointing had to be omitted for lack of the necessary aromatic oil. These were the women who followed Christ from Galilee to minister to him. They were present on Calvary⁴² but took no part in the burial, whereas the sequel shows that they would have done so had it been possible. Instead, they watched from a distance and carefully noted the *place* and the *manner* in which the body was laid in the tomb⁴³—the place, because they intended to return; and the manner, because they intended to supply what had been omitted. Their intention appears from their subsequent actions. After the tomb was sealed with the great stone, they went into the city and prepared fragrant ointments till the Sabbath descended upon them and compelled them to desist from all labor.⁴⁴ Early in the morning after the Sabbath they returned to the tomb for the purpose of anointing the sacred remains.⁴⁵ All this would seem to imply clearly enough that there had been no anointing at the burial itself for lack both of time and of the aromatic oil.⁴⁶

This interpretation seems to be imperative in view of the words spoken by Christ on the occasion of his anointing by Mary of Bethany six days before the Passover. In Mt. 26:12 and Mk. 14:8 the meaning is clear: Mary anointed him then in preparation for his burial; she gave him his

⁴² Mt. 27:55f; Mk. 15:40f; Lk. 23:49.

⁴³ Mk. 15:47; Lk. 23:55. Both evangelists use the verb *θεωρέω*, to scrutinize, to observe closely, as distinct from the simple act of seeing. The whole account shows that the women were not merely spectators at the burial, but interested observers who still had a part to play.

⁴⁴ Lk. 23:56. There is an apparent discrepancy here with Mk. 16:1, which seems to imply that the women bought the ointments after the Sabbath had passed. This problem does not concern us at present, but only the pertinent fact that they prepared the ointments with the intention of anointing the body of Christ.

⁴⁵ Mt. 28:1 says simply that they went to "see" the tomb. Lk. 24:1 says that they brought the ointments which they had prepared, and Mk. 16:1 that they went to anoint "him" (*αὐτόν*).

⁴⁶ E. Mangelot, Professor of Exegesis at the Institut Catholique in Paris, who interprets the text without any thought of the Shroud of Turin, writes as follows of the visit of the women and its relationship with the burial: "Le but de la visite des femmes, qui était d'embaumer le corps, s'explique tout naturellement. Elles avaient vu que Jos. Arim. n'avait qu'envelopper le cadavre dans un linceul neuf. Elles ont pu, dès le vendredi soir, se proposer de donner à Jesus un ensevelissement plus complet et plus convenable, et saint-Luc déclare qu'elles préparèrent ce jour-là des aromates et des parfums. Le sabbat terminé, elles vinrent dès le lever du soleil accomplir leur pieux dessein. L'embaumement du corps du Jesus rentre bien dans leur rôle, puisque, au cours du ministère galileen, elles suivaient et servaient le Maître (Mc 15/41). C'était le dernier service qu'elles voulaient lui rendre" (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, Paris, 1911, p. 341).

burial anointing beforehand.⁴⁷ And it occurred at a very appropriate time—after Caiphas had prophesied that Christ should die for the whole people (Jn. 11:50). This, then, really was the anointing for his burial, and he was not to be anointed again when he was actually laid in the tomb. We have here the equivalent of a prophecy of Christ to that effect. How harmonize it with the idea that he was anointed at his burial by Joseph and Nicodemus?

There is no mention of washing at the burial and nothing to suggest that it took place.⁴⁸ It seems rather to be excluded by the same circum-

⁴⁷ Mt. 26:12: βαλοῦσα γὰρ αὕτη τὸ μύρον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος μου πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με ἐποίησεν. Literally: she did it for burying me. Mk. 14:8: προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμόν. This is even more emphatic and is well rendered in the Vulgate: Praevenit ungere corpus meum in sepulturam. P. Marco M. Sales, O.P., Master of the Sacred Palace, in his commentary on the classical Italian version of the Bible by Mons. Antonio Martini, thus paraphrases these two verses: Mt. 26:12: "Colla sua unzione essa ha resi in precedenza solenni onori funebri al mio corpo, il che ne le sarà concesso di fare ne il giorno della mia crocefissione, ne la mattina della Domenica, quando si ricercherà al sepolcro" (*Nuovo Testamento*, I, 115). Mk. 14:8: "Siccome non sarà dato a questa donna di compiere su di me i doveri del suo amore dopo la mia morte, Dio le ha concesso di poterne anticipare l'adempimento" (*ibid.*, p. 187).

The parallel passage in Jn. 12:7 presents a textual difficulty which seems insoluble if we confine ourselves to this text alone. The rendering: Let her be *in order that she may keep it* . . . can hardly be reconciled with Matthew and Mark. Since John refers to the same incident and reports the same statement, his obscure text should be interpreted in the light of the clear wording of the two Synoptics. In accordance with a well established reconstruction, our new English translation places a dash in the text to indicate an ellipsis after "let her be" and, taking the immediate context into account, gives this satisfactory paraphrase in a note: "this is not a prodigal expenditure of the precious ointment, but an anointing in preparation for my burial." (See companion commentary, pp. 336, 174; M. J. Lagrange, *Evangile selon Saint Jean*, [Paris: 1927], p. 332, note 7.) Sales thus paraphrases the verse: "Lasciate in pace questa donna, perchè ha serbato questi unguenti per ungere il mio corpo e profetizzare così, senza saperlo, la mia prossima morte e la mia sepoltura. L'imbalsammazione precedeva la sepoltura, e Maria versando unguenti sul corpo di Gesù, l'aveva così preparato per la sepoltura" (*op. cit.*, p. 407). In view of this striking statement of Christ, it is not strictly correct to say that he was buried without the customary anointing. In the providence of God it was anticipated by six days, and it was anticipated precisely because it would be impossible to give him the anointing at the burial itself.

⁴⁸ The *Gospel of Peter* (110-130 A.D.) is apparently the first document which says that the body of Christ was washed at the burial; but this bizarre book, with its arbitrary distortions of the canonical Gospels, has no historical value. (See L. Vaganay, *L'Évangile de Pierre* [Paris: 1930], p. 138.) The statement that the body of Christ was washed Vaganay (p. 266) regards as merely an allusion to the prevailing custom without any warrant for saying that it was done in the case of Christ.

stances that exclude the anointing—an unexpected emergency outside the city with little time available. Moreover, there were probably special requirements for the ritual bathing of a corpse. Later rabbinical sources attest that this was to be done with warm water,⁴⁹ and it seems that the water was also to be perfumed with spices.⁵⁰ It is not unlikely that this was the traditional usage inherited from the biblical period. If this be the case, there is no reason to assume that such water was any more readily available for the burial of Christ than the aromatic oil.

The Synoptics, then, taken all together, present the picture of an emergency burial carried out in haste as the eve of the Sabbath was waning. Haste was made doubly urgent by the concurrence of two rigorous laws—the Sabbath rest and the penal law of Deut. 21:23. Besides the minor details to be added by John, all that could be done was to envelop the body in the linen sheet and lay it in the tomb, unwashed and unanointed. In the intention of the women the customary rites were to be supplied after the passing of the Sabbath, but when they returned to the tomb it was the dawn of Easter and they were seeking the living among the dead.

P. BRAUN'S INTERPRETATION

P. Braun has a very different conception of the Synoptic account of the burial and the visit of the women at the tomb. He seems to be misled at the very outset by confusing several distinct ideas. In his view an honorable burial for Christ was necessarily a definitive ritual burial.⁵¹

⁴⁹ A. P. Bender, "Beliefs, rites and customs of the Jews connected with death, burial and mourning, as illustrated by the Bible and later Jewish literature," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, VI (1893), 259; J. Rabinowicz, *Der Totenkultus bei den Juden*, (Frankfurt a. M.: 1889), pp. 14, 15. The same usage prevailed among the Greeks and Romans in the classical period: A. Mau, "Bestattung," Pauly-Wissowa, III, 346; E. Cuq, "Funus," Daremberg-Saglio, II, 1387.

⁵⁰ S. Klein, *Tod und begräbnis in Palästina zur Zeit der Tannaiten* (Berlin: 1908), p. 24. Though there is no explicit testimony to that effect, Klein thinks the use of perfumed water was most probably the custom in biblical times. An ancient custom still surviving among the Arabs of Palestine, Semites closely related with the Jews in origin and habitat, is the bathing of the dead with water containing salt, camphor, and aromatic leaves (J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* [2d. ed., Berlin: 1897], p. 178). Investigations by A. Jaussen (*Coutumes des Arabes au Pays de Moab* [Paris: 1908], p. 343) reveal the repeated washing of the corpse with water perfumed with camphor and extract of lotus leaves. On the ancient practice of bathing the dead with warm, perfumed water, see A. Rush, C.S.S.R., *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Studies in Christian Antiquity, ed. J. Quasten, no. 1; Washington: 1941), pp. 113-114.

⁵¹ *Sépulture*, p. 15, note 2; pp. 19, 20, 22, 74-75; NRT, 1036, 1039.

The idea of a provisional burial, with postponement of the customary rites through force of circumstances, is for him the same as the complete neglect of the rites and a fatal concession to the critics.⁵² One has the impression that he is confused by the very nature of the attack which he attempts to repel.

Following their well-known tactics, the critics try to make the sacred text in its present form appear as the result of an evolution of faith and religious experience, or of a tendentious apologetic scope on the part of successive compilers or redactors. In the present text, they say, we have the contradiction of two ritual burials—the one carried out by Joseph and Nicodemus, which they interpret as complete and definitive; and the one projected by the women, which would mean doing all over again what had already been done by the men. They pretend to see many traces of interpolations and distortions of the original Synoptic tradition, and represent the return of the women with the intention of anointing the body as the most incongruous and most damning feature of the whole story. They then proceed to “reconstruct” the events to serve their own preconceived purpose.

According to Guignebert,⁵³ faithful disciple of Loisy,⁵⁴ who follows Strauss, the body of Christ was simply cast into a common pit used indiscriminately for the disposal of executed criminals. Goguel⁵⁵ imagines a hurried burial by the Jews in some obscure place to prevent the desecra-

⁵² NRT, 904, 1039. Referring specifically to the advocates of the Holy Shroud, P. Braun classes them with the liberal critics and accuses them of compromising the sacred text for maintaining that the burial of Christ was provisional and that the women intended to supply the burial rites later. It is only his own misconception of the true state of the case and his confidence in his own misinterpretation that can explain such a reckless charge, which strikes such eminent and irreproachable Catholic scholars as Cardinals Fossati, Baudrillart, Verdier, Suhard, Bishop d'Herbigny, Fathers Vaccari, d'Alés, Brière, Drioton, Levesque, and the many other distinguished members of the Commission of the Holy Shroud, who by their membership publicly avow their acceptance of the authenticity of the relic.

⁵³ C. A. H. Guignebert, *Jesus* (L'évolution de l'humanité, Vol. XXIX; Paris: 1933), p. 601ff; 661.

⁵⁴ A. F. Loisy, *Le quatrième évangile* (Paris: 1903), p. 894ff; *Les évangiles synoptiques* (Paris, Vol. I, 1907), p. 104f, 222f; Vol. II, 1908, p. 697ff, 701; *L'évangile selon Luc* (Paris: 1924), p. 563ff; *La naissance du christianisme* (Paris: 1933), p. 112ff. M. Lepin (*Le problème de Jésus*, Paris: 1936), pp. 113-131 gives a good critical reply to Loisy and Guignebert.

⁵⁵ M. Goguel, *Jésus de Nazareth. Mythe ou Histoire?* (Paris: 1925), p. 272 ff; *La foi à la résurrection de Jésus dans le christianisme primitif* (Bibliothèque de l'école pratique des hautes études. Sciences religieuses, Vol. XLVII, Paris: 1933), p. 121ff, 464ff.

tion of the Sabbath. Baldensperger⁵⁶ invents two burials of his own—one, witnessed by the women, an unceremonious disposal by the executioners somewhere in the environs of Calvary; the other, an honorable burial performed secretly and at night by Joseph of Arimathea, who transferred the body to another tomb and carefully kept his secret. This is how Baldensperger explains the finding of the empty tomb by the women. In the other two theories the finding of the empty tomb is a myth which developed many years later. The purpose of all this laborious nonsense is to make it appear as if the real place where the body of Christ reposed could not be verified, so as to discredit the story of the empty tomb and the reality of the apparitions as recorded in the Gospels.

Now P. Braun agrees with the critics that the sacred text as it stands signifies a definitive ritual burial, but he contends that the text records what actually happened. He also agrees with them that it is a contradiction to say that the women came to perform the burial rites on the third day, but he maintains that the text ascribes no such intention to them.⁵⁷ This puts him in an impossible position. He grants what should be denied, and denies what should be maintained. He thereby abandons the objective import of the text and surrenders the sole basis on which the consistency of all four evangelists can be vindicated. This also make its comparatively easy to answer his scriptural objections to the authenticity of the Shroud of Turin.

According to P. Braun, then, all the customary rites of a Jewish burial were observed before placing the body in the tomb, though perhaps in rather summary fashion. Consequently, the purpose of the women could not have been to perform any real burial rites on Easter morning. Their visit was intended only as an act of homage to the Master, and the so-called anointing was to be only a token of their reverence and love. It was to consist only in the pouring of some fragrant oil upon the sacred remains without displacing the burial linen and without performing any real anointing on the body itself.⁵⁸ P. Braun finds no warrant for his view in the Synoptics. He interprets St. John's account in this sense and understands the first three Gospels accordingly. We shall see later what is to be thought of his interpretation of the Fourth Gospel. Here

⁵⁶ G. Baldensperger, *Le tombeau vide* (Paris: 1935), p. 19ff; "L'historicité de Jésus, à propos des récits évangéliques de la Passion et de la Résurrection," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, XV (1935), 193ff.

⁵⁷ On this point he presents a special treatise in the appendix to his brochure *Sépulture*, pp. 73-79.

⁵⁸ *Sépulture*, p. 20f, 73ff; NRT, 1036f.

we shall show that all the other sources cited in support of his view are either irrelevant or misinterpreted by him.

His sole authority for the alleged washing and anointing at the burial of Christ is a fragment of a sentence of the Mishna which allows that everything required for the dead be done on the Sabbath, explicitly stating that one may wash and anoint the corpse.⁵⁹ Since these acts took precedence even over the Sabbath rest, so P. Braun reasons, they must have been considered so indispensable that the idea of a Jewish burial without preliminary washing and anointing is a contradiction. The very fact, then, that Christ was buried necessarily implies that his body was washed and anointed.⁶⁰

If P. Braun were consistent, he would say that the approach of the Sabbath did not necessitate any haste with the burial, since he assumes on the basis of the Mishna that the burial itself and everything required to prepare the corpse were allowed on the Sabbath.⁶¹ According to the Gospels, however, the imminence of the Sabbath dominates the last scenes of the drama of Calvary and creates an air of urgency and haste to have all completed before the feast should begin again. While Christ still lingered in his agony, the Sanhedrists asked Pilate to order that the legs of the three crucified be broken, "in order that the bodies might not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath (for that Sabbath was a solemn day)" (Jn. 19:31). No doubt they also had the law of Deut. 21:23 in mind and wished to prevent a double desecration of the Sabbath. As pointed out above, it was the approach of the Sabbath that impelled Joseph to obtain permission to remove the body of Christ and to hasten the burial. Before he had completed his task the time was fast elapsing and he laid the body in his own tomb "because of the Preparation Day of the Jews, for the tomb was close at hand" (Jn. 19:42). Against such clear indications of the Gospels, and against all that implies the postponement of the burial rites till the Sabbath should have passed, no ordinance of the Mishna can have any value, least of all one like the present ordinance which represents a comparatively late innovation and does not at all mean what P. Braun thinks.

He understands that partially quoted sentence of the Mishna as mean-

⁵⁹ *Sabbath*, XXIII, 5: "On peut faire tout ce qui est requis pour un mort; on peut l'indre de parfums, et le laver." As quoted by P. Braun according to Nowack (*Sépulture*, p. 74).

⁶⁰ *Sépulture*, pp. 74-75; NRT, 1036.

⁶¹ P. Braun admits that the burial actually was done in haste (*Sépulture*, p. 19, 20, 22; NRT, 1036), but he does not realize that this cancels the argument he would base upon his fragmentary quotation from *Sabbath*.

ing that one could do on the Sabbath all that was necessary *to prepare the dead for burial*. The fact is that it refers only to what was regarded as necessary *to preserve the corpse till after the Sabbath*. All other treatment of the body and the burial itself were strictly forbidden. The whole passage reads as follows:

All the requirements of the dead may be done; he may be anointed with oil and washed, provided that no limb of his is moved. The pillow may be removed from under him, and he may be placed on sand in order that he may keep [until the funeral without putrefying]. The jaw may be tied up, not in order that it should close, but that it should not go further [open].⁶²

The accompanying Gemara makes it still more clear that the Mishna allowed only what pertained to the preservation of the corpse in view of burial after the Sabbath:

What does *all* add? It adds the following, which our Rabbis taught: Cooling vessels and metal vessels may be brought and placed on his [the corpse's] stomach, in order that he should not swell, and his apertures may be stopped up, in order that the air should not enter.⁶³

The next sentence of the Mishna contains a striking prohibition: "One may not close [the eyes of] a corpse on the Sabbath . . ."⁶⁴ On this the Gemara⁶⁵ comments: "It was taught, R. Simeon b. Gamaliel⁶⁶ said: For a day-old [living] infant the Sabbath is desecrated; for David, King of Israel, the Sabbath must not be desecrated." According to a Midrash of the Talmudic period,⁶⁷ David actually died on a Sabbath

⁶² *Shabbath* 151a-151b (The Babylonian Talmud, ed. I. Epstein, London: 1938-), Vol. II, p. 771. This work, still incomplete, is regarded as the definitive English translation. A good complete edition of the Hebrew text with German translation is *Der Babylonische Talmud*, ed. and trans. L. Goldschmidt (Berlin: 1897-1934). The present passage will be found in Vol. I, p. 700. The parallel passage in the Jerusalem Talmud: *Le Talmud de Jerusalem*, trans. M. Schwab (Paris: 1871-1893), Vol. IV, p. 191. Commentaries on this passage: Strack-Billerbeck, II, 53; J. Rabinowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 13; S. Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 22; A. Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁶³ *Loc. cit.*, ed. Epstein.

⁶⁴ *Shabbath* 151b, ed. Epstein, p. 772; ed. Goldschmidt, p. 700.

⁶⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁶ This is the son of Gamaliel II. He was president of the Sanhedrin and had great influence in formulating the decisions later incorporated in the Mishna. Forty-five of his halakic decisions, thirty of them concerned with the observance of the Sabbath, have been preserved. With three negligible exceptions which do not concern burial or mourning customs, they have been traditionally accepted as valid (*Jewish Enc.* "Simeon [Ben Gamaliel II]" XI, 347-348).

⁶⁷ *Midrash Rabbah*, ed. H. Freedman and M. Simon, London, 1939, Vol. VIII, *Ruth*, III, 2, p. 44.

and Solomon was overruled by the Sanhedrin, which insisted that nothing more could be done for the prophet-king than what was allowed in the above ordinance of the Mishna.

The story of the burial of Juda I, redactor of the Mishna, is particularly pertinent.⁶⁸ He is said to have died (c. 220 A.D) on the eve of a Sabbath and like all others was to be buried on the same day, but the great concourse of people who came from the neighboring cities to do him honor caused a long delay with his interment. Lest the Sabbath be violated by the burial rites, the day was miraculously prolonged till the burial was completed and the people had returned home in sufficient time to prepare for the feast. These passages are cited, not as reliable records of historical fact, but to illustrate the sense in which the rabbis understood the Mishna.

In the section from which P. Braun quotes, the Mishna apparently provides for an exception to the prohibition to bury on the Sabbath: "If he [a Gentile] made a coffin for himself or dug a grave for himself, an Israelite may be buried therein."⁶⁹ The Gemara⁷⁰ says the meaning is doubtful and, as is often the case, leaves the question undecided. We seem to have here one of the many instances in which R. Juda gives a divergent opinion of other rabbis without naming them. Anyhow, apart from this one doubtful exception, the Mishna forbade burial on the Sabbath and allowed only what was considered necessary for the preservation of the corpse.^{70b}

Even if the Mishnaic dispensation in favor of the dead meant what P. Braun thinks it does, it could not serve his purpose, for there is good reason to believe that it is post-biblical. In the sentence immediately preceding the one from which he quotes, the Mishna makes this enactment: "You may go to the *tehum*⁷¹ against nightfall in order to attend to the affairs of a bride or of a corpse, to bring a *coffin* and shrouds for

⁶⁸ *Midrash Rabbah*, ed. Freedman-Simon, Vol. VIII, *Ecclesiastes*, VII, 12, p. 195; *Kilaim*, Tal. de Jer., ed. Schwab, Vol. II, p. 316.

⁶⁹ *Shabbath* 151a, ed. Epstein, p. 769; ed. Goldschmidt, p. 699.

⁷⁰ *Loc. cit.*

^{70b} *Shabbath* 93b (ed. Epstein, p. 448) is sometimes quoted to show that the Mishna allowed burial on the Sabbath. This sentence is not concerned with burial at all, but only with the removal of the corpse from the house. It allows that food in utensils or a living person in a bed be carried out into the open, but forbids that this be done with a corpse, as it also forbids the removal of any article that belonged to the dead person, even though it be no larger than an olive.

⁷¹ The limit of a Sabbath day's journey beyond the boundaries of the town.

him. . . . If he [a Gentile] made a *coffin* for himself or dug a grave for himself, an Israelite may be buried therein."⁷²

A related passage of the Mishna,⁷³ which legislates for the semi-feasts between the first two and the last two days of the Passover and the Sukkoth octave, allows that "a *nibrekeeth*⁷⁴ may be made in the festival [week] and a *box*, with the dead [body] close by in the court [yard]: R. Judah forbids, unless there are sawn boards at hand." The Gemara⁷⁵ refers this to the very passage quoted by P. Braun, amplifying in these terms: "We learn here what our rabbis taught elsewhere: 'They may do all that the dead requires, they cut his hair and wash a garment for him, and make him a *box of boards* that had been sawn on the day before the Festival.'"

It is the word "coffin" and its equivalents that betray the late origin of the derogation from the Sabbath rest to which P. Braun appeals. The use of coffins, as distinct from litters or biers, was not adopted by the Jews till well on into the Christian era, certainly after the destruction of Jerusalem. On this point representative Jewish archaeologists and historians are agreed.⁷⁶ According to Büchler,⁷⁷ the custom had not yet been introduced in the time of the tannaim, one of the last of whom was R. Juda I (d.c. 220 A.D.). The *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*⁷⁸ says simply that coffins came into vogue in the Talmudic period. Benzinger⁷⁹ thinks that the custom began about the end of the first century as a result of a reform instituted by R. Gamaliel II (d.c. 90 A.D.) to correct the abuse of prodigal expenditures in clothing the dead. This is a deduction from the circumstances of the reform, but it may be correct, for it was precisely about this time that many modifications were made in the usages connected with mourning and burial.⁸⁰ Very probably it was then, at the earliest, that the indult to wash and anoint a corpse on the

⁷² *Shabbath* 151a (ed. Epstein, p. 769; ed. Goldschmidt, p. 699).

⁷³ *Seder Mo'ed. Mo'ed Qatan* 8b (ed. Epstein, p. 42; ed. Goldschmidt, Vol. III, p. 694).

⁷⁴ This word seems to denote a kind of trough used by fullers for soaking and cleansing fabrics, but here it means a stone, clay or wooden coffin (ed. Epstein, *loc. cit.*, note 5).

⁷⁵ *Loc. cit.*, ed. Epstein, p. 43; ed. Goldschmidt, p. 695. All italics mine.

⁷⁶ See S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, Leipzig, 1911, Vol. II, pp. 58-60; S. Klein, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 37; A. Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 269; *Jewish Enc.*, III, 436.

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁷⁸ *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc.* (1940), "burial," Vol. II, p. 591.

⁷⁹ I. Benziger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (3d. ed., Leipzig: 1927), p. 349.

⁸⁰ Many of these innovations are enumerated in *Mo'ed Qatan* 27a (ed. Epstein, p. 175f).

Sabbath was granted. At any rate, it certainly came after the time of Christ.

But there is also the distinct and equally rigorous penal law of Deut. 21:23 to account for. P. Braun says this was no hindrance to a definitive ritual burial of Christ, because it was allowed to leave the body of an executed criminal unburied overnight when anything needed for the burial was lacking. His conclusion again is the same: the fact that Christ was buried necessarily implies that all the customary rites had been observed.⁸¹ As authorities he cites two rabbinical sources, but neither one of them says what he claims, and the practice to which they refer was introduced after the time of Christ.

His first document is the *Sifre* on Deuteronomy.⁸² The second is a close parallel in the Talmud,⁸³ probably derived from the *Sifre*. Both of them provide only that the body of an executed criminal may be left unburied overnight in order to fetch a *coffin* or the graveclothes—not, as P. Braun claims, all things necessary for the burial. The reference to the coffin dates the practice as no earlier than the end of the first century. Very probably it was later, for Josephus, Philo, and the Targum of Jerusalem, in the passages cited above, speak of the compulsory burial of the crucified before sunset in terms which imply that there was not as yet

⁸¹ *Sépulture*, pp. 14-15, 75.

⁸² "Lässt man ihn aber über Nacht stehen seiner Ehre halber, um einen Sarg oder Totengewänder für ihn herbeizuschaffen, darf man da seinetwegen das Verbot übertreten? Die Schrift sagt lehrend Dt. xxi, 23: *Am Holz*. Wie das Holz speziell etwas ist, was ihm zur Schändung gereicht, so bezieht sich das Verbot (den Toten über Nacht stehen zu lassen) auf alles, was den [*sic*] Verstorbenen zur Schändung [*sic*] gereicht (aber nicht auf das, was seiner Ehre wegen geschieht [*sic*])" (*Siphre* Dt. xxi, 23 #221 (114b)). As quoted by P. Braun (*Sépulture*, p. 19, note 4) according to Strack-Billerbeck, I, 1047.

The *Sifre* on Deuteronomy originated in the school of R. Akiba (+ 132-136 A.D.), which represented the extreme views of Pharisaism regarding applications of the Tora, in opposition to the school of R. Ishmael. The original commentary was extensively re-edited, with additions from other sources, first by the Rabbis of Palestine, then in the fourth and fifth centuries by the Rabbis of Babylonia, and finally by the redactor who put it in its present form. It is impossible now to reconstruct the original. This is hardly a reliable source to illustrate customs and events of the Gospel period. (See *Midrash Sifre on Numbers*, trans. from the Hebrew by Paul P. Levertoff. Introd. by G. H. Box (London: A. Golub, 1926), pp. ix, xiv-xix; Gerhard Kittel, *Sifre zu Deuteronomium* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1922), Introduction, no pagination; "*Sifre*," *Jewish Enc.*, XI, 332-333).

⁸³ *Sanhedrin* 47a (ed. Epstein, p. 310; ed. Goldschmidt, Vol. VII, p. 198). Cited by P. Braun in *Sépulture*, pp. 15, 75. With regard to the Gospel period, this has no more historical value than the passage quoted from *Sifre*, from which it is probably derived.

such a derogation from the law of Deuteronomy. Neither is there any indication in the documents cited by P. Braun that the burial of a criminal could be delayed over the Sabbath as well as over other days. For this he invokes the equally irrelevant passage quoted above from *Sabbath*. And there, above all, is the Synoptic account of the burial of Christ which will not bear the interpretation P. Braun would impose upon it.

With regard to the presence of the women at the burial and the fact that they observed where and how the body was laid, P. Braun notes that Mary Magdalen and the other Mary were "sitting opposite the sepulchre" (Mt. 27:61). In this connection he quotes F. M. Willam to the effect that it was not customary among the Jews for women to take any active part at burials. They waited for the men in an open space outside the cemetery. In this case, however, the women were able to approach and examine the tomb *before* the burial and they agreed to return in order to put the finishing touches to the work of the men.⁸⁴ P. Braun regards this as a very probable explanation of Mt. 27:61. It is rather a reckless disregard of the context and an egregious anachronism, importing into the Gospels a comparatively modern and local custom.⁸⁵

P. Braun also seems to imply that it was contrary to Jewish custom for women to assist in preparing the bodies of men for burial.⁸⁶ This assertion has been frequently made, particularly in attacks on the Shroud of Turin. It seems to be a case of attributing one's personal sentiments to the ancient Jews. The rabbinical writings lend no support to that impression. The treatise *Semachot* (*Ebel Rabbati*)⁸⁷ declares that "the man wraps and binds the man but not the woman, the woman wraps and binds the man and the woman." In its present form this treatise is post-Talmudic, but it embodies a much earlier collection of halakot on burial and mourning customs compiled by R. Ḥiyya, a Palestinian tanna born about the middle of the second century. Ḥiyya's collection, which is not preserved in its entirety, is in turn based on a still earlier collection made by R. Eleazar b. Zadok, contemporary of R. Gamaliel II. Addi-

⁸⁴ F. M. William, *La vie de Jesus dans le pays et le peuple d'Israel* (Paris: 1934), p. 477. Quoted by P. Braun, NRT, 1037.

⁸⁵ On the participation of women at funerals see Strack-Billerbeck, IV, pt. 1, pp. 580-583; I, 521f.

⁸⁶ *Sépulture*, pp. 13, 21.

⁸⁷ *Treatise Semahot and Treatise Semahot of R. Ḥiyya and Sofer Hibbut ha-Keber*, edited from manuscripts by Michael Higger (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1931), ch. x, 10, p. 198. The passage quoted was translated from the Hebrew by L. Hartman, C.S.S.R., S.S.L., Ling. Or. L., to whom I am deeply indebted for assistance with the Hebrew and Greek texts generally.

tional material from other sources and later rabbinical decisions have been incorporated in *Semachot*, but an enactment like the one quoted above, which is in accord with a general custom of the ancient peoples of the East and is not reasonably suspect of being an innovation among the Jews, has a good chance of representing the Jewish custom in biblical times.⁸⁸ So far as the burial of Christ is concerned, we must take the record as written. The women returned to the tomb to anoint the body, and it is to be taken for granted that they would first have washed it. There is no reason to doubt that they would have performed these ministrations at the burial itself had it been possible.

We come now to what is for P. Braun the chief stumbling block—the visit of the women at the tomb. Holding that the burial on Friday evening was definitive, and denying that the women came to perform any burial rites on Easter morning, he must assume the task of finding some explanation of their visit that will be consistent with his own conception of the burial. He offers his theory that they intended only to make a pious visit and to attest their reverence and love by pouring some fragrant oil upon the body.⁸⁹ If they proposed anything else, he says, it was at most to supplement with their more deft womanly touch the work done in haste by two awkward men.⁹⁰

There is a preliminary difficulty against his theory of which P. Braun does not seem to be aware. After the burial on Friday evening the women prepared spices and ointments, “and on the Sabbath they rested, in accordance with the commandment” (Lk. 23:56)—an obvious reference to the law which forbade all servile labor and all journeys beyond a definite limit on the Sabbath. But it could not have been the distance to the tomb that prevented the women from returning on the Sabbath itself, for Calvary was not as far from the then boundaries of the city as Mount Olivet, which was “near Jerusalem, a Sabbath day’s journey” (Acts 1:12). Neither was it forbidden on the Sabbath to honor the

⁸⁸ N. Brüll, “Die talmudischen Tractate über Trauer und Verstorbene,” *Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, I (1874), 1-57. See also M. Klotz, *Der talmudische Tractat Ebel rabbathi oder S’machoth* (Berlin: 1890), pp. 3-6; “Hiyya Bar Abba,” *Jewish Enc.*, VI, 430-431; “Semachot,” *ibid.*, XI, 181. On the part played by women in preparing the dead for burial see S. Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 24; J. Rabbinowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 54; H. B. Tristram, *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands* (New York: 1894), p. 96f. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, “burial,” I, 332, considers that these ministrations ordinarily devolved on the women. In this respect, the Jews do not seem to have differed from the Greeks and Romans. (See Pauly-Wissowa, III, 334; Daremberg-Saglio, II, 1369, 1371).

⁸⁹ *Sépulture*, pp. 21, 75ff; NRT, 1037f.

⁹⁰ *Sépulture*, pp. 21, 78; NRT, 1039.

dead by making a simple visit and pouring a modest quantity of oil on the remains. Why, then, did the women await the passing of the Sabbath before venturing to return? P. Braun has no answer to give because he rejects the sole reason implied by the Synoptic account of the burial, by the subsequent action of the women, and by Mk. 16:1. They could not return on the Sabbath because they intended to perform a ritual anointing of the corpse.

But P. Braun will not have it so. He professes to place the visit of the women in the framework of Palestinian custom. First, he says, there was the popular belief that the soul lingered about the body for three days after death, or until definite signs of corruption appeared—a belief which led to the practice of leaving the tomb open for three days and keeping watch as a safeguard against the burial of persons only apparently dead.⁹¹ Then he asserts that it was customary to visit the dead as long as the tomb remained open.⁹² And finally he claims that the visitors attested their respect and affection by pouring ointments on the remains, as we now place flowers on the grave.⁹³ All this he supposes to have been the custom in Palestine in the time of Christ. It is all sheer assumption, once again based on nothing more than irrelevant documents misinterpreted by P. Braun.

He cites Jn. 11:39, which says it was the fourth day and corruption had already begun when Lazarus was restored to life. Conceivably, this may be an allusion to the belief that the soul hovered near the body for three days after death, but where is there any hint of the tomb being left open during these days, of visits of homage being made, or of ointment being poured on the body? The whole story is so designed as to emphasize the supernatural character of the miracle which was to become a *cause célèbre* and bring the enemies of Christ to the decision to destroy him. We need see nothing more than this in the reference to the fourth day and the incipient corruption of the corpse. P. Braun considers it pertinent to his theory only because he reads into it his own erroneous interpretation of later rabbinical sources.

To establish for New Testament times in Palestine the practice of leaving the tomb open for three days during which the alleged visits of homage were made, P. Braun cites three sources directly and refers for

⁹¹ *Sépulture*, p. 75.

⁹² *Sépulture*, pp. 75, 77.

⁹³ *Sépulture*, pp. 77-79.

others to Bousset-Gressmann⁹⁴ and Strack-Billerbeck.⁹⁵ Those cited by Bousset-Gressmann speak only of the three days' lingering of the soul. The authors note that they are all of doubtful value and too late to give any reliable information about the late Hellenistic period, which is the field of their investigations.⁹⁶

Of the sources cited by P. Braun himself one is really a Christian apocryphal book written towards the middle of the second century, but apparently confused by him with the Talmud.⁹⁷ The only detail in the whole passage which may conceivably have suggested the reference is an absurd story about a three days' trance or apparent death during which the prophet Jeremias received a revelation of the future Redeemer.

The second sources cited directly by P. Braun is a rabbinical commentary on Genesis, collected and edited from earlier sources in the sixth

⁹⁴ Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, Vol. XXI (3d. ed. Hugo Gressmann; Tübingen: 926), p. 297). Cited by P. Braun, *Sépulture*, p. 75, note 3.

⁹⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, 544ff. Cited by P. Braun, *ibid.* See also Strack-Billerbeck, I, 1047.

⁹⁶ "Es liegen allerdings nur späte und nicht einwandfreie Zeugnisse für diese Anschauung vor" (*loc. cit.*). This is not quite the same as the thought that P. Braun ascribes to the authors: "... qu'elles ne suffisent pas à prouver avec certitude l'existence de la tradition à l'époque de Notre-Seigneur" (*Sépulture*, p. 75, note 3).

On page 41 of the same work Bousset-Gressmann remark that the rabbinical literature can supplement earlier sources when it is sufficiently clear that it bears witness to traditions inherited from the past. Otherwise it has no independent historical value for earlier times, and it is to be dismissed with distrust when its testimony differs from the data of more ancient sources. Hence the authors conclude: "Wer von der rabbinischen Literatur des römisch-byzantinischen Zeitalters ausgehend das religiöse Charakterbild des spät- oder gar frühhellenistischen Judentums rekonstruieren wollte, würde ebensosehr auf Sand bauen..." This is precisely what P. Braun attempts to do.

On the meager historical value of the Talmud and the caution with which it must be used in illustrating the New Testament, see Prat, *op. cit.*, p. 5ff. S. Klein (*op. cit.*, p. 5) makes the same reservations with specific reference to burial and mourning customs in Palestine during the pre-Talmudic period of the Tannaim. The reason is obvious. After the destruction of the Jewish State and the dispersion of the nation there were necessarily many changes in institutions and customs, and the process of enforced adaptation to altered circumstances continued through the Talmudic period.

⁹⁷ *Mo'ed Qatan* (*Talmud de Jerusalem*): *Dernières paroles de Baruch*, #9 (ed. Harris, p. 62). As cited by P. Braun (*Sépulture*, p. 75, note 3). This is an impossible reference. The work in question has nothing to do with the treatise *Mo'ed Qatan* in the Jerusalem Talmud, or with any other treatise in either Talmud. P. Braun doubtless wishes to refer to *The rest of the words of Baruch: a Christian apocalypse of the year 136 A.D.* Greek text revised with introduction by James Rendel Harris (London: Cambridge University Press, 1889), IX, pp. 62-64. The whole section was kindly translated for me by Father Hartman.

century and still subject to further redaction and accretions.⁹⁸ The passage cited is concerned with a seven days' period of mourning the dead and discusses whether the very poor, after abstaining from their work on the first two days of the seven, may work in private on the third day. On this point the decision of Bar Kappara (c. 220) is registered:

He may not work at all even on the third day, because mourning is then at its height. Bar Kappara taught: Until three days [after death] the soul keeps on returning to the grave, thinking that it will go back [into the body]; but when it sees that the facial features have become disfigured, it departs and abandons it [the body].⁹⁹

The third source^{99b} which P. Braun cites directly and all those for which he refers to Strack-Billerbeck do indeed speak of the tomb being left open for three days, but solely for the purpose of keeping watch to guard against premature burial. Some of them mention also that during these days a legal examination could be made in order to identify the dead. Such is the clear meaning of the documents themselves, and it is in this sense that they are expounded by the Jewish commentators¹⁰⁰ and by Strack-Billerbeck in the place to which P. Braun refers. Not a single one of these documents, or of the many others that might be added, contains the slightest hint of a mere visit of homage or of any gesture like pouring ointments upon the dead. What is certain from a collation of the documents is that the custom of keeping a preventive watch at the tomb, to which P. Braun attaches his theory, is post-biblical by at least two centuries. This is unmistakably implied in a passage of the authoritative *Jewish Encyclopedia* which P. Braun himself quotes. Referring to a period after the codification of the Mishna by R. Juda, the passage states:

The tomb, however, was not immediately closed over the dead. During the first three days it was customary for the relatives to visit the grave to see whether the dead had come to life again. . . . In the course of time the *Mishnaic* law was insisted upon, notwithstanding the altered conditions, and quick burials involved the danger of entombing persons alive.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ *Berešith Rabba*, fol. 114 3. As cited by P. Braun (*Sépulture*, p. 75, note 3). See *Midrash Rabbah* (ed. Freedman-Simon), Vol. II; *Genesis*, ch. C, no. 7, pp. 992-995. For the critical data on this document see pp. xxviii-xxix.

⁹⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 995.

^{99b} *Semachoth*, VIII, 1. See ed. Higger, p. 148.

¹⁰⁰ I. M. Rabinowicz, *Legislation civile du Talmud* (Paris: 1879), Vol. IV, p. 183f; M. Grünwald, *Die Hygiene der Juden im Anschluss an die internationale Hygiene-ausstellung* (Dresden: 1911), p. 322; J. Rabinowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 30, 40.

¹⁰¹ "Burial," III, 434. Italics mine.

The Mishnaic law which was revived, and which represented the earlier practice, prescribed the definitive closing of the tomb at burial without any watch to guard against the entombment of persons only apparently dead.¹⁰²

There is, consequently, no point to P. Braun's speculations based on the twofold account of Herod's burial by Josephus.¹⁰³ In the funeral cortège there were five hundred bearers of aromatic spices, which were probably to be used partly as a preservative, the major portion most likely to be burnt or spread about the interior of the tomb to combat the stench of the decaying corpse—a precaution that was particularly appropriate in the case of Herod, whose condition even in life anticipated the corruption of the grave. The lavish use of such spices does not seem to have been uncommon at the burial of the wealthy or of persons who were to be specially honored.¹⁰⁴ P. Braun transforms this into the pouring of aromatic oil upon the dead during the three days after burial, and he assumes that such was the practice in the time of Christ. Such speculation is futile in dealing with historical questions. In this case it is in defiance of the known facts.

This destroys the basis of P. Braun's interpretation of Mk. 16:1b: *ἵνα ἐλθοῦσαι ἀλείψωσιν αὐτόν*. He cites examples from other parts of the Bible in which *ἀλείφω* means to pour oil on some object or on some member of a person,¹⁰⁵ but in this context that interpretation is a solecism.¹⁰⁶ The ordinary meaning unquestionably is to rub or smear with oil. This is the obvious meaning when the word is used in reference to a human corpse. This is the meaning demanded here by both the immediate and the remote context. P. Braun adopts his interpretation of the word in this particular text only because he cannot admit a real anointing consistently with his contention that the burial was definitive and the visit of the women a mere act of homage. His contention on both

¹⁰² The continuance of the old practice occasioned two interesting and significant studies: Elias Altschul, M.D., *Kritisches Sendschreiben über das bisherige Verfahren mit den Sterbenden* (Prague: 1846); David Einhorn, "Über die Notwendigkeit der Einrichtung von Leichenhäusern," *Sinai*, VII (1862), 212ff, 243ff.

¹⁰³ *Antiq.* XVII, viii, 3 (ed. Dindorf, Vol. I, p. 675); *Bell. Jud.*, I, xxxiii, 9 (ed. Dindorf; Vol. II, p. 82).

¹⁰⁴ 2Par. 16:14; 21:19; Jer. 34:5; Josephus, *Antiq.* XV, iii, 4; additional examples by S. Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Strack-Billerbeck, II, 584; M. L. Lagrange, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

¹⁰⁵ *Sépulture*, p. 78; NRT, 1037f.

¹⁰⁶ U. Chevalier proposes the same theory (*Revue Biblique*, XI [1902], 569), but P. Braun himself has no high regard for him as an exegete: "se sentait un peu étranger dans le domaine de l'exégèse" (NRT, 907).

counts is baseless, and so his interpretation of Mk. 16:1b falls to the ground along with his whole theory of the burial and the visit of the women.

(To be continued)

Mt. St. Alphonsus

Esopus, N. Y.

RECENT THEORIES ABOUT EZECHIEL

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How destructively hyper-criticism has dealt with some books of the Old Testament is known to all students of the Scriptures. One of the books which seemed to be incapable of being divided into literary fragments of diverse and multiple authorship was the Prophecy of Ezechiel. The first obstacle to this analysis seemed to be its definite and unified plan. After a suitable introduction (chap. 1), it treats of three main subjects, which are logically interrelated. In the first part (ch. 2-24), Israel is denounced for its sins and threatened with destruction. After the doom proclaimed by the prophet has overtaken the people, the second part begins, consisting of a series of oracles against the neighboring nations (ch. 25-32). Its purpose is to show that the enemies who had contributed to the disaster of the chosen people and who could impede its restoration will be humbled, weakened, or destroyed. Thus the way is prepared for the third part, which is devoted to the restoration of the nation, describing its outward and inward renewal (33-39) and outlining a plan for a new Temple, an appropriate divine service, and a fitting redistribution of the land (ch. 40-48). The impression that the book is a unit is strengthened still more by the fact that its various parts do not exhibit a diversity of style warranting the supposition of a diversity of authorship.

The identity of the author, also, appears to present no difficulty. The book is almost entirely written in the first person. The speaker is declared to be Ezechiel, the son of Buzi, who was among the captives transported to Babylonia in 597 B.C. by Nabuchodonosor (1:1-3). The place where the prophet exercised his ministry is indicated: it was Tel Abib, a settlement of the exiles along the river Chobar, the great canal which branched off from the Euphrates at a point above Babylon and re-entered the river below Ur.

Finally, the time of the prophet's activity can be determined with reasonable accuracy. Fourteen of his oracles are dated with precision. He is said to have received his inaugural vision on the fifth day of the fourth month, i.e., in July, 593 B.C. (1:1-3). The latest date recorded in the book is attached to the prophecy concerning the conquest of Egypt (29:17). It was delivered in the twenty-seventh year of the prophet's exile, on the first day of the first month, i.e., April, 571. Since the fall of Babylon and the rise of Cyrus are not mentioned in the book, it must have been composed substantially in its present form soon after 571 B.C.

Thus the unity, authorship, place of origin and date of Ezechiel seem to be clear; hence, biblical scholars until recent times could find no major literary problem in the book. Smend declared enthusiastically in 1880: "The whole book is rather the logical development of a series of thoughts according to a well conceived and, in part, schematic plan; not a part can be removed without destroying the whole ensemble."¹ The same view was expressed by Driver in more moderate terms in 1913: "No critical question arises in connection with the authorship of the book, the whole from beginning to end bearing unmistakably the stamp of a single hand."² Discordant voices were heard, but they were not powerful and influential enough to change the trend of biblical scholarship.

A new epoch in the criticism of Ezechiel began in 1924, when Hölscher published his book, entitled *Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch*.³ His minute analysis of the book led him to conclude that out of 1273 verses in the first thirty-nine chapters of the book, but 170 are genuine in whole or in part. Though his criteria and methods were admittedly unsatisfactory, his drastic conclusion proved so startling that it powerfully stimulated research in Ezechiel. As a result, fresh theories sprang into existence, equally startling but widely divergent from one another.

In his doctoral dissertation, *The Literary Relations of Ezekiel*,⁴ Millar Burrows concludes that "the view of Ezechiel as a product of the late pre-Maccabean age is not only possible but very probable." This view was developed in a most revolutionary way by C. C. Torrey, in 1930. According to him, the bulk of the book was composed in Jerusalem in 230 B.C. It was a work of fiction in which the author represented himself to be a prophet denouncing the sins of the people in the reign of Manasses. At a later date, but before 200 B.C., an editor converted this pseudographic work into a prophecy of the so-called Babylonian exile by the addition of fifty interpolations. His purpose was to prove that Jerusalem and not Mt. Gerizim was the orthodox place of worship.⁵ A theory so fantastic which eliminated Ezechiel from the realm of historical personages altogether naturally met with strong opposition.

In 1931, J. Smith endeavored to prove that Ezechiel was a northern Israelite deported in 734 B.C., who preached to his fellow exiles until his return to Jerusalem in the thirtieth year after the fall of Samaria or

¹ *Der Prophet Ezechiel* (1880), p. xxi.

² *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1913), p. 279.

³ Beihefte, ZAW 39. Giessen: 1924.

⁴ Philadelphia: 1925.

⁵ *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* (New Haven: 1930).

⁶ *Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (London: 1931).

in 691 B.C. He spent the remainder of his days in Jerusalem, in conflict with the priests and the cult during the reign of Manasses. Smith believes that but three of the oracles were given among the northern exiles: 20:32-44; 36:16-32; 37:11-44. Most of them are ascribed to the sojourn in Palestine.⁶

A totally different view was proposed by Hentrich⁷ in 1932. He attempted to show that the prophet's ministry was confined to Jerusalem. The Babylonian setting which is indicated or assumed throughout the book, he attributed to a redactor who adapted the prophecies to the Babylonian exiles.

Bertholet was evidently not convinced by this attempt to introduce so many spurious elements into the book. Hence, in his commentary published in 1936⁸ he postulates a two-fold ministry for Ezechiel. The first began in 593 in Jerusalem and was continued until the fall of the city in 586 B.C. Soon after this event Ezechiel repaired to Babylonia, where he was again called to the prophetic office. He left notes of his activity some of which were double accounts of the same events. These were edited by a Babylonian editor, who provided them all with a Babylonian setting.

This explanation did not appeal to I. G. Matthews,⁹ who published a commentary in 1939. He returned substantially to the theory of Hentrich which we have already seen.

In this brief survey of critical effort since 1924 we have not attempted to refute these conflicting hypotheses individually. This could not be done in one essay. We wished merely to emphasize one significant fact. None of these scholars, despite a prodigious expenditure of labor, learning, and ingenuity, has been able to evolve a trustworthy set of principles by which the genuine could be discriminated from the allegedly spurious in the Book of Ezechiel.

Professor William A. Irwin of the University of Chicago, however, thinks that he has found a way to lead criticism from the labyrinthine maze in which it is floundering to an understandable and acceptable view of Ezechiel which embodies the findings of modern research. This way is expounded in a book which appeared in 1943 and bears the title, *The Problem of Ezekiel*.¹⁰ Irwin proceeds by an inductive method: each chapter is carefully and minutely scrutinized and an attempt is made to sift the original kernel of Ezechiel from later accretions by

⁷ *Ezechielstudien*. Beihefte, ZAW 61 (Giessen: 1932).

⁸ *Hsekiel*, HAT

⁹ *Ezekiel* (Philadelphia: 1939).

¹⁰ Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

applying the well-known criteria of consistency, style, faithfulness to the situation and development of ideas. By this laborious method Irwin proposes to show that the genuine Ezechiel has certain characteristics not found in subsequent additions and that these additions reciprocally reveal traits peculiar to themselves. In order to isolate these distinguishing features more strikingly and to apply them more effectively in the progressive analysis of the book, Irwin does not examine the chapters in their present numerical order but in another which he has found to be experimentally best suited to his purpose.

He grants that with a different order of study different results would probably have emerged. But he remarks that critics who have followed the traditional order have reached different results, with the consequence that the criticism of Ezechiel is in a state of chaos.¹¹ He implies, therefore, that the observance of his order will lead everyone to the same results. This is, of course, doubtful in itself. Moreover, it is possible to investigate Ezechiel in an order discrepant from the traditional as well as from Irwin's order. This, too, may conceivably lead to a divergent result, so that Irwin's method does not necessarily eliminate the critical chaos. His first weakness, therefore, is that he cannot offer an acceptable reason for the sequence in which he examines the chapters. Apparently he thinks that the admirable results which he has achieved are a sufficient justification for the choice which he has made. Let us, then, consider the conclusions which he draws.

Of the 1,013 verses in the first thirty-nine chapters of the book he finds that only 251 are genuine in whole or in part, "the proportion of their originality varying from complete genuineness down to a bare remnant, if not more than a word or two."¹² Hence the material which we are supposed to possess from the prophet Ezechiel constitutes rather less than twenty-five per cent of the bulk of the first thirty-nine chapters.

He does not submit the last nine chapters of the book (40-48) to a detailed analysis and devotes but one chapter to the discussion of the entire group. This discussion closes his examination of the book by the inductive method. Hence he thinks that he knows enough about the style of Ezechiel to be able to decide whether they are genuine, without resorting to minute criticism. On the basis of this knowledge he rejects them in a block as spurious. To quote his own words, "There is nothing whatever in these chapters that reveals even slight relationship with the genuine work of Ezechiel."¹³

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xii.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 283.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 258.

In Irwin's opinion, therefore, the major part of the book consists of accretions which came into being from the early post-exilic period down to the beginning of the Christian era. Some of these additions are comments on the original words of the prophet; others are annotations on these comments. These commentators made no distinction between original and secondary; in the words of Irwin, "they made use of *their* Book of Ezechiel and made it a greater one for their successors."¹⁴

These comments and annotations upon comments were made in various parts of the Diaspora; perhaps in Babylonia and Alexandria, possibly in Phoenicia, Moab, and Ammon.¹⁵ Irwin is too wise to attempt even a probable definition of their locality. In some way or another, which Irwin does not care to determine with any degree of probability, they were carried to Palestine and there assembled and incorporated in the Book of Ezechiel. How the Jewish authorities were induced to do this is left unexplained.

Irwin is convinced that the present organization of the book cannot be the work of the prophet himself. But if it is a conglomerate of accretions, who formed the nucleus? Did the prophet gather together his own oracles? Irwin thinks that this is possible, but beyond this he will not go. Earlier collections may lie back of the book in its present form, but this, in Irwin's estimation, is not more than a guess.¹⁶

Irwin's deductions concerning the person and career of Ezechiel are equally novel and revolutionary. Ezechiel was a Judean but not a priest. "His priestly career and interest is a creation of the spurious additions of the book, notably chapters 40-48; his own utterances reveal no greater familiarity with or interest in the cultus than might be postulated of any intelligent Judean of the time."¹⁷ He seems to have received his call to be a prophet about 600 B.C. and continued to exercise his prophetic functions until Jerusalem was destroyed by the Chaldeans in 586 B.C. Then he was deported or went voluntarily to join the Jewish community established in Babylonia eleven years before. During this period he was apparently famous for his promises of good, specifically glowing hopes of a return to Palestine. He died before the close of Nebuchadrezzar's reign; his death was probably due to the hardships which he endured during his career as a prophet before coming to Babylonia.¹⁸

These results are practically as drastic and as radical as any pro-

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 341.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 334-344.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 322.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 322-344.

posed by the recent critics of Ezechiel. At first, it would seem as though Irwin did not recognize them as certain. But he believes that certainty is unattainable in any branch of knowledge. The historian and especially the literary critic can never hope to exceed the bounds of high probability. But "probabilities," Irwin argues, "have worked through the entire course of human life." Hence, he concludes that "reasonably high probability is (and rightly) accepted as established fact, though every scholar knows that it is nothing of the sort."¹⁹

We are now naturally curious to know the methods by which Irwin establishes the high probability of his theory. These methods vary so much from chapter to chapter that they cannot be reduced to a set of simple formulas. To do him full justice we ought perhaps follow his analysis chapter by chapter. But this would require the composition of another book even more dreary and bewildering than Irwin's. Hence we must content ourselves with proposing an illustrative example of his work. We shall choose the fifteenth chapter of Ezechiel with which Irwin opens his induction.

This chapter consists of two parts: a parable in metric form (vv. 1-5) and a commentary on the parable in prose (vv. 6-8).

The parable reads:

2. O son of man, how is the wood
of the vine superior
(the shoot that it is among the trees)
to any other tree of the forest?
3. Is wood taken from it
to make anything?
Can even a peg be taken from it
to hang some vessel upon it?
4. Lo! if into the fire
it is cast as fuel,
If fire has devoured both its ends
and its mid-part is scorched,
can it be fit for anything?
5. Lo! even when it was whole,
it could not be used for anything.
How much less, when devoured and scorched by fire,
is it useful for anything!

The commentary is worded thus:

6. Therefore, thus says the Lord God: Like the wood of the vine among the trees of the forest, which I have destined to be fuel for fire, do I destine the citizens of Jerusalem.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

7. And I will set my face against them. They have come forth from the fire, but the fire shall devour them. And you shall know that I am the Lord when I set my face against them.
8. And I will make the land a desolation, because they have committed a breach of faith against me, is the oracle of the Lord God.

Before discussing the method by which Irwin distinguishes the authentic from the false in this chapter, a few remarks on the parable will not be amiss. The author is speaking of the wild vine. Its fruit is negligible, so that its only other product of any value seems to be its wood. In comparison with the wood of other trees of the forest, it is hopelessly inferior; in fact, it has so little value that it is not put to any practical use whatever. A piece of this wood is all the more useless if it has been charred at both ends and scorched in the middle.

Irwin acknowledges that this parable is in the main Ezechiel, but he considers the commentary to be spurious. Having proved to his own satisfaction that this is the case, he thinks that he has a basis for setting down some dependable criteria of the genuine and the spurious in Ezechiel. From an analysis of the parable he concludes that the authentic Ezechiel spoke in parables and that his teaching was of the subtle allusive sort which the Orient loves, which does not insult one's intelligence with crass statement but implies its meaning in a parable.²⁰

The commentary is supposed to reveal the characteristics of the later writers who composed the spurious parts of the book. It is homiletic in character and purpose, an attempt to expound and apply Ezechiel's oracle to the condition and conduct of the writer's contemporaries. It is stern, proclaiming utter doom, although Irwin admits that some of the commentators were gentle and of great solicitude. It employs certain phrases which are supposed to be peculiar to the later annotators of the book, such as, "to set the land a desolation" (*shamah*), the verb and noun *m'l* "to act treacherously," and the idea of the Lord's "setting His face" against someone.²¹

Obviously, these criteria are trustworthy only if Irwin can establish that the authorship of the parable and the commentary is divergent. His main argument is formulated thus: "To our astonishment we find it [the commentary] centering attention, not on the nature of the vine-wood, but on the fire which has burned this particular piece. The height of the emphasis is that, though this piece of wood has come out of the fire, still fire will at length consume it, for the Lord has 'set His

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

face' against it. It is a thought completely diverse from its exemplar. This writer missed the main idea of the oracle that vine-wood is worthless; instead, he snatched at the figure of burning fire and so gave a totally diverse pronouncement. There is nothing in common between oracle and interpretation save their use of the symbols of vine-wood and fire. The interpretation is false."²²

But an author need not explain all the features of his parable. He may pass over some of these in silence if their meaning is clear to his audience or may be readily apprehended by them. He may emphasize other ideas contained in the parable and make applications of these ideas provided that this emphasis and these applications are not out of harmony with the rest of the parable. Hence, a commentary can be termed false only if it positively misinterprets some feature of the parable or if its applications and deductions are incongruous with the rest of the parable.

Now, in the present parable it was unnecessary to explain to the Jews why they were compared to the wood of the wild vine. They were guilty of sin; like the wild vine they had produced fruit worthy only of reprobation. Thus, they were reduced to the state of a nation which has only material advantages to commend it and is devoid of spiritual value in the eyes of God. Now, these material advantages were so insignificant that the nation resembled the wood of the vine fit only for the fire.

Similarly, the meaning of the piece of vine-wood which had passed through the fire was evident to the Jews. They had experienced great calamities, especially the siege of 597 B.C., without showing any spiritual improvement. Hence, from a material standpoint they were in worse condition than before; they were like a piece of wood which is worthless and, in addition, has been charred.

The people, therefore, were psychologically prepared by the parable for the complete destruction predicted in the commentary. Since the author had shown in the parable that this doom was justified, he could place the height of emphasis in the commentary upon the fire by which this doom was to be realized. The Jews had passed through the fire in 597, but despite their worthlessness, they had not been obliterated. Their worthlessness was even greater after this event; hence, they must go through the fire again but on this occasion the nation would be completely consumed.

The commentary, however, does not neglect to point out the true reason for the catastrophe: God has set His face against them because they have acted treacherously. Consequently there is perfect harmony between

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

the parable and the commentary. The application which the commentary makes grows naturally of the parable.

Irwin's analysis of the remaining sections of the book is characterized by a similar hair-splitting subtlety. His inductive method, therefore, is as sterile of trustworthy results and no more free from subjectivism than the fantastic speculations of some of his predecessors. The truth seems to be that the problem of Ezechiel is largely a creation of some over-ambitious literary critics.

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EUNUCHS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

REV. JAMES A. KLEIST, S.J., Ph.D.

The word *eunuch* occurs in eight passages of the New Testament, five times in the *Acts of the Apostles* (ch. 8, which relates the baptism of the minister of Queen Candace), and three in the Gospel of St. Matthew (19:10-12).

The question may be asked, how this foreign term could be expressed in intelligible¹ modern English if one were disposed to eliminate it from the Bible. Not that there is any real need of eliminating it. Just as we speak of Pilate the *procurator*, of Herod the *tetrarch*, of the *centurion* of Capharnaum, etc., so it is not apparent why *eunuch* could not also be retained. In any case, there is every reason for keeping it in the *Acts*, where it serves as an official title. Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon suggests *chamberlain* as a possible rival to *eunuch*; but there is no danger of its ever getting into the Bible. It disregards one important element which is present in the Greek *εὐνοῦχος*.

The choice of a suitable substitute for *eunuch* depends on the interpretation of our Lord's use of the term. Commentators have not always agreed as to whether He takes the word metaphorically in all three instances, or, rather, literally in the first two and metaphorically in the third only. Of this diversity of opinion Lagrange gives a sufficient account. In the present note I follow Lagrange and assign to *eunuch* its ancient historical sense of "one emasculated" and "incapacitated for married life" in the first two instances, whether this incapacity is existent "from the mother's womb" or is brought about artificially "by men." Our Lord's hearers could not take the word in any other sense. They knew that Oriental monarchs were in the habit of appointing a man so incapacitated to act as superintendent of their harem. There may have been a further reference, in our Lord's use of the word, to certain philosophers who advised "la continence pour mieux vaquer aux choses de l'esprit." Be this as it may, since our Lord's statement comes directly after His insistence on the indissolubility of the marriage tie, the idea of "incapacity for married life" must, I think, have been prominent in the minds of His hearers. Some Protestant scholars incline, it seems, to a wider acceptance of the term as of one who voluntarily abstains from every kind of sexual indulgence.² Two elements are, therefore, important; first, that the condition of a *eunuch* was supposed to last for life.

¹ "Intelligible," that is, self-explanatory. See the last paragraph of this paper.

² See, for instance, Théodor Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, and Johannes Weiss, *Die drei älteren Evangelien*.

There is practical unanimity among the ancient commentators that "Jésus parlait ici de la continence absolue et perpétuelle. Le mot d'eunuques indique un effect une situation qui ne peut plus être changée." Furthermore: the "mystery" of our Lord's teaching, underlined by οὐ πάντες χωροῦσιν and by ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν consisted precisely in the transition from the literal sense of *eunuch* in the first two instances to a metaphorical one.

Lagrange is also right, I think, in supposing that our Lord in v. 11 disregards the silly remark (la boutade) of the disciples in v. 10, and "en prend occasion pour un *nouvel* enseignement." The words *τον λόγον τούτου* do not, therefore, refer to the statement of the disciples. Lagrange takes them to mean "cette affaire, ce point."

(10) "If that's the plight of a married man," the disciples said to Him, "then there is no use in getting married." (11) "Not everyone can master this lesson," He said to them, "but only such as have received a special gift: (12) just as there are celibates barred from marrying by a natural defect, and celibates barred from marrying by an act of man, so too, there are celibates who bar themselves from marrying for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven. Only a strong soul may aspire to mastery."

In v. 10 the connotation of *μετά* is interesting: it avoids, in true husband fashion, expressing openly what it certainly implies. Lagrange has an amusing note on this. He says: "Aujourd'hui on dirait: si telle est la situation *des époux*:" "If that's the plight of a married couple" or "of married people." In v. 11 *χωροῦσιν* deserves notice. Not only is the word itself pregnant with meaning, but the negative durative form of the verb calls for comment: "not every one *can* grasp this teaching."³ As for the sense of *χωρεῖν*, "il doit s'entendre non seulement de l'intelligence spéculative, mais de l'intelligence pratique sur la résolution de prendre." A strong will and the special grace of God are involved in the act. The Latin *capere* bears, of course, the same sense.⁴ In v. 12

³ For this force of the negative durative tenses, see Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges*, # 1896.

⁴ In his *The Words of the Missal*, C. C. Martindale, S.J., is at pains to establish the full sense of *capere* in the prayer: Quod ore sumpsimus pura mente capiamus. It is not merely "to take, receive, contain," but "to assimilate." Just as we assimilate ordinary food to make it part of our substance, so we lay hold of the Body and Blood of Christ that it may become part of ourselves. The word has, evidently, a deeply mystical sense. In my *The Great Prayer Now—in Time of War* I am using the word *embrace* to express the same idea ('embrace': to accept eagerly, enthusiastically, and make our own; so 'we embrace a doctrine, a cause, etc.'). A stronger expression would be: "May we with a pure heart *absorb* what our lips have received." In the present passage from St. Matthew the word "master" is meant to do justice to *χωρεῖν*.

the use of γάρ is idiomatic and should not be rendered except perhaps by a colon.⁵ The particle καί before the third class is different from that before the second, being an instance of its paratactic use. In English this relation may (though it need not) be indicated by "just as . . . and . . . , so too . . ." The two preceding classes serve as a foil to the third. It is immaterial whether the aorist εὐνοῦχισαν ἑαυτούς is rendered by the present or the preterite. The short conclusion (ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρεῖτω) is in the lapidary style. It is enough to convince any student of NT Greek that St. Matthew (or whoever is responsible for the translation of his Aramic original) was able to write excellent Greek. In pregnancy it reminds one of Aeschylus. The article before the participle is generic.⁶ The durative infinitive and imperative hint at the need of time and labor in the process of "mastering."

Of Catholic translations that I have seen, that of Konstantin Rösch, O.M.Cap., and that of Bishop Schäfer, are the only ones to avoid the term *eunuch* in the Gospel. The phrases they use are "Menschen, die zur Ehe unfähig sind, die der Ehe entsagen, die sich der Ehe enthalten." In the *Acts*, however, they use the official title *Kämmerer*.

The rendering proposed above has, it seems to me, one marked advantage: it tells the ordinary reader or hearer outright what our Lord had in mind when He used the well-known condition of eunuchs as a starting point for His new teaching. It is, in other words, "intelligible," that is, self-explanatory. Nothing is so annoying to a reader as to be compelled, before he can go on with the text to search the footnotes or the glossary for the meaning of a term unknown to him. Nothing is so fatal to the total impression of some striking passage which one hears read as to have it punctured by explanations. I do not deny the general need of footnotes or a glossary, but I think that encumbering them with matter which might just as well have formed part of the text is a nuisance. No ordinary reader will miss the word "eunuch" in my rendering; and as for the learned reader, the scholar, he should get it from the Greek original. The Greek or Hebrew original is the scholar's tool to work with: the translation is the Bible of the common man.

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⁵ For this explanatory or prefatory γάρ, see Smyth, # 2808.

⁶ See Smyth, # 1124.

THE CHINESE BIBLE MANUSCRIPT IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

REV. BERNWARD H. WILLEKE, O.F.M.

The British Museum in London possesses a manuscript of an old Chinese Bible which served to a good extent as basis for the translation of the first Protestant Bible in Chinese. Dr. Morrison himself has made full acknowledgment of this fact at the time of its publication.

In 1738, Mr. Hodgson, of the English East India Company, saw in Canton a Chinese manuscript containing the New Testament. He became so much interested in this manuscript that he had a copy made, which he took to England in the following year. Mr. Hodgson presented it to Sir Hans Sloan who, in turn, presented it to the British Museum.¹

In an article "The Unknown Translator"² by G. W. Sheppard the question was raised as to the authorship of the Chinese version contained in this manuscript, and Sheppard thinks that some Roman Catholic missionary, or even the Nestorians of the Middle Ages, were responsible for the translation.

This article has aroused new interest in the manuscript, and provoked a number of criticisms and comments of sinologists like Goodrich and Moule, especially in regard to the possible Nestorian origin of the translation.

A. C. Moule, comparing the style of the manuscript with that of the existing Nestorian documents, namely two Mss of the seventh, three of the eighth century and the famous Si-an Inscription, finds it improbable that the British Museum Ms is of such an early date, and says: "On the whole, I think, that your 'Unknown Translator' was more probably a seventeenth century missionary, and it does not seem impossible that a thorough search in good libraries, Paris, Rome, or Zikawei, and the Missionary Annual Letters and other documents might reveal his name and date."³

It is the contention of the author of this note that the translator of the Chinese version found in the British Museum Ms is the French mission-

¹ G. W. Sheppard, "China and the Bible." *Early Translations into Chinese*. Lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai, on February 22, 1929. *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis* (Peking: 1929), II, 191.

² In *The British Weekly* for April 13, 1944.

³ Letter to G. W. Sheppard of December 13, 1944. Copy sent to Dr. L. Carrington Goodrich, Columbia University.

ary Jean Basset, M.E.P., and that the translation was made during the first decade of the eighteenth century.

An excellent source for the history of the Ch'ien-lung period in China is the day-by-day journal of a Chinese Catholic priest in Szechwan which has been published by M. Adrien Launay as *Journal d'André Ly, prêtre chinois, missionnaire et notaire apostolique. 1746-1763. Texte Latin.* (Hongkong, 1924). He gives a description of the work done by Father Jean Basset which I have translated from the Latin into English.

"When Father Joannes Basset, of happy memory, was still among the living, and exercised his ministry in the southern and western parts of this province, he had translated, besides other smaller works which are very useful to the mission, but are still in manuscript, and the first part of the Small Catechism which has appeared in print up to "Baptism" inclusive and is being used by the Christians of this province, also the New Testament from the Latin into the Chinese idiom, beginning with St. Matthew, up to the first chapter of the Letter of St. Paul to the Hebrews. Prevented by death, he was unable to finish the wonderful work he had undertaken."⁴

In this passage it is clearly stated that Jean Basset translated the New Testament, but had reached only the first chapter of the Letter to the Hebrews when he died. Let us compare with this statement the description of the British Museum manuscript which Sheppard gives in a lecture "*China and the Bible*":

"The manuscript consists of a harmony of the Four Gospels, the Book of Acts, the Pauline Epistles, and the first chapter of Hebrews where it abruptly ends . . ."⁵

Should we think that it was just by accident that both the New Testament by Basset and the British Museum manuscript go as far as "the first chapter of Hebrews where it abruptly ends"? There was no reason for the scribe who copied the work for Mr. Hodgson in the first years of the Ch'ien-lung period to stop just after the first chapter of the Hebrews if the original had the whole New Testament.

Who was this translator Jean Basset? He was born *ca* 1662 at Lyons,

⁴ *Journal d'André Ly*, p. 512: "Dum inter mortales viveret B.M.D. Joannes Basset, et partium occidentalis et meridionalis huiusce provinciae munus exerceret, praeter cetera opuscula, missioni valde utilia, sed manu tantum exarata, et catechismi parvi primam partem, ad baptismum usque inclusive prelo datam, atque inter christianos ipsius provinciae usitatam, Novum etiam Testamentum, a latino sinicum in idoma, a sancto Mattheo usque ad primum caput Epistolae B. Pauli Apostoli ad Hebraeos inclusive transtulerat; sed morte praeventus, opus egregium a se susceptum, absolvere nequit."

⁵ Sheppard, "China and the Bible." *Loc. cit.*, 191.

France. He entered the Seminary of the Paris Foreign Mission Society (*Seminaire des Missions Étrangères de Paris*) in 1684, and went as a missionary to Siam in 1685. In 1689, he arrived at Canton, became Provicar (ecclesiastical superior of the mission next to the Vicar Apostolic) of the province of Kiangsi in 1692-1693. From 1702 on he was a missionary in Szechwan; as Father Andrew Ly says, "in the southern and western parts of this province." He died in Canton in December, 1707. Besides his translation of the New Testament Fr. Basset has still another work on the Bible to his credit: *Ching-tien Chi-lüeh Wen-ta*. This work is a summary of the Bible in question and answer form.⁶

It appears that Basset's New Testament as described by Andrew Ly comprised the Four Gospels following the order of the Vulgate. But how to explain, then, the fact that the British Museum Ms has a Gospel Harmony instead of the Four Gospels? The answer must be that, at that time, there existed various copies of Basset's New Testament different in extent and perfection. The same diary of Fr. Andrew Ly states that Msgr. de Martillat, Vicar Apostolic of Szechwan, Hukwang, Yünnan, and Kweichow,⁷ had a copy of St. Matthew which was a "first version" and incomplete. The bishop corrected this version and added himself the missing parts. To quote Ly's diary:

"Thereupon the Very Illustrious *D. Ecriensis* not only corrected the gospel according to St. Matthew which was done by Fr. Basset, and added the parts missing in the first version, but . . ."⁸

Among these various versions, and similar works, there was also a Gospel Harmony in Szechwan, as clear evidence shows. Under the date of March 19, 1751, Fr. Andrew Ly wrote in his diary:

"I have finished the History of the Institution of the Most Blessed Sacrament, of the Passion, the Resurrection and Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, following the translation of the New Testament made by the late

⁶ Cf. Robert Streit, O.M.I., *Bibliotheca Missionum*. (Muenster and Aachen; 1916-1938), V (No. 2677), pp. 922-923.

⁷ Joachim Enjobert de Martillat was born in Clermont-Ferraut, France, in 1706, entered the *Seminaire des Missions Étrangères* in 1727, and went to China while still a seminarian. Ordained priest in Ayuthia, Siam, in 1732, he worked in West- and Central China, became Vicar Apostolic of Yünnan and Bishop of Ecrinea in 1739. In 1744 he became Vicar Apostolic of the giant vicariate comprising Szechwan, Hukwang, Yünnan and Kweichow. In 1748 he returned to Europe and died in Rome on August 24, 1755. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, VII (No. 3214), pp. 287-288.

⁸ "Illustrissimus dein B.M.D. Ecrinensis non solum Evangelium S. Matthei, jamprimum a praefato Domino Basset elaboratum, adjectis illis, quae prima in versione ommissa fuerat, correxit, sed . . ." *Journal d'André Ly*, p. 512.

Fr. Basset and the "*Concordia Evangeliorum*," adapted to the understanding of simple folk in colloquial language. This History I will be able to read more easily and with more fruit to the Christians on the days dedicated to the Passion of Our Lord."⁹

Under *Concordia Evangeliorum* we have to understand a Gospel Harmony, not a Bible Concordance in the modern sense. It might well be that the manuscript from which the British Museum copy was transcribed contained this *Concordia Evangeliorum* plus the Acts, the Pauline Letters up to the end of the first chapter of the Hebrews.

At present the British Museum Ms is not accessible due to war conditions. After the war, a comprehensive study of the existing Catholic Chinese Bible versions should establish definitely Jean Basset as the author of the British Museum manuscript version.

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⁹ "Absolvi componere historiam institutionis sanctissimi sacramenti, passionis, resurrectionis et ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, juxta traductionem novi testamenti a B.M.D. Basset, et concordiam Evangeliorum, in lingua vulgari captui rudiorum proportionatam, quam facilius et uberius cum fructu christianorum legere valeam diebus passioni Domini consecratis." *Journal d'André Ly*, p. 168.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

NEW TESTAMENT

REV. JOHN J. COLLINS, S.J., S.S.L.

REV. ANTHONY C. COTTER, S.J., S.T.D.

Acta Apost. Sedis, 36, 1944. Decree of Holy Office, 19 July, 1944 (p. 212). Rejects modified millennialism. "Quid sentiendum de systemate Millenarismi mitigati, docentis scilicet Christum Dominum ante finale iudicium, sive praevia, sive non praevia plurium iustorum resurrectione, visibiliter in hanc terram regnandi causa esse venturum . . ." Resp. "Tuto doceri non posse . . ."

American Ecclesiastical Review, 112, 1945. N. Larn, "The Church of the Apostles and the Secular Authority" (110-8). Argues from the evidence in Acts and pagan documents. "The Roman authority realized in some way [the] . . . special characteristic of the new sect: that it was essentially a social organism which claimed rights over and above those of any human institution or society—an attitude of universal arrogance which by an unbeliever would most easily be described as 'odium humani generis'—disapproval or contempt for human (i.e. non-Christian) achievements and institutions."

James A. Kleist, S.J., "Impressions of Monsignor Knox's *New Testament*" (241-52). The "Knox version is an epoch-making event. Its break with the spirit of the Douay, if not always with the letter, is complete."

Sr. M. Thomas Aquinas Carroll, "An Eighth-Century Exegete on Purgatory" (261-3). The doctrine of the Venerable Bede.

F. V. Pierce, S.J. "Recent Scripture Study" (438-46). Discusses Fr. Sutcliffe's "Our Lady and the Divinity of Christ," *Month*, Sept.-Oct. 1944 and J. M. Bover, "El codice 1841 (-127) es el major representante del Apocalipsis?" *Estudios Ecclesiasticos*, April, 1944.

Clergy Review, 25, 1945. R. A. Knox, "A Johannine Jigsaw" (1-6). Review of F. R. Hoare, *The Original Order and Chapters of St. John*. The basis of Hoare's arrangement is the hypothesis that the archetype was written on a series of strips, each containing about 397 words. Knox is not convinced.

R. Rios, O.S.B., "The Homilies of the Roman Breviary, II. St. John Chrysostom" (19-25). Outline of his life with brief excerpts from homilies.

J. M. T. Barton, "Notes on Recent Work: Holy Scripture (31-5). Critical appraisal of the work of Dr. William Temple, James Moffatt, Joseph Klausner, and Dom Hubert van Zeller's *Ezechiel, Man of Signs*.

R. Rios, O.S.B., "The Homilies of the Roman Breviary, III. St. Ambrose" (77-84). Brief outline of his life and indication of his work. Has a list of his famous phrases.

A.G.M., "The Hour of the Crucifixion" (107-13). St. John writing for Gentile Christians of Asia Minor reckoned the time from midnight so that Pilate's sentence given 'about the sixth hour' would be before 7 o'clock in the

morning. Our Lord would then be led to be crucified about 9 o'clock in the morning.

"Suprema Sacra Congregatio S. Officii. Decretum" (127-8). On Millennialism. With a brief commentary by G.D.S.

Humphrey J. T. Johnson, "The Cultus of Our Lady and the Graeco-Roman World. An Alleged Instance of Religious Syncretism" (199-206). Invocation of Mary did not spring from veneration for mother goddesses of the pagan world but the "custom of seeking favours from an earthly king through the intercession of his mother most probably encouraged among the early Christians . . . the practice of approaching the King of Heaven with petitions addressed through Mary."

E. F. Sutcliffe, S.J., "The Use of Parables" (207-11). Parables were not widely used in the time of Christ. He did not make use of them to render His teaching simpler, more picturesque and more easily intelligible.

Richard J. Foster, "The Church and the Forgiveness of Sin" (211-4). The power to forgive sins "was intended to be its [the Church's] outstanding characteristic as it was the outstanding characteristic of the mission of Christ Himself."

R. Rios, O.S.B., "The Homilies of the Roman Breviary, VI. The Three Great Cappadocians" (215-21). Brief chronology, description of their life and work.

J. M. T. Barton, "Notes on Recent Work. Holy Scripture" (221-4). Reviews Callan's *The Psalms Translated*; N. H. Smith's *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament*; C. W. Dugmore's *The Interpretation of the Bible*; L. Farmer's *We Saw the Holy City*.

Expository Times, 56, 1944. C. E. Raven, "Archbishop Temple" (61-2). An appreciation. He "has influenced the general thinking of Christian people more powerfully than any Anglican thinker of recent times."

A. E. Garvie, "God in Man as Man" (68-9). Wishes to correct some false modern emphases. "The transcendence, the mystery, and the judgment of God are almost exclusively emphasized, and the immanence of God in the Incarnation, the full, clear, and sure witness in the teaching of Jesus as Son to the Father, the sufficiency of grace in the crucified and risen Saviour recede into the background."

G. Ogg, "The Jerusalem Visit of John ii. 13-iii. 21" (70-72). Replies to Canon Redlich's arguments who held the section originally stood after 12:36.

H. A. Hunt, "The Great Commandment. Two Apothegm-Stories, independent but similar" (82-3). "One was in Mark's main source. The other evidently circulated independently in each of the three main sources Q and M and R. This would explain their differences."

C. J. Cadoux, "Did Jesus Foresee His Passion?" (83). Reply to W. H. Baker's article in June number. The "language of disappointment in . . . [several] passages would resemble artificial stage-play, had Jesus from the beginning anticipated nothing better than national repudiation and a violent death."

W. H. Murray Walton, "St. Paul's Movements between the Writing of 1 and 2 Corinthians" (136-8). Suggests that the intermediate journey to Corinth was a stop-over on the way to Macedonia, which St. Luke could overlook in his account, but which St. Paul could count as a second visit.

Father Lev Gillet, "Amen" (134-6). The usage of Amen by Our Lord is distinctive. Instead of ending with the word, He begins his statements thus. Furthermore, for some Jews "Amen" could have the hope of universal salvation.

E. F. F. Bishop, "Illustrations of Bible Language" (136). Modern illustrations of two expressions, "Children, have ye any meat?" and "All her living."

G. O. Griffith, "The Apocalyptic Note in Romans" (153-5). "The point for us to underline is that in Romans the deliverance of the Whole Creation is really a pregnant conception, and that *it is only as this is recognized that the other teachings of the Epistle can be seen in their proper relation.*"

A. E. J. Rawlinson, "The Divine Healer" (180-5). "I believe that in the Biblical stories of miracle we are confronted by a problem to which we have no very satisfying solution." "The physical miracles,' it has been strikingly written, 'are external signs of the supreme Messianic Miracle, the rescue of men from the grip of the powers of evil—from sin'."

E. F. F. Bishop, "With Saint Luke in Jerusalem from Easter Day till Pentecost" (192-4). Indicates the Palestinian background of the narrative, e.g., for "He made as though he would have gone further"; and for the broiled fish.

A. E. Garvie, "New Testament Christianity and Liberalism" (194-5). Objects to the use of the term "Liberalism" by T. W. Manson in "The Failure of Liberalism to Interpret the Bible as the Word of God." "Liberty is too great an idea to be discredited by such a use. . . . Why not use positivism, agnosticism, or naturalism as much more appropriate terms?"

E. F. F. Bishop, "With Saint Luke in Jerusalem from Easter Day till Pentecost" (*ctd.*) (220-3). Illustrates the text from modern parallels, e.g., "a Sabbath Day's journey"; the Mother of Jesus; sudden gusts of wind; sweet wine; David's tomb.

C. F. D. Moule, "A Note on Galatians ii. 17, 18" (223). "Away with such an idea!" at the end of v. 17 should be assigned "to the objector in this quasi-dialogue, rather than to St. Paul."

Hibbert Journal, 43, 1945. H. S. Shelton, "The Gospels and the New Papyri" (157-62). Argues that the Rylands papyrus of John and the Eger-ton papyri do not prove that the Gospels in their present form existed before Justin.

Homiletic and Pastoral Review, 45, 1945. F. J. Mutch, "The Mary Magdalen Controversy" (340-6). Favors one Mary, citing Fouard, Pope, and Hetzenauer.

E. Graf, O.S.B., "The Washing of Feet on Maundy Thursday" (347-51). The scriptural, patristic and liturgical data.

J. E. Steinmueller, "The Magdalene Question" (459-60). Replies to Fr. Mutch's article, citing Lagrange, Holzmeister, and other moderns who hold three distinct women.

S. B. James, "Approach to Judaism" (567-73). Urges greater realization and teaching of our Hebrew heritage.

C. F. Devine, C.S.S.R., S.S.L., "St. Paul is Hard to Read" (653-9). Prepares the reader for understanding the Epistles by showing the key to the difficulties. Treats question: did the first readers understand Paul? "As regards doctrines that St. Paul had already explained orally to them and historical, chronological or local allusions, we believe that the first readers had much less trouble with St. Paul's Epistles than we have. As for points of doctrine expounded for the first time in the Epistles, it would seem that these were just as difficult for the first readers as for us, and that they have always required very careful study and analysis."

Irish Ecclesiastical Record, 65, 1945. His Eminence Cardinal Mac Rory, "The Interpretation of St. Mark iii. 20-21" (1-5). Disagrees with Fr. Gannon's interpretation proposed in November issue. In Mark "in absolutely every passage where *ho ochlos* is referred to by *autos*, the pronoun is in the plural" and the Vg is against referring *eum* to *turba*.

T. Fahy, "The Interpretation of St. Mark 3:20-21" (6-15). Supplements Cardinal Mac Rory's article, taking up Fr. Gannon's arguments one by one.

D. O'Shea, C.C., "How Old Was St. Joseph?" (173-8). From the custom of early marriages and from catacomb representations the author concludes St. Joseph at the time of the betrothal was in the prime of life.

A. O'Rahilly, "The Title of the Cross" (289-97). Historical proof of the authenticity is lacking. But the "lettering on the enclosing brick is certainly pre-medieval, that on the Title-fragment itself has peculiar characteristics which are archaeologically compatible with genuineness and are improbable as the work of a forger."

Journal of Biblical Literature, 64, 1945. E. R. Goodenough, "John a Primitive Gospel" (145-82). The author maintains against the consensus of critics that the Gospel is "quite a primitive product from the very early church, though of course nothing indicates any precise date."

M. E. Andrews, "The Authorship and Significance of the Gospel of John" (183-92). Restates F. C. Baur's theory. "The Gospel becomes no more historical when we see it as the work of John than it is without this hypothesis. . . . Even if the author were an apostle we must accept the fact that he did not propose to write an historical Gospel . . . since he made the Logos-idea the essential idea of his gospel."

E. J. Goodspeed, "The Editio Princeps of Paul" (193-204). Clarifications and new arguments for his thesis that "the ten letters of the primary canon were first issued as a collection toward the end of the first century."

N. Huffman, "Emmaus among the Resurrection Narratives" (205-26). Proposes the thesis that "the walk to Emmaus was originally a story about *Peter and Cleopas*; in other words, that this is a reminiscence of the appearance to Peter."

M. H. Shepherd, Jr., "Paul and the Double Resurrection Tradition" (227-39). "The risen Jesus may have appeared in Galilee, in or near Jerusalem, or in both localities. But the conjectures of the Evangelists are too slight a foundation for modern theories of a double, and in some sense contradictory, tradition which Paul has combined or harmonized."

P. E. Davies, "Jesus and the Role of the Prophet" (241-54). Several arguments "make a strong case for 'prophet' as a very early designation of Jesus."

D. F. Robinson, "Where and When Did Peter Die?" (255-67). It "is possible that the twelfth chapter of the Book of Acts states, when interpreted, that Peter died in prison in Jerusalem in the spring of the year 44." The account in Acts taken "literally . . . is difficult to believe. As a somewhat garbled allegory of Peter's death it makes very good sense."

Journal of Religion, 25, 1945. M. S. Enslin, "Hagiographic Mistletoe" (10-24). "Turn where we will, we find these principles at work: additional elements, heightening of an earlier story, names and piquant details making their appearance." He treats specially the two thieves and St. Luke's "addition" to Mk., the repentance of one. Later grotesque legends about the thieves are a natural development.

J. W. Bowman, "Jesus and the Suffering Servant: a Reply" (56-8). Under five headings answers C. T. Craig's article in October issue.

S. MacLean Gilmour, "Paul and the Primitive Church" (119-28). There was not a great gulf between Jesus and Paul, though the latter eventually transformed Christianity from a Jewish sect into a world religion.

Journal of Theological Studies, 46, 1945. T. W. Manson, "Hilasterion" (1-10). Rom. 3, 25 says that instead of the Pentateuch *kapporeth* and Ezechiel 'azarah God has given a better center of worship in Christ crucified, and His benefits are mediated not by ritual but by faith. Furthermore the Epistles of the critical year in which Romans was written are tentatively linked with the Jewish festivals, Passover, New Year, Atonement, Tabernacles.

W. L. Knox, "The Epistle of St. James" (10-17). The letter is "a highly composite work." Though parts are from St. James "in general the whole epistle looks to me very much like a collection of Genizah fragments from the Church of Pella or even of Jerusalem."

T. W. Manson, "Miscellanea Apocalyptica" (41-5). Notes on 1 Pss. Sol. xviii. 6 and Ass. Mosis x. 1-10.

A. A. T. Ehrhardt, "Jesus Christ and Alexander the Great" (45-51). A comparative study of Phil. 2, 5-11 and Plutarch. Alex. Virt.s. Fort. It "may be assumed that, at least, both writers are drawing on the language of popular philosophy as employed to expound the divinity of Hellenistic monarchs and, later, Roman emperors."

L. S. Thornton, C.R., "The Choice of Matthias" (51-9). Considers the use of the lot in O and NT and applies the findings of Matthias' choice. "The Lord Jesus is the kleros . . . of those to whom he gives the kleros."

P. Katz, "The Early Christians' Use of Codices Instead of Rolls" (63-5). "My suggestion is that this change in book form, rather than being due to the comparative poverty of the early Christian communities, as Dr. Bell tentatively suggests . . . may have been a fresh instance of the well-known tendency of the early Church to differentiate itself sharply from Judaism."

R. L. P. Milburn, "*Ho tes ekklesias oikos*" (65-8). In Eusebius' account of the deposition of Paul of Samosata the phrase is commonly held to refer to the bishop's house. Arguing from other instances in Eusebius the author concludes the phrase means "the church."

R. L. P. Milburn, "A Docetic Passage in Ovid's *Fasti*" (68-9). *Fasti*, III. 697 ff. "Just as, within a short time of the Crucifixion, an impulse of reverence and awe was leading men to deny that Christ suffered in the flesh, so Caesar, forty or fifty years after his death, was elevated, by a court poet, above the accidents of his miserable death which he was able to regard, from on high, with serene detachment." Therefore Christian docetism is not necessarily a product "of Oriental theories about the corruption of matter and the aloofness from it of the Divine."

Month, 181, 1945. J. P. Stapleton, "St. Paul and the Church's Preparation for Lent" (17-27). "My task here is to examine the liturgy of these three Sundays, Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima, and in particular to study the teaching of St. Paul in the Epistles, with a view to finding a better appreciation of what Lent should mean to us."

Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 76, 1944. Lt.-Col. N. P. Clarke, "The Four North Walls of Jerusalem" (199-212). Holds the Holy Sepulchre was within the walls.

S. A. Birnbaum, "On the Possibility of Dating Hebrew Inscriptions" (213-7). The materials though not extensive are sufficient.

H. J. Shepstone, "Holy Week in Jerusalem" (218-22). Describes the services of various faiths. Very good plates.

Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, 15, 1945. Section Spéciale. S. Pagano, O.M.I., "Analysis Notionis Inspirationis S. Scripturae apud Cornelium a Lapide" (65-85).

Saint Louis University Studies. Series A. Humanities, Vol. I, No. 1, 1945. J. A. Kleist, S.J., "Rereading the Papias Fragment on St. Mark" (1-17). *Taxis* has the sense of list. Therefore the meaning, Mark did not give a complete list. St. John in the Papias fragment was replying to two groups of adversaries: Christians who complained of the incompleteness of Mark's account; heretics, Cerinthus and his followers, who drew false Christological conclusions from Mark's brevity.

Social Justice Review, 37, 1945. J. M. Lenhardt, O.F.M. Cap. "St. Paul's Recommendations on Slavery" (371-3). "St. Paul exhorts his Christian slaves to practice heroic virtue by choosing to remain rather in slavery than to gain freedom." Yet so "potent was the influence of Christianity that slavery was gradually eliminated without such evil consequences as those the Emancipation of the Negro slaves in our country has produced."

BIBLICAL NEWS

The Right Reverend William L. Newton, a former president of the Catholic Biblical Association and holder of other important offices in the Association, has been appointed pastor of St. Mary's Church, Elyria, Ohio. For more than two decades Monsignor Newton has taught Sacred Scripture and has established a fine reputation as one of the country's most successful teachers of the Bible. His entire career as a teacher in the Scripture field was spent at Our Lady of the Lake Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio, with the exception of several years at the Catholic University of America, where he commanded the admiration of his students as a scholarly and inspiring lecturer.

The *Life of Christ* by Ricciotti has been translated into English by Dr. Alba Zizamia, who has already established an enviable reputation as a skilled translator in her excellent version of Giordani's *Social Message of Jesus*. The *Life of Christ* is in press.

In preparation is an English version of Ricciotti's *Storia d'Israele*, being made by Dr. Patrick W. Skehan of the Catholic University of America. This translation will supply a long felt need, for there is no up-to-date scholarly Catholic work in English in this field.

The Most Reverend William T. Mulloy, D.D., Bishop of Covington, has honored the Catholic Biblical Association by becoming a Life Member. His Excellency was active as a teacher of Sacred Scripture to Catholic high school students in public schools for a number of years in the Diocese of Fargo, and was a member of the Board on Religious Education which drew up a syllabus for religious education in the State of North Dakota.

E. J. Dyer, bookseller and publisher of Sydney and Brisbane, Australia, has recently published in three separate pamphlets, 5 by 7 inches, the Gospels according to St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. John. The basic text is that of the Confraternity Edition. It has, however, been revised, and is now published as the "Australian and New Zealand Edition, Revised with Permission." The revision is very slight, consisting in the substitution here and there of one word for another. For example "bed" for "pallet" in Mt. 9:6 and Mk. 2:9; "unfaithfulness" for "immorality" in Mt. 5:32 and 19:9; "fringe" for "tassel" in Mt. 9:20. All the typographical features of the Confraternity edition have been retained except that instead of indicating the chapter divisions in the margin, they are put in the center of the page in capitals.

The Reverend Cyril Gaul, O.S.B., of St. Meinrad's Abbey, after serving as publishing editor of the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* from its inception in 1939, has resigned this office. This step was taken on the advice of his physician who recommended that Father Cyril considerably retrench his multitudinous activities. Father Cyril has given generously and unselfishly of his time and energy to the supervising of the printing and to the proof-reading of the *Quarterly* for six and one-half volumes. At the same time The Abbey Press discontinued printing the *Quarterly*, which is now being printed by the John D. Lucas Company of Baltimore, Md.

The Reverend George Denzer, S.T.L., of the Diocese of Brooklyn, on May 14, 1945, successfully defended his doctoral dissertation on "The Parables of the Kingdom—A Defence of the Pure Mercy Theory" in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology at the Catholic University of America. Dr. Denzer is now a member of the faculty of the Seminary of the Immaculate Conception, Huntington, N. Y.

The Reverend Francis David Pansini, C.M., S.T.L., on July 13, 1945, successfully defended his dissertation on the Insufficiency of the Doctrinal Advance Argument in Favor of the Priority of the Gospel according to St. Mark, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology at the Catholic University of America. Father Pansini has been appointed to the faculty of St. John's Seminary, Camarillo, California, diocesan seminary for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles.

The Competitive Examination for the Association's Biblical Scholarship, which pays \$500.00 a year for five years, was held at the Catholic University of America June 6, 7 and 8, 1945. The questions assigned for the written examinations were: Exegesis of Jn. 1: 9-14 and of Ps. 50(51), 1-8; Special Introduction to the Book of Isaias and The Senses of Sacred Scripture. There was also an oral examination in Hebrew, Greek, Exegesis, General and Special Introduction. The Examining Board was composed of active members of the Association residing in Washington. All the Examiners unanimously agreed that the Reverend Robert G. North, S.J. of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas, deserved to be declared the winner of the scholarship. As travel to Italy is not permitted at the present time, Father North hopes to journey to Europe and begin his studies in the fall of 1946. There were eight entrants, three from Canada and five from the United States.

We take great pleasure in announcing that the Vatican Press has printed and published the liturgical edition of the new Latin Psalter and that some copies have reached this country. It is our most cherished hope that it will be reprinted soon in this country.

BOOK REVIEWS

CONRAD PEPLER, O.P., *Lent, A Liturgical Commentary on the Lessons and Gospels* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1944). Pp. iv, 406.

The author states his purpose in the Preface: "My endeavor has been to unravel from these varied scriptural readings a consistent and orderly doctrine. Hidden in these Lessons there are many points essential to the attaining of the spirit of Lent. These points must be unearthed and related to the rest of the Lenten teaching to form a consecutive and gradually developing body of doctrine." His contention is that the Church selected these texts for a set purpose, "to prepare catechumens and Christians alike for the Easter sacraments, baptism for the former, penance for the latter, and the Eucharist for both."

The scriptural readings in the liturgy from the first part of Lent up to "Midlent" or "Laetari" Sunday look not so much to the external observances of Lent, fasting, prayer and almsgiving, as to the interior dispositions with which these observances are to be accomplished. These, says the author, are but "lowly means toward the raising of the mind to union with God." The author frequently drives home the point of the futility of mere external observances, that these are but means which, detached from the end to which they are ordained, become useless. In the second part of Lent the liturgical readings are selected with a view to directing and focusing our attention on Christ Crucified, apart from whom it is impossible to understand fully the purpose and spirit of the Lenten penitential exercises.

The author gives numerous and interesting historical details about the development of the liturgy, and comments on the Epistle and Gospel of each Mass in turn. The commentary is, however, devotional and ascetical, and is an excellent aid towards entering into the true spirit of Lent which the Church explicitly and officially promulgates in these scriptural readings. "In them the Church," writes Father Pepler, "proposes to the assembly of the faithful a general topic of conversation, meditation and prayer. It would be ill-mannered to indulge in our own private thoughts or talk to ourselves of something quite different."

The whole series of Father Pepler's chapters constitutes an excellent manual of the basic principles of ascetical theology. The book, therefore, is the finest kind of spiritual reading. Nothing better could be perused during Lent and studied, whether the reader be priest, religious or of the laity. For it offers much valuable assistance towards the better keeping of Lent and for drawing more spiritual fruit from its observances. We hereby express the fervent hope that the book will be widely read and circulated as it richly deserves and go into a second and subsequent editions.

If a second revised edition is prepared, we would respectfully suggest that the author include at the beginning of each chapter the text of the Epistle and Gospel on which he comments so well and so beautifully. We would also suggest that page 141, which was probably written before the publication of the Encyclical *Mystici Corporis*, be revised in the light of this papal pro-

nouncement in regard to membership in the Church. See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (Vol. XXXV, p. 202, or in the NCWC text, paragraph 22).

JOSEPH L. LILLY, C.M.

JOHN E. STEINMUELLER and KATHRYN SULLIVAN, *A Companion to the New Testament* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1944). Pp. v, 328.

This book is well named, for it is truly a companion to the New Testament, and will prove such to its readers. It contains eleven chapters, treating the questions of General Introduction, the Four Gospels, Jesus Christ, St. Paul, St. John, the Apocalypse, and the Apostolic Church, with the final chapter dealing with some problems of the New Testament. There are several maps, richly colored; also two outlines (probable dates of the principal events in the history of the New Testament; the names and probable order of all the books of the New Testament). There is a Reading List of Recommended Books as well as an Index. The format is excellent; the printing large and clear, the paper of average quality. All in all, there is little wanting to make this volume popular.

Now let us take a closer look at this book. The authors tell us in the Foreword that their goal "is to reach instructed and educated Catholics, and by omitting or briefly treating the obvious to increase their knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, so that "from the Bible's pages we (may) learn spiritual perfection" and "we (may) gather confirmations and illustrations of any particular doctrine we wish to defend." A perusal of the contents of the book shows that they have never lost sight of their goal. Thus for example they have devoted 31 pages to Introduction to the New Testament, but 43 pages to the Apocalypse; and it may be added that the analysis of the Apocalypse is exceptionally well done and is very complete. Very wisely, too, have the authors limited the discussion of the Special Introduction to the Four Gospels to a few pages; then they have proceeded to develop in detail and with an abundance of references the life-story of Jesus Christ. In treating of the Apostolic Church the authors have included brief notices of the Catholic Epistles. St. Paul's life is adequately described; his letters are briefly described and apt quotations made. The treatment of the letters is made in the very story of St. Paul's life, not in chronological order, however. For example, when the authors trace the footsteps of St. Paul to Thessalonica, they consider the two Epistles he later addressed to that Church from Corinth. In the chapter on Some Problems of the New Testament the authors treat of the chronology of Christ's life, the Synoptic Problem, Rationalistic Criticism, and finally Archaeology and the New Testament. The treatment is necessarily brief, but sufficient. This reviewer is inclined to think that the book would be more valuable had the authors seen fit to discuss the spiritual and devotional value of the New Testament rather than the above problems.

There are a few blemishes to mar this excellent book. Thus on p. 37, the reference should be 17, 26, instead of 17, 27; on p. 60 the date should be 586, instead of 568. There is an omission of the date of the composition of the

Gospel of St. Mark. At times, too, the desire to be brief has obscured the true story, such as p. 160 with regard to Silas as the companion of Paul instead of Mark. Yet these are but minor details that do not detract from the general excellence and usefulness of this book.

G. H. GUYOT, C.M.

H. H. ROWLEY, *The Relevance of the Bible* (New York: Macmillan, 1944). Pp. 175. \$1.75.

In the Preface the author expresses the conviction

that the pressing need of the hour is for men and nations to receive the divine revelation mediated through the Bible, and culminating in the unveiling of God in Jesus Christ, and to base all their life on that revelation (p. vii).

But after the first two chapters the reader cannot but conclude that God's revelation is at least hard to find. Modern scholarship, contradictions in the Bible, and certain doctrinal incongruities combine to make it impossible to accept a doctrine of inspiration which would result in inerrancy. In the author's mind inspiration is the mediation of God's revelation through the fallible personalities of human authors, and "their imperfections and fallibilities could not but affect the revelation" (p. 25). The two distinct concepts of inspiration and revelation are confused and it becomes impossible for God to mediate his truth with any security. We are told that we can estimate the veracity of the Scriptures through Christ, who is revealed completely in the Gospels. "As a revelation of Him they are complete, and from their study we may know Him and know His spirit with assurance" (p. 46). "Nevertheless, it is true that He Who is in Himself the perfect revelation of God to men is Himself mediated to us in some measure by men, and therefore imperfectly" (p. 47).

Later in the book Professor Rowley follows a rationalist line more consistently. Elias and Eliseus performed works of magic, not miracles (p. 111). Christ healed by "the power of personality over personality, of spirit over body." Furthermore, these healings

"are beyond our power because we have not attained His heights of personality, but not necessarily beyond our potentiality.

This is to preserve a place for Christ's miracles of healing by removing them from the category of miracle in the sense of the supernatural" (p. 115).

Again, we have the following:

"It may be possible for God, as well as for man, to employ one natural power, whether in the physical or the spiritual world, to overcome another. But to suppose that God was reduced to the necessity of 'breaking the rules' from time to time, would be less honouring to His wisdom and power than to suppose that His works were the agents, and not the embarrassments, of His purpose" (p. 116).

The author professes to believe in the divinity of Christ as well as his humanity; yet he can say:

In him we see God and Man, but as one, not as two who are separate though somehow combined, but as one, not as two natures, or two personalities, or two wills, but in a perfect unity (p. 174).

The final chapters of the book on God, Sin, and the Person and Work of Christ, are written with some devotion. Yet the work, as a whole, cannot help undermining the divine revelation contained in the Bible. It attempts to join an overconfident rationalism with fervent evangelism. There is too much faith for the rationalist and too little for the confirmed evangelical. The attempt of the individual to reach out to Christ by himself fails in the long run, because Christ established an authoritative Church through which men are to come to Him.

The style of the book is somewhat involved, making it difficult at times to follow the author's thought processes. Although the scriptural index at the end of the book is complete enough, the general index does not cover enough pertinent matter.

JOSEPH N. MAGEE, S.M.

PHILIP BIRNBAUM, Ph.D., ed., *Maimonides' Mishneh Torah (Yad-ha-Ḥazakah)*, abridged edition, edited from rare manuscripts and early texts, vocalized, annotated and provided with an introduction. (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1944). Pp. lxiii, 336. \$5.00.

The editor's purpose has been to make Maimonides' well-known compendium of Jewish legal tradition available to as wide a public as is possible for a work written in Hebrew, and thereby to stimulate the appreciation of it and the spread of its influence among his own people. This abridgement contains parts of some three hundred out of the thousand sections that make up the full text. The portions chosen have been fully vocalized, and furnished at the foot of every page with English renderings for the less obvious phrases. A concise English foreword is followed by an ample introduction in unpointed Hebrew. This covers the purpose of the edition; the value of Maimonides' work and the clarity of his (Mishnaic) Hebrew style; his use of scriptural phraseology; the influence of Arabic on the *Mishneh Torah*; Maimonides' manner of rendering Talmudic material; his apparent departures from the normal rules of Hebrew grammar; the use, with and without explicit acknowledgment, made of the *Mishneh Torah* by Jacob ben Asher and Joseph Caro in their later codes; Maimonides' way of correcting his own manuscript (for this, two full pages of autograph material are presented in facsimile); and a discussion of the editing technique—critical readings, manner of quoting the Old Testament, etc.—adopted in this edition. A four-page biography of Maimonides is also given. The volume closes with an index of terms and expressions defined by Maimonides, and a further index of Old Testament citations. Of some interest to Christian readers will be Maimonides' judgment of Christ and Christianity, which is given in abridged form not in the body of the text, but in the unpointed introduction

(p. liii) as an instance of the passages excluded by censorship from the ordinary editions; it is here cited on the basis of four manuscripts.

This edition should fulfill its compiler's intention with complete success; Dr. Birnbaum and his publishers are both to be congratulated on its excellence. When the editor says of the Mishneh Torah that it "facilitates one's comprehension of the rabbinic style in general" he suggests a way in which this edition of it can serve non-Jewish readers. Indeed, Dr. Birnbaum's own Hebrew style seems to merit for today the same sort of encomiums for clarity and simplicity he accords to his medieval author.

PATRICK W. SKEHAN.

EDWARD J. KISSANE, D.D., S.S.L., *The Book of Isaiah*, Vol. II (XL-LXVI). (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd., 1943). Pp. lxxiv, 328. 21s.

With the exception of the ill-judged rendering of one significant passage, Dr. Kissane, of Maynooth, has benefited students on both sides of the Atlantic by the first volume of his "Book of Isaiah." We are now the gainers by his second volume, embracing Chapters 40-66. Linking the completed work with those of Drs. Boylan and Bird on the Psalter, one sees Catholic commentaries in English taking their place beside such fruits of Continental scholarship as the *Etudes Bibliques* and the German collections of Bonn and Münster. Kissane's work is fully scientific, uniting a sustained and well-poised view of its whole field with thoroughness and accuracy in the treatment of details. The arrangement of this volume is uniform, of course, with that of the first. A few errors in type occur, chiefly in the translated text (e.g., in 52:15c and 53:5a).

The Introduction fully sketches the special problems of the subject, such as the question of single, dual or triple authorship, the relation of the sections on the "Servant of Yahweh" to the whole collection, and the latter's internal analysis. In meeting such challenges to historico-literary criticism the modern investigator too often "cannot see the woods for the trees." Dr. Kissane—to sustain the metaphor—adopts the sounder method of first surveying the woods in latitude and elevation, so as to recognize what manner of tree may be indigenous.

That a literary product and its historical setting must be weighed together is clear from Torrey's stimulating study of *The Second Isaiah* (1928). Strongly reacting against the progressive subdivision of Chapters 40-66, he began by establishing the literary unity of the whole (including, however, 34 and 35). In passing on from the criterion of vocabulary to that of peculiar rhetorical traits, Torrey found it hard to remain within bounds; some portions of the First Isaiah must have been late additions due to the influence of the Second! But when the unity of 40-66 had been established on literary grounds, Torrey created for this highest achievement of Hebrew prophecy a trivial historical occasion. A common tendency to emigrate for commercial advantages had been thus opposed by an unknown prophet shortly before Alexander's time; Babylon and Cyrus were both spurious intruders; indeed,

no enforced exile had ever interrupted Israel's career as a nation. This last fancy, of course, was promptly challenged in the name of archaeology.

Dr. Kissane judges better of the historical occasion. The time is the end of the exile, and the theme is national recovery to be expected by Israel instead of final submergence. The coherence in thought of 40-66 and the pertinence of each successive passage to this tremendous proclamation is discussed in the introductory Section IV. We regret the lack of space to comment in detail on this, the best part of the Introduction, but certainly it presents a strong case. In particular, the "Servant" passages need not be regarded as distributed fragments of a once extraneous poem, nor is "the Servant" identical in them all. No "third Isaiah" need be postulated, least of all as a mere collector of scraps, since the last eleven chapters fit, logically and structurally, into the same plan as 40-55.

The older and deeper question—whether 40-66 is or is not due to the same author as 1-39—is discussed in Section V. The essential arguments on both sides are impartially stated; the decisions of the Biblical Commission are quoted in full and interpreted, we believe, correctly. Where modern arguments against one Isaiah are specious and merely thrive on popularity, no false deference restrains Dr. Kissane from exposing their real emptiness as frankly as he grants the logical value of other contentions on the same side. This reviewer has not read a better discussion of the question within any equal space. The solution suggested is novel, but consistent. The author of 40-66, living in the later exile, may have been the collector and editor of the detached prophecies of Isaiah the son of Amos, of the Assyrian period.

In this hypothesis, the second part of the book would bear a certain analogy to the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, of which the ideas, according to many scholars (following Origen) are St. Paul's, the literary form the work of another. The ideas of xl-lxvi are those of Isaiah, their expression and the literary form in which they were presented to the exiles in Babylon are the work of the unknown prophet who compiled the whole book. After the lapse of nearly two centuries, the teaching of Isaiah had lost some of its appeal; Assyria had given way to Babylon, the exile had come. The prophet's denunciations and his threats of disaster were directly addressed to his own contemporaries, and were of little import to the exiles. But his prophecies of restoration remained, and intimately concerned the exiles in Babylon. This is the phase of Isaiah's teaching which forms the main subject of Chapters xl-lxvi—the teaching of Isaiah on the future destiny of Israel as expounded to his fellow-exiles by an unknown prophet at the close of the exile (p. lxi).

A concrete sketch of this supposed situation reveals serious objections. Isaiah's oracles (1-39) were a chain of oral discourses on a long series of occasions. The last of them cannot have been later than 698, when Hezekiah died, though Isaiah himself may have lived as late as 690 under the apostate tyrant Manasses. His book had survived for a century and a half, and was known to the better element among the exiles, or it would never have reached us. Its final redactor is supposed to have been a prophet in his own right, the unknown X of the later exile, who became the really effective herald of imminent restoration. Presumably, he would have assumed this office about

549, when Cyrus reduced the Medes to a subject alliance, and when Babylon, actually to fall ten years later, was pretty clearly doomed. X knows the tepidity and worldliness of most of the exiles; he foresees despair and final apostasy in the prospect of subjection to a new master less than ever interested in Israel's past or future. It is time to "cry aloud, and spare not." But instead, he *writes*, as if to men afar in space, if not in time. To his own already familiar redaction of Isaias he appends this new exhortation as a practical commentary. Further, to make Isaias himself seem more timely, he finds it necessary to "reflect the conditions and aspirations of the people of the exilic period" by inserting into the familiar document a few brief passages of "thoughts suggested by the prophecy which precedes, or an application of the prophecy to slightly different conditions" (Kissane, Vol. I, p. xxxv), with which conditions, *ex professo*, the prophecy had not intended to deal.

No unknown prophet could command a hearing in his own time, since his credentials of mission from Yahweh were always the first question. Isaias' name had been held in veneration by kings. X, not even known by name, could not secure a hearing by adding an appendix to Isaias. Time, too, was needed for his message to circulate in writing. And of what did the document consist? A slight but pertinent alteration of the familiar Isaianic collection from Isaias' own time into that of the exile, and twenty-seven new chapters, anonymous, but clearly not Isaias'. Any such conflation would have been rejected with contempt. A prophet of their own time, concealing his identity, and writing them a hortatory commentary on *his own adaptation* of the great Isaias! The exiles had seen Isaias justified in his warnings of judgment to come. His threats of divine vengeance were couched in terms of complete national disaster. Twice (cc. 13 and 39) they had even pointed to Babylon as the ultimate agent of retribution. That this part of Isaias' message could now be "of little import to the exiles" we find incredible. The new hypothesis does not seem to this reviewer to "make sense" historically.

But if 40-66 were the fruit of Isaias' enforced retirement after 698, their character is intelligible. They carry on the main doctrines of 1-39 to consummation. The term of judgment has so surely expired that it is now a theme of consolation; return to Yahweh and to His land is assured by Israel's eternal vocation, and its very time is now at hand. If the writer appears to place himself among the exiles and to see with their eyes, this (as Dr. Kissane concedes) is not wholly without parallel. Continuity of doctrine is seconded by manner of writing. The favorite phrases and rhetorical traits which 40-66 shares with 1-39 are of the kind that bridge a transition from tongue to pen, while the greater formality and elegance of 40-66 are such as the slower pen would confer on the visions of a recluse who was no longer a public orator. The whole subject is indeed difficult; but, without adopting a dogmatic attitude, we frankly fail to find its solution in Dr. Kissane's hypothesis.

In the analysis and translation of the text we possess a really great exe-

getical study, much of whose value must prove permanent. The author's first principle of division is to search the text for somewhat brief passages which would naturally answer as indications of transition in the argument. He discerns ten of such "tail-pieces" in all. Glancing at their thought in its context, about half of them are clearly interludes, the rest not quite so evidently. As enumerated, they divide the text of 40-66 into ten prophetic sections, each of which consists of a triad of poems maintaining "a certain unity of theme" (Introduction, II). "That the whole work (with the possible exception of two short prose fragments, lvi, 3-8 and lxvi, 17-24) is written from the standpoint (actual or ideal) of the exile" (p. xxii) is a thesis which Dr. Kissane makes highly probable. The division into ten triads of poems, each triad with its distinct conclusion, is sketched in the Introduction (pp. xxxii-xxxiii) and expanded in full detail by the commentary accompanying the metrical text. The main features of interpretation on this plan do not strike us as forced into its mold, but as quite naturally plausible. The author is to be congratulated, as he will doubtless be thanked, for this solid contribution to exegesis.

Of course, individual judgment enters often enough to provoke difference of opinion on many minor details. In the pursuit of the strophic standard set by Volume I we find about the same proportion of textual transfers and of supposed omissions or additions of an occasional verse, serving, as before, to keep the strophic structure uniform. Some of them seem justifiable on independent grounds, others hardly so. A few passages strike us as more at home in their original setting than in the new one. Many particular emendations of the Hebrew fail to commend themselves. But we are in full accord with the general plan of the literary analysis; and no one can question the sustained industry bestowed upon it. One gains no impression of an arbitrary or capricious critical attitude.

The climax (as we believe) of the whole collection, the expiation of the Servant of Yahweh (52:13-53), is especially well done. It begins Section VII of the analysis, on "The New Sion, its King and its Citizens," comprising in all 52:13-56:8. In the first two of the Servant passages Dr. Kissane sees the Servant in Israel as the historical party to the Covenant first made with Abraham. Here, however, he is a different entity. Not a figure in past history, in spite of past tenses: "these events are future from the standpoint of the prophet, and past only from the *ideal* standpoint of the servant's contemporaries" (p. 175). In his Introduction the author has given a conspectus of the ramifications of critical opinion on the identity of the Servant in the whole group of passages. In his commentary on this, the longest of them, he supplements the former general sketch with a more particular discussion of the arguments applicable here. The Servant is not now Israel, as twice before, nor any collection, but an individual of the future. In proving this individual to be the Messiah, Dr. Kissane essays a harder task, but discharges it well, and does not overlook due limitations: "it would be safer to admit that the description is somewhat vague than to read into the

text details [e.g., a resurrection] which are by no means certain" (p. 180). The author divides the poem into six strophes of alternately four and five verses, namely: the servant's future triumph (52:13-15), his lowly state and his suffering (53:1-3c), the cause of his suffering (3d-5), his resignation and fortitude (6-8b), the triumph of failure (8c-10), triumph through suffering (11-12). In the first and last strophes Yahweh is the speaker; "in the intermediate strophes, the speakers are a group of the contemporaries of the servant," who reflect upon his sufferings as past. Due force is given to the decisive terms expressing expiatory sacrifice and its vicarious character, though the translation may be hypercritical in some minor respects.

Dr. Kissane's "Book of Isaiah" as now complete—not withstanding the discrimination with which it should be used to establish particulars—is a treasure of careful and farsighted scholarship, the value of which cannot be merely ephemeral.

WILLIAM H. McCLELLAN, S.J.

JOACHIM WACH, *Sociology of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944). Pp. xii, 412. \$5.00.

The sociology of religion is a rather ill-defined field. To Wach its subject matter is "the interrelation of religion and society and the forms of interaction which take place between them" (p. 11). This definition obviously needs to be explained by defining religion itself. Here Wach is somewhat handicapped by his methodology. He holds very tenaciously to the concept of sociology as a purely empirical, non-normative science which must preserve complete independence from theology and philosophy. Therefore not only is sociology unable to "reveal the nature and essence of religion itself" (p. 4), but it must not accept the truth or falsity of the religious material which it studies as a *datum* from some other science. Religion must consequently be studied by the sociologist from a purely phenomenological viewpoint. After some hesitation Wach defines the term as "the experience of the Holy" (p. 13).

All value-judgments having been thus renounced, every religious phenomenon is reduced to the same dead level. Examples from Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and primitive religions are treated as equally interesting and equally significant. This is naturally unsatisfactory to the Catholic. On the other hand Wach's phenomenological viewpoint does have one advantage. He at least betrays no bias against the Catholic Church. He makes mistakes as, for example, when he lumps together Teresa, Molinos, Juan de la Cruz as quietists (p. 174), but these are honest mistakes and not the result of anti-Catholic prejudice. Within his narrow methodology Wach tries to be eminently fair.

The book is characterized by abundant documentation. One long chapter has 545 footnotes, many of them containing several references. One might question, however, how thoroughly Wach has digested the enormous literature of his subject. The reviewer's impression is that, while the author

usually cites scholarly material, he does not always cite the best, latest, and most relevant. A footnote on p. 283, referring to the development of the Catholic Church in the United States, may serve as an example. Six references are given. The first two are highly specialized doctoral dissertations from the Catholic University of America which bear on the subject very remotely indeed. He cites two general histories of the Church in this country, written by Catholics but generally frowned upon by Catholic historians as inaccurate. Then comes Marshall's *The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State*, an anti-Smith tract of the Smith-Hoover presidential campaign. The last reference is Ryan and Husslein's *The Church and Labor*, an excellent book published twenty-five years ago, now largely superseded by more recent work by these two authors themselves and others. It is hard to believe that the author would have cited these particular six references if he knew the literature more thoroughly.

Wach has chosen for himself a broad field and, in general, he covers it as adequately as one has a right to expect in view of limitations of space. There might, however, have been more on the interaction of Christianity and economic society and of Christianity and totalitarianism. Abundant material is available for a thorough treatment of these topics.

Biblical scholars will find little in this book which bears directly on their field.

PAUL HANLY FURFEY.

REV. W. HENDRIKSEN, *More Than Conquerors* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker's Book Store). Pp. 285. \$2.25.

The subtitle of this book explains the nature of the work: An Interpretation of the Book of Revelation. It is a popular but serious explanation of the Book of Revelation or the Apocalypse of Saint John, to give the book its more common name. The explanation is not given in the form of a running commentary but various important ideas in the Book of Revelation are singled out, grouped together and discussed in fourteen chapters. The book is completed by notes, references, a bibliography and an index.

The first three chapters serve as an introduction to the rest of the book. Such questions, as the purpose, theme, date and author of the book are discussed. The division, unity, symbolic meaning and method of interpretation are set forth in nine propositions. The author holds to the more commonly accepted conclusions in all these points. For instance, the author of the Book of Revelation, notwithstanding the difficulties of style, vocabulary and doctrine, is Saint John the Evangelist. The principles of interpretation are definite and sane: they are clearly stated in the introductory pages and are consistently applied throughout the explanation. By these principles of interpretation exaggerated, fantastic and puerile conclusions and allusions, which are often met in some popular explanations of the Apocalypse, are avoided. The Book is interpreted in the historical setting in which it was produced and in the light of the other books of the Bible. The explanation

is reverent in tone for the author always remembers that the Apocalypse is the word of God as made known to Saint John.

J. S. CONSIDINE, O.P.

LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD, *Personalities of the Passion* (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press: New York, Nashville, 1943). Pp. 183. \$1.50.

The Methodist author of this work is the learned and well-known minister of that famous London church, the City Temple. In his studies, lectures and various other books, Dr. Weatherhead specializes in psychology. This psychological approach is the method he applies to the various personalities of the Passion. He treats twelve persons in the following order: Peter, Judas, Caiphas, Herod, Pilate, Barabbas, Simon of Cyrene, Mary the Mother of Jesus, Longinus the Roman Centurion, Dismas the crucified revolutionary, Joseph of Arimathea, and Cleophas of Emmaus. A Catholic misses Mary in the first place and looks in vain for St. John the beloved disciple of St. Mary Magdalen. However, the author claims to deal only with some of the characters of the Passion.

The book is typical of English Protestant thought in devotional and biblical matters. There is an odd medley of truth and conjecture, error and fancy, human and divine. Very truly the author writes in the preface: "It seems more fitting now than ever it was to read again the drama of the Cross, with universal sorrow all around us, in a world where ideologies are clashing and crashing, where men are drilling and daring and groaning and dying; . . . where all are looking and hoping and watching for a day of resurrection after the death of so much that was dear." He continues to say that he is writing for English people at war and bombed-out, for the suffering and sorrowing. "I have been helped," he writes, "to enter the right mood for both worship and understanding by trying to look at the central act of the whole drama of human history from the point of view of those who played some part in it."

Though there are flashes of insight into character and many fine descriptions, yet the book cannot be recommended for Catholic reading. For example, the author denies that Christ foretold that Peter would deny him thrice. After some discussion the author states: "I hold that the theory of prophecy in the sense generally understood makes nonsense of the mind of Jesus. Besides, if he *did* know for certain that Peter would repeatedly deny Him, would he have chosen that moment grimly to have told Peter so in the presence of the others?" (pp. 17, 18). Finally, the author denies that Peter ever denied Christ. Peter was merely playing the part of a spy (p. 19). In the author's imagination Judas was not a terribly wicked man, yet he is not to be whitewashed (p. 30). "We must . . . look at Judas tenderly" (p. 35). "Jesus had called him—'Follow Me.' And now Jesus was dead. And Judas, never dreaming He would let Himself be taken, had brought Him to the cross. All he could do was to follow the Master he still loved—into the other world. . . . So in that other world, by the marvelous sea, two men would

meet again—Jesus, the Christ of God, and Judas the man who failed him because he did not understand. . . . But would there not be a hand stretched out to raise him [Judas] to his feet again . . . bringing a healing peace that comes to the soul that has sinned but now is greatly forgiven?" (p. 36). And finally, Jesus is happy "because all His boys now had come home" (p. 36)!

One can agree with most interpretations of character in the various chapters, except such just mentioned. But the chapter that most offends Catholic truth and devotion is the one on the Mother of Jesus. The author accuses us of having "deified her and made her an object of worship" (p. 111). He even admits that he is sympathetic with us in this. In a footnote on the same page he writes: "Catholic theologians claim that homage is paid Mary but not worship. In popular practice, however, she is worshipped." Next the author speaks of her "who has been called the 'Mother of God'" (p. 112). Why the quotation marks if the author himself believed that she really is the Mother of God? The Virgin Birth is a mystery into which the author will "not attempt to peer" (p. 113). The author thinks that Christ and Mary did not understand each other and so the home life was not too happy. Some sacred texts are abused to fit that meaning. For example, if Christ had a happy home life, why would he have said: "A man's enemies will be those of his own household?" (p. 116). But other "prize" sentences follow this one. "Jesus had five brothers and two sisters, so that, with Mary and Himself, there were nine mouths to fill" (p. 117). No shadow of proof is given as to the number of these "brothers and sisters!"

The whole chapter on Mary is a natural one, typical of notions about her outside the true Church. Reading this book makes one very sad, for we see how many good and well-meaning people seek the truth everywhere but in the Catholic Church. What a far cry from a book of this kind to the fullness of Catholic devotion and biblical appreciation! This book does not give one a greater sense of love and gratitude towards Christ for His Passion and Death. All the chapters are loose and merely psychological studies. Such a work betrays the rambling and uncertain structure of Protestantism. Without infallible authority and with mere private interpretation, personal study, and even genius, are forever handicapped in enjoying the full splendor of Christ, His Mother, the Bible, and the Church!

CUTHBERT GUMBINGER, O.F.M.Cap., S.T.D.

CORRESPONDENCE

Editor: I am more and more impressed with the need for encouraging the study of Latin—not so much the classical Latin as that form of it which began with Saint Jerome and still lives in the Church. Those who still advocate Latin in the world insist on the classical tongue, and we allow their insistence to go unchallenged, although it is plain that the Latin in which English is rooted and which therefore helps in the understanding of English is ours and not theirs. It is the words of modern introduction and specialized use which come from the classical; words of Latin origin which are simple and of common use, in English, French, or any other modern language, come from the Latin of the camps, which in its written form we call medieval Latin. Nor should we forget that our Latin was used for decent and profitable purposes: while classical texts are too often only morally tolerable because they are written in a language which few people *really* understand.

The Vulgate is of course the main monument of this Latin of ours; and it is to the Vulgate that we must first turn students. Unfortunately, the materials are deficient. Latin courses and grammars we have in vast number, but none are suitable to the needs of anyone who, while wishing to read Latin with reasonable comprehension, does not wish to write it. Still, they do exist. When we come to lexicons, the case is far worse. Nearly twenty per cent of the vocabulary of the Vulgate (excluding, of course, all proper names) are not to be found in what may be broadly termed school lexicons, even of the more extensive kind; in a particular instance, 1560 words are so absent. To find these words reference must be made to Lewis and Short. Yet how few people can be reasonably expected to have a copy of Lewis and Short on their shelves?

I am, therefore, writing to urge the compilation by some competent hands of a Catholic Pocket Lexicon—pocket size for convenience. My aim would be to diminish the bulk by leaving out all quotations of authorities, and also by adopting various typographical devices which I shall mention later. In this way, if we had a volume about 4 x 6 (the ideal pocket size) and of about 700 pages (which can be attained nowadays without too great bulk or the use of more expensive paper) we could include a vocabulary substantially that of a school lexicon plus the Vulgate, and yet still keep the type not smaller than 8 point (that is, nine lines to the inch.) In this way the work could still be used by those whose sight is beginning to fail; and too often the usefulness of lexicons has been diminished by the use of too small type.

There are many words which one scarcely troubles to look up in a lexicon, even if one has not seen them before; their meaning is so obvious once one knows the meaning of the word from which they are derived. All one really wants in a *small* lexicon being an assurance that such a word does not have some unexpected subsidiary meaning. My plan would be to omit such obvious words, merely adopting some conventional sign in the main word which would be a guarantee that such a derivative exists and possesses strictly the

meaning one would expect of it. This is the first of the typographical devices I have just mentioned. The second is to use different type faces for the different classes of meanings—root meaning, literal meanings, and the non-literal meanings of various sorts.

If by these various devices, the bulk of the work had been kept sufficiently small (manifestly, the precise degree of saving would not be known until the compilation had been made) a supplement might then be added of such proper names as were worth putting in: in so many cases we know no more of the persons or places in question than is apparent from the text itself.

B. C. WIDDOWSON.

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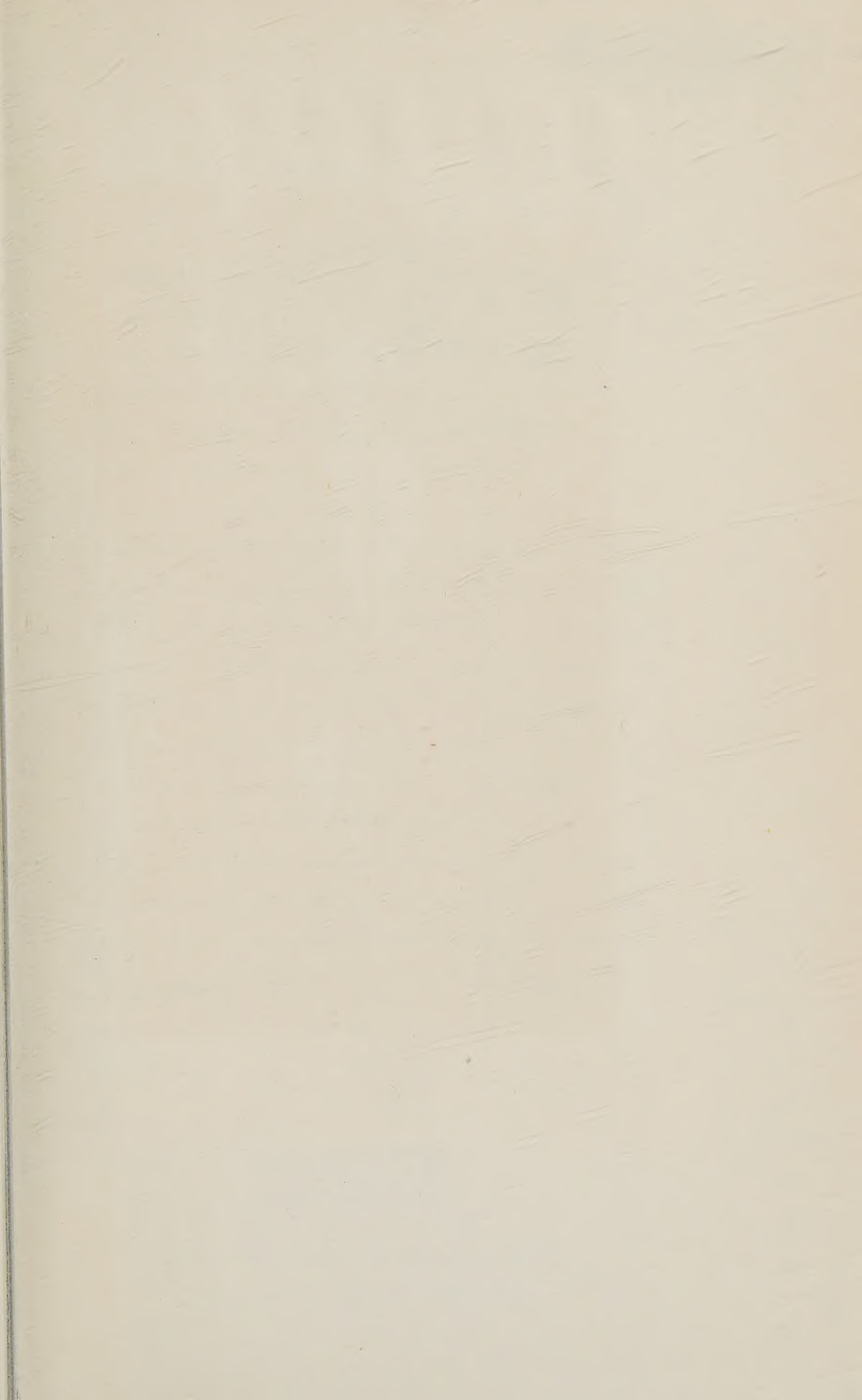
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